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THE
HOLBORN REVIEW.

THE
HOLBORN REVIEW,

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THE
HOLBORN REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1925.

A New Saint Theresa.*

BY DR. J. RENDEL HARRIS.

MOST of us know something about the great Spanish saint and mystic, St. Theresa, the "undaunted daughter of desires" of Crashaw's great poem, and the reformer of the religious order of Mt. Carmel; a woman to whom, with St. John of the Cross and other Spanish mystics and St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order, we owe in large degree the repulse of Protestantism in central Europe, where as yet it has never recovered from the great Catholic reaction of which Thérèse was one of the moving spirits. And there are few who have studied Thérèse, whether in her life or in her spiritual writings, or in her successful work as an organizer of monastic institutions, who have not found much to admire in her. Such critics as Matthew Arnold on the one hand, with no predilection for the visionary or the miracle-worker, and Dr. Whyte, of Edinburgh, with no *à priori* preference for Roman piety, are agreed in admiring the combination of sanity and sanctity which is disclosed by many of her words and works. Nor is there any sign that Thérèse is going to recede in public estimation, however much we realise the awful price that Spain paid for becoming reactionary in religion, or that

* A Lecture given at Woodbrooke, 1911.

England is likely to pay if it pursues, even in more moderate fashion, the same search for what is living amongst what is long dead.

But it is not about Thérèse the Great that I am wishing to speak to day, but of a modern Thérèse belonging to the same religious order, whose recent death has been accompanied by an enthusiastic demand for her beatification, and in due course for her canonisation; concerning whom they are recording miracles done in her life and multitudinous miracles done after her death, either by her relics, or by the simple reading of her life as written by herself, of which the copy before me affirms that the circulation has already reached 90,000. The preface says 140,000 in French and a translation into seven other languages. Who was this new St. Thérèse (as she was called in the conventual life) of *the child Jesus and of the Holy Face*? How did she become a saint and why does she work miracles, miracles that are being reported from almost every corner of the earth? That is the question which I am going to try to answer. I will not, however, begin with the miracles: it may be doubted whether they are the easy way of sympathetic approach to any religion, unless it be the religion of the Gospel; and miracles in France (for it is to the North of France that the new Thérèse belonged) are especially under suspicion at the present time, because there is a campaign of ecclesiastical lying going on in France, under the names of S. Anthony of Padua and others, whose main object is to save Roman Catholicism from its impending downfall by an extra dose of miracle injected into the circulation of the Church. But it is not the first question, what miracles the new Thérèse is working or not working; neither are we concerned in the first instance with the grounds upon which her beatification is demanded. We shall come to that point later; the Roman Church has a standing Committee on beatification, which has for its duty to report whether people have died in the odour of sanctity and whether, after their deaths, mighty works do show forth themselves in them: and when beatification has been decreed the more difficult question of canonisation comes

forward, which has to be argued by the advocates of the proposed saint and the advocate of the opposed devil, until the Pope decides that the case has been made out, that the three necessary miracles (or whatever the number is) were really performed, and that everything is in order for the promotion of the person from the ranks of the *beati* to those of the *santi*. We may say something about Thérèse's approaching beatification presently. Meanwhile, let us talk about herself; for when a young woman dies, in 1897, at the age of 24, and her written life runs to a circulation of at least 90,000 before the year 1911, something must have happened in the region of personality, or French people would not be reading the book with such enthusiasm. And the case is even more remarkable when we state that the saint in question is a cloister-saint, engaged in an austere life within doors, doing no obvious service to humanity, and yet, at the same time, acquiring almost at once a spiritual position comparable with that of those saints who, to use a biblical phrase, seem to be pillars. I have been interested, therefore, to see what kind of a person this little Thérèse really was, and to read her life, as well as some of her letters and her poetry.

Thérèse was one of a large family in the town of Alençon, of which we may say at once that they were antecedently disposed to a monastic life. Her father had sought admission to the monastery on the Gt. St. Bernard (we all know "the "pious monks of St. Bernard," of Longfellow's poem), and been refused on account of his small Latin. Her mother had been equally disappointed in an attempt to enter the order of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, being told point-blank by the prioresses that it was not the will of God. And in due time the two would-be monastics fell in love with one another, and decided to begin a celibate life together, under the shelter of Christian marriage. In a few months they changed their plans, became the parents of a large family, whom they successively devoted to God, and of whom all that lived eventually found their way within convent walls. Thérèse was the youngest of the group: her real name being Marie-Françoise-Thérèse, to intimate that she was under the

special care of the Virgin, St. Francis and her Spanish namesake. Her birthday was January 2nd, 1873. She was, of course, precociously religious; like her great namesake, she early determined that she was meant for a religious life, and ran the risk of being spoiled at the very start. What are we to think of little girls who regard themselves as being potentially or actually the brides of Christ, and use language unbecoming in its familiarity, of the relation of the Soul to the Saviour? But it is just at the very beginning that we find in Thérèse something more than pious sentiment expressed in connubial language. First of all, she was extraordinarily naïve; she tried to see things and to say things just as they were. She managed to get clear away from the affectation of humility, which makes some, even of good Christians, so displeasing, and to arrange for herself the terms in which she described her own spiritual condition, so as to avoid much of the current religious unreality. She called herself Christ's floweret, and His little plaything, and a number of half-infantine appellations, but she never affirmed the floweret to be displeasing, or that she didn't like to be played with. She was a simple flower, but she looked sweet and smelt sweet; she said so, and professed to have good authority for the statement. Not a rose, nor a stately lily: but, said she, if all the flowers wanted to be roses, nature would lose her spring array and the fields their exquisitely enamelled forms. And she drew the conclusion that "Our Lord is revealed just as truly in the most simple soul, which makes no resistance to Divine Grace, as in the most sublime." And since it is ever Love's way to stoop, it seemed to Thérèse that if all souls resembled the holy doctors of the Church, *the good Lord would not have gone low enough in touching their level.* So there were little people lower down yet, necessary for the glory of the Divine Condescension, and Thérèse felt herself to be one of these very little ones.

Then she made a common Roman Catholic mistake; having reduced her own stature by a sufficient number of cubits or spans towards the mystical zero, and having recalled that

she was Jesus Christ's little fiancée, she proceeded to artificially minify Him. She worshipped Him as the Holy Child, much in the same way as Madame Guyon and others of her school were in the habit of reverencing a large doll of wax or other material, which they called the Child Jesus. This they dressed and decorated and made themselves ridiculous over, although there was no such figure in the Christian worship, and satisfied, as I suppose, feminine sentiments over their almost baby Jesus. Thérèse, in particular, was the ball that the baby played with; sometimes He threw it from Him, sometimes He punctured it and spoiled it for play, and sometimes He went to sleep and forgot all about the poor little ball. He will want me again, said Thérèse, when He wakes up: and for a long time she cast her religious experiences, hot and cold, moist and dry, into this language of the play-room. "I wanted to amuse the little Jesus and to give myself up to His infantile caprices!" That is why, when she finally entered the convent, they gave her the name of Thérèse of the Child Jesus. Her other name, Thérèse of the Holy Face, is a later acquisition, and is due to the fact that she developed a peculiar affection for one of the popular inventions of the Western Church. At Turin they profess to have the winding-sheet in which our Lord was buried; in order to revive the cult of this relic, they professed to discover and actually to photograph the figure of our Lord impressed upon the cloth. When this had once been established by what was called a scientific enquiry, the Pope ordered the Holy Face to be painted up and promised indulgences to its worshippers; Thérèse devoted herself to it, and made a copy; she then learnt, from one of her sisters, how to read all kinds of spiritual mysteries from the lines on the Face, wrote poetry and hymns in its honour, and became Theresa of the Holy Face.

Now let us come to her personal history. Before she was fifteen, she decided to ask admission amongst the Carmelites of Lisieux. As she was far below the age at which that austere order could be entered, she had to make a scheme to circumvent the regulations. And this was the way she

managed it. Her father took her and her sister Céline with him on one of the great pilgrimages to Rome at the time of the Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. When they reached Rome after a long journey through various centres of interest, in which most of their fellow-travellers played cards all the time, they were received in audience by the Pope: each pilgrim was to be presented, but before the interview, it was expressly announced that no one was allowed to speak to the Holy Father; they were to kneel and receive his blessing and pass on. Thérèse, who had formed a little plan of asking the Pope to give her permission to enter the Carmelites at fifteen, had confided to Céline what she was going to do. Now she was disconcerted. A word with her elder sister on the point settled the matter. Go ahead, said Céline, who was evidently a girl of character; speak to him. So Thérèse put her hands on his knees, looked up in his face, and claimed the boon in honour of his jubilee. The Pope looked at her keenly, told her that the Superior of the Order must be obeyed, but evidently was much impressed with the child, and made a note of the case and promised that the will of God should be done. And not many months later the objections of the Bishop and Mother Superior were overruled, and she was admitted to the Carmelite Order. Céline painted a very pretty picture of the appealing Thérèse presenting her case to the Pope.

From that time forward she devoted herself to the love of Jesus in the way that pious nuns practise; she consecrated herself to suffer any indignity or hardship that might come her way. She held Madame Guyon's rule that:

“Sorrow and love go side by side;
Nor height nor depth can e'er divide
Their heaven-appointed bands;
Those dear associates still are one,
Nor till the race of life be run,
Disjoin their wedded hands.”

So far there is nothing except what is common in monastic story; all the convent littlenesses and jealousies and

pettinesses are here, and it isn't worth while attending to them. Almost the only really human incident in this part of the story occurs in 1895 when Thérèse found, in an unsuspected way, a man friend. It happened as follows: a young priest wrote the Mother Superior, under the inspiration, as he said, of St. Thérèse the great, the foundress of the Order, to ask for a sister to be assigned to him and take especial care of his soul, and of the souls of those for whom he was working. He promised to make special mention of the Sister, every time that he offered the Holy Sacrament. The Mother Superior selected the little Thérèse for this service, and a correspondence sprang up between them. Thérèse was filled with joy. "I should have to go back," said she, "to my childhood's days to be able to recall such joys, so lively that the soul is too small to contain them. Never, since those early years, had I tasted that kind of happiness; I felt that on this side my soul had become new, as if there had been touched in it chords that had been hitherto forgotten." She expects great good from the new dispensation: "When it pleases Jesus to unite two souls for His glory, He permits them the power of communicating their thoughts to one another with a view to the greater love of God."

And the young man said it was Thérèse the great that told him: but verily a greater than Thérèse is here. For even convent walls cannot wholly exclude love. Thérèse discharged her new duties so well that, not long after, a second brother was bestowed on her. There does not seem to have been exactly the same emotion this time.*

So far there is very little to capture the imagination of the French, even on the sentimental side of religion. Where does the attraction come in? First of all, there is a miraculous element which appeals to the credulous and the vulgar.

* By a most curious coincidence, when I was lecturing on this subject at Woodbrooke, there was sitting before me, without my knowing it, the priest referred to, (No. 2): he came to me after the lecture and explained his relation to Thérèse, whom he described as *une hystérique*.

Second, there seems to be no doubt that Thérèse was powerful in prayer and had the grace of intercession.

Third, her spiritual nature was beautifully simple and winning, and her way of looking at things in a divinely-natural manner appeals to all persons of a quick and delicate perception.

Fourth, she promised that after her death she would work showers of miracles, and persons have not been slow to believe that she is actually doing it.

Let us take some of these points in order. One of the first things that drew the attention of religious people to Thérèse was the fact that on a certain occasion when she was seriously ill, she prayed to an image of the Virgin which she had in her room, and the little girl says that the image became animated, bent towards her with a ravishing smile, and in a moment cured all her ailments. That sort of thing is always happening to French girls: they expect it, and every now and then it comes. That is the origin of Paraylamonial and Lourdes and lots of similar shrines. The vulgar like it, and read accounts of it with avidity.

Second, Thérèse, when quite a young girl had, as she supposed, a remarkable answer from her fiancé, the child Jesus, in reference to a man who was, for various murders and violences, condemned to the guillotine. Thérèse set to work to pray for his soul;* the man went to the scaffold hardened and impenitent, would listen to nothing that the priests said: but just at the last moment, he seized the offered crucifix and kissed the sacred wounds. Thérèse accepted his salvation as a miracle in response to her prayer; and never doubted afterward that the Lord would do what she asked.

Third; her spirit made exquisite expression of what she learned about self annihilation, and the inner way and the death with Christ on the Cross. She often spoke in an

* This is the regular custom among Catholics at the time of an execution: Thérèse put her prayers into the "Common Prayer." It is a practice to be much commended, if executions are to continue.

inspired manner, and the inspirations were accompanied by telepathic perceptions of the thought of others. This will be a good point at which to note some of her sayings, which are often Protestant in character, and show the progress which her soul has made in the Divine Life. She tells us :

“Jesus made me understand that the true and only glory is that which will last always : and that to reach it, one does not need to perform dazzling actions, but rather to hide from the eyes of others and from oneself, so that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing.”

“I reckon not on my own merits : I have none : but I hope in Him who is Virtue and Sanctity itself. It is He alone, who contenting Himself with my feeble efforts, will raise me to Himself, cover me with His merits, and make me a saint.”

She has to apologize for her deficiencies in the matter of dreams and visions, and, in so doing, she betrays that exquisite accord with nature, which so few, even of the great poets, have in perfection. She tells us :

“I rarely have symbolic dreams ; I even have to ask myself how it is that while I think of God all day long, I am not more busied with Him when I sleep. Usually I dream of woods, and flowers, and brooks and the great sea. I almost always see pretty little children, and I catch butterflies and birds such as I have never seen. You see, my dear mother, that my dreams have a poetic turn, but nothing of the mystic about them.”

Isn't that beautifully human and natural ?

Most religious women under rule have to read the regular books on the spiritual life. Thérèse soon tired of them, and said so. She made exceptions. She had learnt much from St. John of the Cross, and between her 16th and 17th years she read a good deal. Then she said that spiritual authors produced in her spiritual aridity : her heart shut up when she opened the books. And then, she says,

“At that point the Bible and the *Imitatio Christi* came to my aid : in them I found the hidden manna, solid and pure. But it is the Gospel especially that

talks to me when I pray: from it I draw all that is necessary for my poor little soul. Always I am finding there fresh light, secret and mysterious meanings. . . . Jesus had no need of books nor of teachers to instruct souls by: He Himself, the doctor of doctors, teaches without the noise of words. I know by experience that the Kingdom of God is within you."

If it should be thought that she makes her Lord in these words a little too like herself, it must at the same time be allowed that her sentiments are a combination of the highest spiritual perception with common sense.

Studying one day the various callings assigned to the saints in the New Testament, she was unable at first to recognise her own vocation in the body of Christ: but meditating, in a Pauline manner, on the power of Love, she concluded that without it Apostles would not preach nor martyrs shed their blood, and that therefore love was everything, everywhere, because it is eternal. Then, in an excess of delirious joy, she cried out: "Oh! Jesus, my love! I have at last found my vocation: my vocation is love. Yes, and I have found my place in the bosom of the Church."

I pass on in the fourth place to the miracles which she promised should come after her death. "I mean," she said, "to spend my time in Heaven in doing good on the earth." When one of the Sisters asked whether she would not think of them when she was up there, she replied "No! indeed! I shall come down." At another time she promised that "after my death, I will make a shower of roses fall upon the earth." Whatever she meant by this, it was taken by the pious in the sense that miracles were going to happen through Thérèse's intercession. And happen they did, and happening they are, as a part of the book headed "*Rain of Roses*" describes with much satisfaction. In some respects the recitation is like the reports published by the purveyors of patent medicines, they are so grotesque and impossible. Locks of Thérèse's hair, done up in little sachets, or similar bags of rose-leaves such as Thérèse had been in the habit of decorating her crucifix with; or a relic from her body,

(which includes one of her baby-teeth providentially preserved), all of these were laid upon the sick, and they recovered. One hundred and sixty seven cases of Graces Conferred and Healings Received are before me. The problem of explaining them is an old one. Of some of it one might say, "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it," of others that "It is not contrary to experience that testimony should be false." I do not discuss these things in detail. Hagiology is an awfully difficult science to co-ordinate with history.

Three years after Thérèse's death, her tomb was opened to see whether there was evidence of sanctity for the beatifiers. She had predicted that they would find nothing except her bones : but apparently they expected her body to be immune from corruption. However, when the grave was opened, two sextons (father and son, the office is commonly hereditary) remarked an exquisite scent of violets, inexplicable by any natural cause, which produced in them profound emotion. And certainly no more appropriate symbol could be found for the beautiful life ; since

"Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

The Avengers.

BY REV. EDWIN W. SMITH.

IT is a commonplace of modern anthropological study that the practices and beliefs of savage peoples throw much light upon the practices and beliefs current in classical antiquity. My object in this paper is to inquire whether some of the ideas of the Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia may not help to explain the Greek conception of the Erinyes, "the Furies."

It will be helpful first to trace the idea in the poets back to the earliest possible date.

When Dante, guided by Virgil, stood before the barred gates of the city of Dis, in the nether-world of Inferno, he saw a dreadful vision of the three Furies, Megaera, Allecto and Tisiphone, who rose up suddenly on the red-flaming summit of the tower.

Tre furie infernal di sangue tinte,
Che membra femminili aveano, ed atto ;
— E con idre verdissime eran cinte ;
Serpentelli e ceraste avean per crine
Onde le fiere tempie eran avvinte.*

"Three hellish Furies, stained with blood, who had the members and attitude of women, and were girt about with greenest hydras; for tresses they had little serpents—horned vipers—wherewith their horrid temples were bound." These Furies, which in Dante's mind symbolised the horror and torment of a guilty conscience, were rending their breasts with their claws and crying aloud, "Let Medusa

* *The Inferno*, canto ix., 38-42.

come, yes, we will turn him (*i.e.*, Dante) into stone"—stone which suggests despair of the goodness of God.

Dante borrowed much of this from the Latin poets, Ovid and Virgil, who also placed the Furies before Hell's gates of adamant—"sisters born of Night, divinities deadly and implacable . . . combing the while black snakes from their hair." The goddess Juno--so Ovid tells us--sent one of them, Tisiphone, to drive Athamas to madness who had scorned her godhead. The Fury seized a torch that had been steeped in gore, arrayed herself in a robe red with dripping blood, girt round her waist a writhing snake, and set forth in company with Terror, Dread and Madness. Arrived at the house of Athamas and Ino, his wife, the baleful creature cast two snakes into their bosoms and poured over their breasts a maddening brew concocted of froth from Cerberus' jaws, venom of the hydra, strange hallucinations and utter forgetfulness, crime and tears. Her victims ran amok; the father dashed his child against a rock and the mother seizing its body threw herself with it into the sea; while the Fury, well pleased with her day's work, returned to the shadows of Dis.*

In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Tisiphone, girt with bloody pall, not only keeps sleepless watch over the portal of Hell, but is an avenger. After the wicked have been judged by Rhadamanthus she leaps upon them, brandishing her grim snakes and calling on her sister Furies to help.† Thus she plays the part assigned to the Fury (Erinnys) in Plutarch's essay "On the instances of delay in Divine punishment." "The wholly incurable Justice rejects; and these the third, and the fiercest, of the satellites of Adrasteia [daughter of Zeus and Necessity, appointed to punish all crimes in the highest place] whose name is Erinnys, chases as they wander and try to escape in all directions; and it is pitiful and cruel how she brings them all to nothing and plunges them into the gulf which is beyond speech or sight."‡ Down in Tar-

* *Metamorphoses*, iv. 465 sqq. † *Aeneid* vi., 548 sqq.

‡ *Selected Essays of Plutarch*, translated by A. O. PRICKARD, Vol. 2, page 207, (Oxford Edition).

tarus Virgil saw Ixion and Pirithoüs overhung by a black crag which seemed to slip and fall upon them ; before their eyes was spread a royal banquet, but they could not touch it, for as oft as they stretched out their hands to it the eldest Fury intervened with uplifted torch and thunderous cries. One of the scenes engraven upon the ineffable fabric of the shield presented by the goddess Venus to Aeneas showed Catiline, the conspirator, hanging on a frowning cliff and trembling at the faces of the Furies.

Not only did they torture condemned souls, but according to Virgil the Furies might be sent from Hell by the gods to do their business among living men. The goddess Juno, still pursuing her implacable purpose against Aeneas, summoned one of the dread sisters, Allecto, to break up the projected alliance between him and the Latins. "Thou canst arm for strife brothers of one soul and overturn homes with hate; thou canst bring under the roof the lash and funeral torch. . . Rouse thy fertile bosom, shatter the pact of peace, sow seeds of wicked war! In the same hour let the men crave, demand and seize the sword!" The lines in which the great poet describes how the Fury, steeped in Gorgonian venom, spread suspicion, resentment, and the accursed frenzy of war, are amongst the most powerful he ever penned. "Lo, at thy will," said Allecto to Juno when she had accomplished her mission, "discord is ripened into gloomy war." *

Allecto, it would seem, is immortal. She is always at work and at times assumes the forms of certain newspaper writers.

Now, we are not to suppose that the Furies were invented by the Latin poets; they were borrowed, as the Romans borrowed many other things, from the Greeks. In taking them over the Latins changed their character somewhat, as they changed their names from the Greek *Erinyes* into the Latin *Furiae*. For, as we shall presently suggest, the original idea was that the *Erinyes* avenged wrongs done to

* *Aeneid*, vii., 323 sqq.

kindred. We can see from one passage at least that the Furies did not entirely abandon their more primitive rôle in becoming Roman. The historian (or gutter-sweeper) Suetonius tells that Nero, after killing his mother "could not either then or ever afterwards endure the stings of conscience, though soldiers, Senate and people tried to hearten him with their congratulations; for he often owned that he was hounded by his mother's ghost and by the whips and blazing torches of the Furies."*

About 850 B.C. Homer wrote the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, using many traditions, and perhaps lays, that were much older. He represents the Erinyes as active in the lifetime of men guilty of—or polluted by—kindred blood. Odysseus saw in the nether-regions the mother of Oedipodes, fair Epicaste, who unwittingly had been wedded to her own son who had slain his father. In her despair she had committed suicide, leaving full many pains behind for her son, even all that a mother's Avengers bring to pass.† Here we may assume that the son was held responsible for his mother's death. Yet to Homer they had a wider function than that of avenging murder. Telemachus, the son of Odysseus, when urged by his mother's wooers to send her from the house and to command her to marry one of them, replies that such an action were in no wise possible because, besides bringing upon himself the vengeance of his mother's father, heaven would send other ills beside, "for my mother as she leaves the house will invoke the dread Avengers."‡ The Erinyes were regarded by Homer as concerned with the sanctities of family life; they were the guardians of parents against wrongs done to them by their unfilial offspring. In one passage in the *Odyssey* he suggests that even beggars may have their Avengers.

The great tragedians of the fifth century, B.C.—Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides—use the Erinyes with blood-curdling effect: "hounds of prey, snake-handed, midnight-visaged," so Euripides describes them in his *Electra*. In

* *Lives of the Caesars*, vi., 34.

† *Odyssey*, xi., 271, sqq.

‡ *Odyssey*, ii., 131, sqq.

what is surely one of the noblest passages written in ancient times, Aeschylus represents them as avenging injuries inflicted upon birds. When some cruel hand, he says, snatches the eagle's young from the long-watched nest the parent birds circle around uttering their shrill complaint; and it does not go unheard, for a god on high, Pan or Apollo, answers and sends, sooner or later, a Fury of requital upon the sinner.*

My acquaintance with the literature is not sufficient to enable me to say whether this is a touch peculiar to Aeschylus. But it certainly brings before us in a very vivid fashion the intense conviction held by the tragedians that sin does not go unpunished. This truth has never been preached more impressively than by them. They were absorbed in the great problem which, as Professor Gilbert Murray says, lies at the centre of Greek religion, the problem of Hubris, Dike, Soteria, or Crime, Punishment and Deliverance. Aeschylus portrays in unforgettable words the shipwreck which befalls the prideful sinner.

“The deed is done, but thence
 Ensues the consequence,
 That crowns, completes, the master-stroke of all . . .
 . . . Who venturously puts forth
 And every law of Righteousness outbraves,
 His trash, his traffic, got 'neath evil stars,
 In the dread Day of Wrath,
 He shall commit to the devouring waves,
 When splits the sail and splintered are the spars.
 Then at deaf ears unheard shall knock,
 swooning in gulfs where none to land may win;
 Unearthly laughter shall his summons mock
 Whose soul is fuel for the fires of Sin.
 He boasted he would never see that day,
 But now his Angel sees him weak and spent,
 Powerless to top those seas; and all his teen
 And travail cast away,
 On the unchartered reef of Justice rent,
 He sinks with none to wail him and is no more seen.”†

* *Agamemnon*, 49 sqq.

† *Eumenides*, translated by G. M. Cookson, p. 141.

The Erinyes may be described as the handmaids of Justice in the punishment of some crimes; but it would appear that, in primitive times at least, they were not regarded as the agents of a god. According to the mythologists they were, indeed, older than Zeus, being born from the blood which dropped from Uranus upon Earth. It would seem that they carried on their functions independent of the newer generation of Olympians; Aeschylus makes them reproach the god Apollo bitterly for interfering with them. Probably this indicates that belief in the Erinyes belonged to an older stratum of Greek religion, though the poets and artists invested them with many of their horrible characteristics. They seem to be a projection of the idea that there are some sins which bring their own punishment—an idea which is to be found in Plutarch's essay (written late in the first century, A.D.) to which I have already referred. "Vice fabricates for herself," he says, "out of herself, all the instruments of her punishment; she manufactures a terrible life, piteous and shameful, with terrors and cruel pains, with regrets and troubles unceasing." Objectify those terrors, clothe them in imagination with darkness and bewreath them with serpents, and you will get the Erinyes. As we shall see presently, Orestes was tormented by them almost from the moment of his crime, even though the god Apollo had ordered him to murder his mother; they dogged his steps even after he had been ritually purified of his guilt.

What I have said does not pretend to exhaust the teaching of the tragic poets on the subject of retribution. Much of Greek thought, as they testify, was concerned with the fact underlying the doctrine of original sin, namely that children are involved somehow in their fathers' sin. The parents eat sour grapes and the teeth of their offspring are set on edge. Aeschylus talked of "the breed of the curse"—an hereditary pre-disposition to wrong-doing; "the field of criminal folly produces a harvest of death" which others reap in tears and anguish.

The tragic poets (Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides) found in the long story of their country, legendary and his-

torical, impressive instances of the working out of retribution. Each of them has given us an interpretation of some part of the history of the house of Atreus. It is not necessary to repeat that story here. For our purposes it is sufficient to refer to that day when the Greek fleet was lying wind-bound and King Agamemnon gave his own daughter to be offered in sacrifice. The next moment in the cycle of evil was the death of Agamemnon at the hands of his queen, Klytemnestra, in vengeance for the slaying of their daughter. He was not only killed, but his hands and feet were hacked off so that he might not follow and tear his murderer. For years the queen and her lover, Aigisthos, lived as though vengeance were dead, but when the king's son Orestes grew to manhood he returned home and, supported by his sister, Electra, and urged on by the god Apollo, who threatened him with Furies shaped of his father's blood, Orestes killed his mother and Aigisthos. Aeschylus (whom we will follow here) has told the terrible tale in his immortal trilogy, the *Oresteia*.

As Orestes faces his mother and she realises her doom she seeks to turn him from his purpose :

K. "To kill thy mother, child : is that thy will ?"

O. "I kill thee not ; thyself it is doth kill."

K. "A mother hath her Watchers : think and quail !"

O. "How shall I 'scape my Father's if I fail ?"

When he has slain her the heavy shadow of madness falls thick upon his tragic figure. He sees, as none of the bystanders can see, the Erinyes crowding upon him—those fierce Watchers of whom his mother had just warned him. He cries :

"Ah ! Ah !

Ye bondmaids ! They are here : like Gorgons, gowned
In darkness ; all bewreathed and interwound
With serpents ! . . . I shall never rest again. . . ."

A friendly bystander tells him that he is haunted by fantasies and bids him have no fear, but he replies :

"These are no fantasies. They are here ; they are here,
The Hounds of my dead mother, hot to kill. . . ."

O Lord Apollo! More and more they crowd
Close, and their eyes drip blood, most horrible! . . .
I am hunted . . . I shall never rest again." *

And the frenzied mother-slayer rushes out. So ends the second book of Aeschylus's trilogy, the *Choëphoroe*.

The third book, the *Eumenides*, opens before the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. A prophetess enters the shrine and returns almost immediately as one that has gazed upon some horrible thing. She has seen within a man holding a naked sword, blood dripping from his hands; and over against him a company of awesome women asleep. Women? Rather Gorgon-shapes—and yet, not Gorgons; she-things, wingless and black, of such aspect as the prophetess has never seen the like. The man is Orestes and the she-things are the Erinyes, who even to the altar where he seeks for cleansing have followed him. Apollo appears and bids Orestes escape to Athens where he shall find deliverance, but he can promise no immediate release from the pursuers. He may revile the Erinyes as "fiends loathed of flesh and of the Olympian gods," but he knows that they must hound Orestes on. Now the ghost of Klytemnestra comes on the scene and with bitter upbraidings rouses the Erinyes:

"Wake, Goddesses of the Deep!
A dream that once was Klytemnestra calls!"

They whine and growl in their sleep like dogs dreaming of the chase, until at last the cry pierces their senses and they shake off shackling sleep. With fierce reproaches they turn upon Apollo who orders them to avoid his precincts. Stung to self-defence they cry: "We harry mother-murderers from men's homes"; and when Apollo asks what they do to a woman who murders her husband they reply, "'Tis not so black as spilling kindred blood."

In the meanwhile Orestes has made good his escape. The Erinyes suddenly discover this and breaking off the altercation with the god rush out after him, crying in chorus:

* Professor Gilbert Murray's translation.

“Ha! I smell mother-blood! It leads me on
To vengeance: I will hunt the miscreant down!”

A year or more passes and Orestes, weary and with bleeding feet, arrives at last before the shrine of Pallas in Athens, in order that the goddess may judge his cause. The Erinyes have dogged his steps and now appear again:

“We have quartered the whole earth,
Across the ocean warped our wingless way
Still close abeam, and never lost his sail.”

Ruthless, bloodthirsty, they are at him still:

“The smell of man’s blood is laughter to my soul—
A winsome reek!”

They will never consent, say they, to any reprieve pronounced by the goddess but will demand the last drop of his life-blood, and, having sucked his veins dry, will drag him down to Hades, derelict and damned, a calf bled white for fiends to munch.

“Oh! this is the song for the victim slain,
To blight his heart and blast his brain,
Wilder and wilder and whirl him along!
This is the song, the Furies’ song,
Not sung to harp or lyre,
To bind men’s souls in links of brass
And over their bodies to mutter and pass
A withering fire!”*

Here we will leave the matter, passing over that last glorious scene in the Areopagus where Pallas Athene pronounces Orestes “not guilty.” We cannot stay to discuss this highly significant conclusion of the tragedy. What, in a word, it means is that Aeschylus rebelled against the old fatalistic doctrine which linked generation to generation in a direful unescapable destiny. Must wrong done go on begetting wrong for ever? Were the old goddesses, Fates and Harpies and Erinyes, to rule men’s lives to all eternity? Was there no way of cutting the dreadful entail? Aeschylus found a way even to turn the Erinyes into Eumenides—“the Beneficent Ones.”

* I quote from Mr. Cookson’s rendering of the *Eumenides*.

Scholars find it difficult to determine the precise significance of the Erinyes. I think there is sufficient warrant for our conclusion that they were originally regarded as avengers of wrong done to kindred, and, in particular, as avengers of matricide. Let us now leave ancient Greece and turn to modern Africa.

According to the customary law of the Ba-ila the seriousness of homicide depends upon the status of the victim. The mere act of killing is not accounted a crime. The factors to be taken into account are four in number. The tribe is divided into totemic clans (or "sibs"), members of which are regarded as kindred though there may not be any close blood-relationship. The murder of a man by the member of another clan involves all the members of the two clans: the homicide's clan must pay wergild, amounting perhaps to twenty head of cattle, to the victim's clan. The communal god, *i.e.*, the ancestor who is revered as the guardian of the community, is concerned in the slaying of one of his people and two oxen are offered to propitiate his wrath. Moreover, the victim's ghost has to be reckoned with, who resents being ushered violently and prematurely into the cold, dreary spirit-world. The murderer is obsessed by this ghostly presence and can get rid of it only by undergoing purification. Lastly, there is an undefinable Something, apart from the ghost, which afflicts the murderer: the miasma of his deed, some uncanny influence which causes disagreeable sensations in the region of his epigastrium, and which can be driven off, in some cases, by drugs.

It is a principle of the customary law that clansmen cannot commit crimes against each other. Crimes are expiated by the payment of fines, and as such penalties fall not upon a guilty individual but upon his clan, it follows that in the case of, say, murder within the clan, no fines can be levied, for who could levy them, and who could pay them? If the homicide belongs to another clan the procedure is simple: one clan pays and the other receives the wergild; but a clan cannot fine itself. Murder within the clan differs therefore from other forms of homicide. But this is not to say that

the deed is disregarded. Indeed it is looked upon as such a heinous thing that no human tribunal could adequately deal with it. The communal divinity is placated as in other cases ; the ghost is laid ; but there remains that Something which now assumes a particularly dreadful character and is not to be got rid of by any drug whatsoever. It is not the ancestral divinities who punish the murderer ; his own deed retaliates upon him unerringly, unescapably.

The Ba-ila say that such a man dies of *Chikuto*. This is the very special kind of curse that falls upon a person who sins against kindred. It is not at all necessary that the curse be pronounced in words ; it follows automatically upon the deed. Actual murder is not necessary to bring *Chikuto* upon a man. A mother can blast her son merely by disrobing before him. To slay your mother, as Orestes slew his, would be regarded by the Ba-ila as dooming yourself to the most terrible of fates. The man upon whom *Chikuto* falls—he is named *Mukute*—may follow his ordinary avocations ; nobody may meddle with him ; but everybody knows that sooner or later his doom will overtake him ; he will go mad, or be driven to suicide, or be drowned, or be slain by some wild beast. He cannot by any means escape. The Greeks would have said that he was hounded by the *Erinyes*.

Dr. Otto's "Idea of the Holy."

BY THE REV. ROBERT FERGUSON.

IN Dr. Otto's *Idea of the Holy* we have a book which is making a real difference in theological thinking. It is not only commanding the prolonged study of many religious leaders, it is notably colouring their thought and affecting the tone of their preaching. Though varying points of the theological compass have been represented by those who have approached its study, there has been almost complete unanimity of appreciation of the book as a piece of original analytical research into the depths of the religious consciousness, and as a wholesome counteractive to certain shallow and superficial tendencies in present-day religious thought and life. It is hailed as "one of the most famous books of our generation"; as "certainly the most striking and original post-war contribution to theology"; whilst Principal Oman, who does not hesitate to use the cudgels of criticism upon it, pronounces that "the subject treated is central for religion and must remain so, whether Otto has presented it adequately or not." Without doubt the book is meeting a deeply-felt need in Germany, for since its publication in 1917 it has reached its eleventh edition, and no book has created so widespread an interest since Harnack's *What is Christianity?*—of which some 70,000 copies were printed.

Dr. Otto's qualifications are, admittedly, exceptionally high. He is an oriental scholar, an expert linguist, possessing a first hand knowledge of Sanscrit and Indian literature and of non Christian religions. In a voyage he made round the world some years ago he greatly deepened and widened his knowledge of heathen religions. With such competence

he combines a wide knowledge of science and scientific method, together with the training and experience of an evangelical theologian. The history of non-Christian religions has hitherto been studied, in the main by philologists, ethnologists and philosophers, by those for whom the scientific interest is supreme, rather than by those for whom religion is "our being's end, and aim." "This is the work of a man for whom worship is life." "He does not look at his subject from the outside like the savant who might compose a treatise on sex without ever having been in love"; nor does he even remotely suggest the theologian of the story who was so busy with pursuing his investigations for the demonstration of the existence of God that he forgot to say his prayers. Dr. Otto is Herrmann's successor at Marburg and was Herrmann's own nominee for the post. In his earlier book on *Naturalism and Religion* he worked almost entirely in the Rationalistic vein; here, with penetrating intuition he seeks to sound the abyss of the non-rational elements in religion.

I. *The book administers various correctives to certain modern tendencies.*

(i.) It corrects the tendency to the over-rationalism of religion.

The rationalising mind in religion has always tended to ignore or despise whatever could not be readily formulated. It could hardly consider anything effective which was left undefined. Dr. Otto holds that the essence of religion must ever lie beyond any merely rational approach to it, and that in its nature it must necessarily elude formulation. The religious sense is no composite, but something elemental. Behind all "varieties of religious experience" there is a unity. The fundamental essence of religion is in the non-rational or numinous element, the sense of awe in the transcendent presence of the Deity, and this sense is unique and does not arise as the issue of the association together of any other set of emotions. The sense of the Unfathomable and Ineffable is the raw material of religion without which our rationalising webs can never become garments. Reason, however, whilst it cannot comprehend the numinous, can yet

recognise its presence and catch the tone of its authority. Religion, throughout its whole course, if it must remain religion, is constantly to pulse in the fountains of its beginnings in the numinous. To ignore the non-rational in religion is to be left with nothing more exhilarating than stagnant cistern water.

2. It has its correctives, too, for the merely ethical approach to religion. In the process of its perfecting, religion comes to possess both rational and ethical qualities—and what may come later may, indeed, have been all along latent—but religion is not reducible into either or both. In none of its shades, nor in any of its stages can religion ever be merged into an ethic. It is non ethical as well as non-rational at its springs. "Religion begins with religion, and not with something else, and it never ceases to be itself." At its heart it is an immediate sense of God as the "Wholly Apart" from us. It is His shadow thrown hauntingly across our spirit. The shadow is of "things to come" and is prophetic of further disclosures, but originally it is the spell cast not by One who is the Law of our being, but by One who is of a wholly transcendent order. "Religion" is not as Matthew Arnold defined it "morality touched with emotion." Otto would hold that we betray the dignity of religion by deriving it from something else. It must not be placed in any connexion which suggests dependence. Neither must it be brought in as the means of reaching some other end—say, as resolving the moral conflict, or as satisfying the impulse of life. "A man would betray the dignity of love by marrying to improve his character;" so we betray the dignity of religion by loving God for something less than Himself. Moral refinement, whilst it follows as the derivative of religion, must never be made the central aim of worship.

3. It has a corrective of another kind to administer to Mysticism. Whilst Rationalism and morality fall short of religion's essence Mysticism frequently fails to give religion its true extension. Only a rational element can save Mysticism from becoming fanatical. Religion demands rational and ethical extension if it is to possess genuine sanctions and

permanent safeguards. It is a mark of superior rank in a religion when the supreme elements in the transcendent are crystallised in it into definite concepts. It remains the supreme glory of Christianity that it has presented with such clarity and lucidity its central conceptions of God. On the other hand the essential impotence of the Moslem faith is that its concepts of God are so vague and featureless. Allah is largely but "Inscrutable Will."

At the very heart of religion, Otto holds, there is a paradox. The rational and non-rational elements are the warp and woof of religion, and there can be no satisfying religion which does not combine both. To attempt to resolve this paradox is to leave religion superficial beyond recognition. If we let slip or unwind the numinous threads in the web, the fabric falls to pieces and we are left with shreds as cold and stiff as bristles. If we unweave the rational elements from the texture, we have remaining, a handful of flimsy gossamer which, though it readily floats in air, is not tangible enough to provide a real covering for our need.

4. The book, indeed, is a corrective of that whole tendency in religion which makes man the measure and standard of all—(i.) Of subjectivism in experience, and (ii.) of sentimentalism in theology: a tendency quite contrary to that of the New Testament, since with Jesus *God* was central in everything and not man. In making the primal fount of religion the confronting of the human mind with the Transcendent Presence, Otto goes farther back than Schleiermacher who held that religion had its origin in our creature feeling of dependence. That, Otto would say, is a derivative and secondary thing. Schleiermacher has, in his judgment, reversed the parts. God's is the initiative. Schleiermacher, too, would make the fact of God an inference projected from our feeling of dependence; whereas Otto who has "ravaged all ages and spoiled all climes" in his search into origins, would hold that the sense of *God*, and not a pathetic sense of our own impotence is the religiously "living" thing in our consciousness. The sense of *God* is a unique and immediate datum of consciousness. Of course, such an account of the

origin of religion makes merely derivative and secondary a host of things which have been pressed into service to account for the rise of religion in the soul of man. Fear has not created the gods: God's shadow athwart man's spirit has created the fear.

(i.) There is in this account of the origin of religion a corrective of subjectivism. Religion is now no longer identified with its rigid dogmatic form and the emphasis has, rightly, fallen upon religious experience. But in concentrating upon experience the objective cause has often been ignored. In our introspection we have surrendered to our apprehensions rather than to the fact of our "being apprehended," and the result of our one-sided emphasis has been religiosity rather than genuine religion. The new psychology is a notable instance of this tendency. God is sometimes spoken of as if He were taken within the far-flung net of our mysterious sub-conscious self. "The idea of God"—we are told, *e.g.*, is a projection of our consciousness. "Religion is a complex growth from a variety of instincts." "Prayer is auto-suggestion—communion with oneself in another form." But, as we have recently been reminded, "Psychology is not sufficient for all things, least of all for religion." It may deal with the concomitants of the religious sense; but "it has nothing to draw with and the well is deep," when it essays to reach the fountain elements in religion. Just as when a master solo violinist is interpreting some piece of a musical genius, he will not let the orchestral seconds give the lead or dictate the time; so psychology new or old can never give the lead, and must not be permitted to try to give the lead, in religion.

(ii.) There is a corrective of sentimentalism in theology. With Jesus, God and not man, ever filled the centre of the picture. "The Kingdom of God is not the sphere in which men trust God and obey Him as King, so much as it is the sphere in which God manifests Himself, and in which He honours men by calling them His children." The sentimentalism and superficiality of modern theology is seen perhaps most in our tendency to construe God in terms

of a soft and good-natured Father whose one work is ostensibly to make His children happy. A preaching of the Fatherhood of God which lacks the distinctive characteristic of awe, would be accounted by Otto, as irreligious. Between us and our children there is no difference of order in nature, and we take the relationship as normal, and a responsive love as the obviously natural thing. Our sense of God, in Otto's interpretation of it, must never shed the elements which picture Him as august and majestic. Fear, as terror may be cast out, but never fear as tremor. The numinous must persist and permeate all our conceptions of God. At no stage in religion, is access to and intimacy with God to be treated as a matter of course. It is to be ever "something betwixt a dream and a miracle"—and a paradox to the end. Christianity, Otto would say, plays in these days too exclusively on the upper octaves. It must bring in the base, which, as John Bunyan affirmed long ago, is the ground of all music.

II. *I come now to a brief exposition of Dr. Otto's leading ideas.* The pith of what he seeks to affirm is perhaps best embodied in Tersteegen's saying that "A God comprehended is no God at all." If we could rationalise all we find in God we should leave nothing to worship; we should have destroyed religion. But, in our idea of God there is always an "overplus," which remains after we have formulated into our concepts all that corresponds to what is rational in us. This feeling which rises spontaneously in us when confronted by transcendent reality is what he calls "the idea of the holy." As it is in a genus by itself, it requires to be placed in a separate category. It is something which can never be defined; neither can it be ignored if religion is to keep in line with its past and continue true to type. Seeing that this unique sense is not primarily an ethical element, to call it "the idea of the holy" might lead to confusion; so Otto prefers to use the word *Numen*—the general Latin word for the supernatural—to represent the External Reality in this unique consciousness, and the word *numinous* for the state of mind which is the response side of it. Repeatedly, he in-

sists upon the numinous as the unique and unifying element in religion. Failure to allow for the numinous has ruined many an able investigation into religious origins. "What observer of insight could imagine that the awe and rapture of, say a worshipper of Krishna was inspired only by rational conceptions formed in respect of the god?"

This numinous element, to influence us, must, of course, be somehow within our grasp. We are sensible of its authority though we cannot schematise it. It must be hinted at. We can no more express in conceptual terms the numinous than we can the beautiful: we must use ideograms. We cannot transfer to any one else this sense; it cannot be taught, it must be evoked. By ideograms of one kind or another we need to make the numinous ring out for itself. We say to a man, *e.g.*—you know that experience of life out of which you came saying, "I was solemnised"; well! it is akin to that. "The numinous takes all the range of the emotions for its expression—from the frenzied to the tranquil, from the weird to the ecstatic." It is *Mystery* imposing awe; a sense which in primitive times found expression as the "eerie" and "uncanny," but which persists, even as religion becomes more advanced, as tremor in the worshipper when he approaches the Deity. It is *Majesty* which overwhelms, creating the sense of abasement into nothingness; the sense of being "but dust and ashes" before creative might. It is *tremendum* or energy which controls the action of the worshipper; an emotional driving activity which can be found on the demonic level in Primitive religions, but which pervades the Old Testament with the idea of God as "consuming fire," or Christianity and the New Testament as "consuming love."

In analysis this sense of "The Awful Mystery" has as its essential—"stupor before—not the Wholly *Unknown* but—the Wholly *Apart*." There is the sense of the Wholly incommensurable before whom the spirit recoils benumbed and amazed. The fear of ghosts has been called "a tawdry caricature of it." The ghosts make us shudder not because

they are long and white, but because they do not belong to our sphere of reality.

But the numinous is not only "forbidding and awesome." The numen attracts as well as dismays; while it daunts, it also allures. The Mystery confounds but also entrances. Perhaps in the early stages of religious development only one of its poles, the daunting aspect was experienced—and the only type of approach would be that of expiation. But the yearning to possess the Supernatural Reality must always have been latent—to possess perhaps first of all His prodigious force, and later, to possess Him for Himself. In Christianity and in all the higher religions, to possess the numen for His own sake is held to be "a bliss beyond all others." It is a transport the natural man is ignorant of; the saints however know it well and sing of it as did St. Bernard: "But what to those who find? Ah this, Nor tongue nor pen can show." We get it in many a rapturous outburst in the New Testament such as in the passage beginning "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard." Words such as these are hints at the inexpressible.

Otto, after his analysis, deals with the uniqueness of this sense. It is not without its associated feelings, and as ideas excite their like so do emotions. But though there is a non-rational element, say, in music, and we speak of its spell, yet we must not identify this with the "numinous"—qualitatively, they are distinct. Evolutionists have not always noted clearly enough the presence of the qualitatively different. They would, *e.g.*, make the feeling of moral obligation arise through what was originally merely the constraint of uniform custom. They would derive the "ought" from something on another level. As soon try to evolve blue from bitter. There are no transmutations of quality, though there may be arousals of it because of what is planted potentially within man. The sense of moral obligation is in a genus by itself. And the "idea of the holy" is no composite or combination. It does not fall to pieces as the development of religious truth proceeds. If it is asked how the rational elements can be permeated by non-rational

elements which are unique, Otto would show by analogy how a different tone element is given to the phrase "he loves me" when escaping the lips of a child regarding his father, from that of a girl using the words in relationship with her lover. The numinous gives its own qualitatively distinct "feeling tone" to our love and trust of God, as against our love and trust of each other.

Otto's treatment of the numinous in relation with sin and atonement will well repay study. Sin is more than delinquency, it is profaneness. There is the sense of defilement as well as of trespass. There is the spirit of self-disgust such as that expressed in Isaiah's cry—"I am a man of unclean lips," and in Peter's words, "Depart from me." The natural man has not this deeper sense; "missing the mark," he draws the bow and tries again. But those who have not an abridged sense of the Holy, feel that disgust attaches to their persons as well as to their deeds. And it is out of this sense that the need of covering is felt—and is provided in propitiation. This numinous sense of sin is repressed by the excessive rationalism of our age, but it is there, ready to be evoked in those endowed for it, by the preaching of the Cross, through the Sacraments and by the ministries of silence. It is utterly impossible to reduce to merely rational and ethical elements what is in the Cross. It is the supreme manifestation of the holy, and there the ineffable and rational and ethical strands all unite and centre. There is the meeting of Awful Mystery and Amazing Love, "and it takes more than hard thinking to combine them." There is that which can only be "divined," not deduced. Only in worship can the paradox of the Cross be transcended. The three leaps taken at the Cross are not only leaps of ecstasy at the revelation of such grace, and leaps of relief and jubilation over the dropping of a load, but also of amazement and awe that approach to and fellowship with the Transcendent should be open to me!

Only a hint can be given of Otto's treatment of the numinous in the Old Testament and the New. In the Old Testament we have the record of the rationalising and moral-

ising of the numinous till it becomes "the holy" in its fullest sense, the culmination of the process being reached in the prophets—and the Gospels. In Islam, development was arrested, for Allah is the mere numen unrationalised and unethicised. The capital instance of the mutual interpenetration of the numinous with the rational and the moral is in Isaiah, where we get in "the Holy One of Israel" not only a God whose attributes are omnipotence, goodness, wisdom and truth—and such as are clear to conceptual thought—but a God too, who as "consuming fire" and "wrath" and "fury" is represented in His numinous aspects of Awefulness, Majesty and Mystery. In the New Testament, while the idea of God is rationalised, moralised and humanised more fully, the numinous is never blurred nor diminished. The Kingdom of God, too, has the colour and tone of the numinous, and its members are "the holy ones"—the saints. The Gospel must never be turned into an Idyll. There is still that in God which "shuts every mouth." He is never less than *Holy* Father. In Paul "God dwells in a light which no man can approach unto." We have also other phases of the numinous in his idea of "the wrath of God." In his doctrine of predestination we have his lowly confession of God as "all and in all." If the idea should seem to accord best with Islam it must be remembered that in Christianity there is no capriciousness in it.

The faculty by which we apprehend the numen, Otto calls divination. It may be awakened within us by the manifestation of "the Holy." The disciples found it awakened spontaneously in them by the presence of Jesus. Everywhere in the New Testament we get the impression the numinous made upon them in the Master. "They followed Him—and were afraid." Peter's intuition, "Thou art the Christ" drew from Jesus the words "Blessed art thou Simon Bar-Jonah, flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee." As Christian people we are not compelled to live on the divination of the Apostles, upon our inheritance; we are capable of a direct impression upon our own spirit, since God hath sent forth the Spirit into our hearts. There are degrees

of divination, as there are degrees of appreciation of the sublime in music. Some have creative force as musicians, and in religion there are prophetic spirits in whom divination is similarly creative. We are not to expect that without divination we shall be able to appreciate scriptural testimony, seeing that *there*, the numinous so completely saturates the ethical and rational elements, and in turn is saturated by them. Exegesis and dogma alike have often failed to recognize,—and have treated as statements from which deductions are to be drawn,—sentences which are but free floating utterances and trial flights at the expression of numinous feeling.

III. *In conclusion, a few words of appreciation, application and criticism may be added.*

1. "The highest cannot be spoken"—so we have often been told. It can, however, be mediated. It has been truly said that "there is something in the tones of this book which goes deep into our heart and bids us tremble at the mystery and majesty of God." One rises from its perusal convinced that the numinous must be kept alive at the heart of religious experience; that real progress in religion will not be made by leaving this element behind as something on the road, but by drawing life from it as from a root. The book comes most opportunely as a much-needed tonic to the easy-going religion of our age. Great and heroic proposals like those of Copeck must fall short of fulfilment save as an intense religious emotion renders strong and sensitive the ethical interests of our people. Is it not because "the idea of the Holy" is so little reflected in modern religious life that the natural man is so easy in his satisfactions, small in his expectations, and complacent about the sinfulness of his sin? The deeper sense of what sin is might be evoked in him, if it was more distinctly mediated through us. "The light would bring the sight by which it is seen." Our sense of the poignancy of sin would cause him to wince. It certainly appears plain beyond telling that man's moral sense needs to be shot through and

surcharged with numinous feeling before it can be quivering alert.

2. This book has something very pertinent to say about the notes and tones of our preaching. With Von Hügel, Otto would say that a valid and vital religion must begin, proceed and end with "the Given." It must remain as a paradox at the heart of any vital religion that God should make approach to man and desire his fellowship at all. Where a relation of fellowship with God is treated as an obvious thing, all moral drive and dynamic drops out of it. And when in preaching we are anthropocentric rather than theocentric—when, that is, we interpret religion from the manward side as satisfying the impulse of life and solving the moral conflict—we must sharpen upon ourselves the sense that we are dealing merely with the secondary and derivative. It is like explaining the rise and fall of the tides without reference to the pull of the moon. Much of the morbidness of modern Christianity is due to this misplaced accent in our preaching. We need to present more and more the great themes. "If you drop the big themes, you can't create the great saints." Our preaching, too, must echo the great repulsions of God. It must be made clearer in our preaching that man's "sense of consequence" before God is not due to his inherent worth but to God's unfathomable grace; that God's recoil from human profaneness is as terrific as His passion of love—that it is indeed love's other side. "For Christ Himself ceases to attract if we deal solely with His attractions."

It is in our *tones* chiefly that we can echo "the idea of the Holy." The numinous "cannot be taught, it is caught." To serve our age with anything that will permanently refresh its life we must have like Juliana of Norwich "a holy marvelling delight in God." There will then be an aura about our personality which will distil its mystical virtues to all about us. The deep tone must permeate all the ordinances of worship and service that is begotten of an unsimulated amazement of the "Wholly Other" having become "The Gloriously Within." Certainly part of the

facility with which any message of the Gospel finds its way to the heart of its hearer, is through the track that is blazed for it by the wonder of the spirit of the man who speaks it. It is when we "reel it off" and deliver our message in a "take it or leave it" fashion, that the most glorious news in all the world lets men continue in sleep. Our melting notes of sympathy must have sounding through them the undertones of poignancy—that we have so often sought forgiveness without shame and accepted it without gratitude. The numinous sense, too, must be given greater opportunity to awaken by more silence in our worship and by more adoring reflection upon the mystery and majesty of God.

3. *In respect of criticism.* (i.) There is of course always the danger of a corrective doing too much and destroying the balance on the other side. We think that Otto has fairly made out his point regarding this ingredient in the conception of God which has been too much slurred by rationalism in the past, and that it is well for us to be reminded that religion is not morality pure and simple, and that if it is merged indistinguishably in morals it is eviscerated; but we need to beware how we stress "the Wholly other" sense of God, for there is surely a sense in which all moral intelligences are of one order; so that it is the knowable and not the unknowable in God that is most real and near and sure to the Christian mind.

Prof. H. R. Mackintosh, while speaking in unqualified praise of the contribution Otto's book makes, utters this warning, but adds that in fairness to Otto it must be said that he himself gives the reminder:—"In the N.T. idea of the Holy we get no longer the numinous in general, but the numinous completely permeated and saturated with elements signifying rationality, purpose, personality and morality." We feel, therefore, that it cannot be fairly charged to Otto that the emphasis is on the merely weird—he is tracing the history of the religious sense—he would, we think, be ready to admit that there is nothing deeper in God than Holy Love; that there is no underground or background to that. God

does touch us below the line of clear thought, at the very springs of our being, but always as Holy Love.

ii. One other criticism which has been offered is whether the sense of awesomeness is in itself so distinctive of religion? It is asked whether this sense is not awakened by any environment which is sufficiently great and strange. Principal Oman tells of a scene in which he experienced this sense, which he thinks might not inaptly be described along Otto's lines, and at the same moment his old horse was struck as vehemently as himself. Do not—he asks—the stones the early Britons set up create an eerie feeling, and are these feelings in themselves religious? Certainly fear and fascination mark the great and strange on any level, but personally I think Otto has made out his case that the Something Transcendent which confronts man's consciousness casts a shadow which is qualitatively distinct from all others.

Just as what we rationally conceive as love is qualitatively different when the relationship is between a child and its parent or between a girl and her lover, so there is a qualitative difference between the eerie sense we feel in the presence of the great and strange and the awesomeness we are conscious of in the presence of "The Beyond us." This uniqueness can never be demonstrated—only experienced. David Hume held in his day that the non-rational in Religion was superstition springing from the frailty of human reason; we say that it is the shadow of the ineffable and unfathomable God.

The Theology of Robinson Crusoe.

By THE REV. J. HARRY SMITH.

DANIEL DEFOE'S masterpiece, "*The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*," was first published in 1719. Less than a century later, John Aikin, in his "General Biography," wrote of it thus, "It is unnecessary to characterise a book which every body has read; but it may be observed, that while some readers have principally valued it for its lessons of piety and morality, a different class have regarded it as a most admirable work for young persons, from the great ingenuity it displays in teaching the most necessary arts of life, and the shifts and contrivances by which difficulties in situation may be overcome, and a human being may be self-provided."

Unless the days of boyhood were without the joy of wholesome literature, or we knew no heart of gratitude, we have frequently been thankful to Defoe for the way in which he led us to a land of delight and daring when our own land could only show us winter's unkindly mood. We found his book to be "a most admirable work for young persons," although our elders, more skilled in criticism, made themselves merry, and us a little bit discomfited, by pointing to certain minor inconsistencies in the tale. We did not love Crusoe any the less because our elders asked, How could he have stuffed his pockets with biscuits when he had taken off all his clothes before swimming to the wreck? How could he have been at such a loss for clothes after those he had put off were washed away by the rising tide, when he had the ship's stores to choose from? Such questions did **not** greatly trouble us. With boylike perversity we insisted

upon enjoying the problem of the new scene without reference to the author's too hasty pen or lack of logic. Of course, we were forced to admit that Crusoe could not have seen the goat's eyes in the cave when it was pitch dark, but when we read it we were quite unmindful of the difficulty, indeed, we were quite as excited and as fearful as Crusoe would have been, had Defoe not been so good at telling a lie in order to improve a tale. Yes, Crusoe, the rebellious youth longing for a larger world, the sailor on foreign seas, the marooned mariner, was splendid in our sight, but Crusoe, the theologian, the philosopher, the moralist, was a stranger to the literature of our boyhood. Yet, whatever partiality we might show to one or the other, Crusoe the Sailor and Crusoe the Theologian were equally dear to the heart of their creator. Defoe did not create Robinson Crusoe merely that he might drive the dullness from many a winter's night. He wrote for the purpose of recommending "invincible patience under the worst of misery; indefatigable application and undaunted resolution under the greatest and most discouraging circumstances."

Robinson Crusoe finds the problem of the Universe a very real one. He is no temperamental optimist, or pessimist, although he appears to have been endowed with a great capacity for laying hold of those things which assist our hopes and resist our despairs. He sees the two sides of the problem of life. He never gets away from the stern reality of a universe which seems to be the result of a conflict. The story tells of a spiritual pilgrimage. Its hero is concerned to reach a satisfying explanation of a very problematical world. Nevertheless, the test of the solution which is to give satisfaction does not appear to be a reasonable one,—at any rate, not if we give to the word "reasonable" the narrowest connotation possible to it; the test is a pragmatic one. Provided Crusoe's solution is good enough to give him faith and energy to act, he asks no more of it.

How then does Crusoe account for the Universe with its ever-present contrasts? The possibility of a non-theistic

solution does not present itself to him. His great certitude is the existence of God. Whether he thought of God as immanent in the Universe or as transcendent in the old Deistic sense is difficult to determine. The one idea of God which emerges most clearly is the thought that God's present relationship to the Universe is so intimate that he orders man's material well-being in a way that is relative to the righteousness or wickedness of the individual. Just as the disciples of Jesus who asked, "Who did sin, this man or his parents; that he was born blind?" saw a connexion between sin and disease, so in like manner Crusoe sees in the misfortunes of life the consequence of human sin even when the "consequences" have no natural connexion with the wrong done. When young Crusoe left his father's home to become a sailor, despite his parent's wishes, he saw in the great storm which befell the ship on his first voyage the ordinance of God. He writes:—

"I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the Judgment of Heaven for my wicked leaving my Father's House and abandoning my Duty; all the good counsel of my Parents, my father's tears and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice and the breach of my duty to God and my father."

Nowhere in the story is this view of God's intimate relation to human life stated with greater clearness than in his account of a terrible dream. He imagined that he saw a man from the clouds alight upon the earth. The brightness of this strange visitor made it difficult for Crusoe to look upon him. His face was "most inexpressibly dreadful, impossible for words to describe." At the touch of his feet the earth trembled. Crusoe saw this terrible being advance with spear in hand to accomplish his death, and heard the words, "Seeing all these things have not brought thee to Repentance now thou shalt die." As far as human life and its rewards and punishments are concerned, Crusoe's deity

is not the "absentee deity" of a certain Deistic school. The view of God here presented is not altogether distasteful to the modern mind, for it implies that whatever evil is visited upon man by God is beneficent in purpose. The eternal well-being of man is dependent upon his repentance; the purpose of the adversity is to bring man to repentance.

For Crusoe, however, the theistic hypothesis does not furnish a full explanation of the existence of evil in the world. Henry Kingsley remarks, "Although Defoe was unable to get on without a belief in God, yet he, with his lifelong habit of antagonism, seems to be equally unable to get on without a very strong belief in the devil. It almost comes sometimes with him to the question 'What is the use of one without the other?' This belief in the devil was very real to him. The fear awakened by the discovery of the footprint in the sand attests this. 'Sometimes I fancy'd it must be the Devil and Reason join'd in with me upon this supposition.'" Part of the instruction of Friday is taken up with this theory of the existence of Satan. Friday had sufficient "mother wit" to see the weak link in the argument of his master. "Well," says Friday, "but you say, God is so strong, so great, is he not much strong, much might as the Devil?" Again, Friday persists, "But, if God much strong, much might as the Devil, why God no kill the Devil, so make him no more do wicked?" Crusoe laments his inefficiency as "a solver of difficulties." He makes a brave attempt, as many teachers before and since his day have done, to answer the unforeseen question of a beginner. He advances the opinion that the conclusive combat between God and the Devil is postponed. Friday does not allow the discussion to close there. He wants to know the reason for the postponement. Crusoe tries work out an analogy from God's patience with sinful men like Friday and himself. This breaks down when Friday advances a theory of the ultimate repentance of the devil. Crusoe cannot give rational completeness to his theory of the existence of the devil. He gives up the attempt to do so, but holds the belief as a tenet of revealed religion.

The solitary theologian finds two causes in the Universe, God and the Devil. He admits that the latter is a "revealed" belief, that is an irrational, or, at least, a non-rational belief. As to the former, he holds that "mere notions of nature . . . will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of God and of a Worship and Homage due to the supreme Being of God." As an explanation of the evil in the world his theory is liable to criticism because he makes no distinction between the objective evils caused by God and those caused by the Devil. Again, he offers no explanation of the fact that the evil of material adversity falls upon the righteous as well as the unrighteous. It is surprising that a theologian with a mind sufficiently acute to see the weakness in his theory of the existence of the devil failed to see the fault in his other explanation of the existence of evil.

Crusoe, obviously, wishes to justify the ways of God with man. The great obstacle to this justification is the existence of evil. Crusoe makes no attempt to explain away the evil in the world. His solution is that of a shop-keeper turned theologian. His answer to the critics is a Profit and Loss Account with a balance on the side of good. When he had been on his island for a considerable time he says, "I began to comfort myself as well as I could, and to set the Good against the Evil, that I might have something to distinguish my case from worse." After the manner of a balance-sheet, he presents the facts of his conditions thus :—

EVIL.

I am cast upon a horrible desolate Island, void of all hope of recovery.

I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the world to be miserable.

I am divided from mankind, a solitaire, one banished from humane society.

GOOD.

But I am alive, and not drown'd, as all my Ship's Company was.

But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew to be spared from Death; and he that miraculously saved me from Death, can deliver me from this condition.

But I am not starv'd and perishing on a barren place, affording no sustenance.

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I have not cloaths to cover me.

But I am in a hot climate, where if I had cloaths I could hardly wear them.

I am without any Defence or means to resist any violence of Man or Beast.

But I am cast on an island, where I see no wild Beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the Coast of Africa ; and what if I had been shipwreck'd there ?

I have no Soul to speak to, or relieve me.

But God wonderfully sent the Ship near enough to the shore, that I have gotten out so many necessary things as will either supply my wants, or enable me to supply myself even as long as I live.

Man can always find comfort in the fact that the credit balance is on the right side of the account. Of his experience at this time he says, "Upon the whole, here was an undoubted testimony that there was scarce any condition in the world so miserable, but there was something *negative* or something *positive* to be thankful for in it." This conception of the Universe imposes upon man a duty, the fulfilment of which is necessary to his happiness. Crusoe says :

"I learned to look more upon the bright side of my condition, and less upon the dark side, and to consider what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted ; and this gave me sometimes such secret comforts that I cannot express them. All our discontents about what we want appeared to me to spring from the want of thankfulness for what we have."

The principle which he would have men apply to their life is stated thus, "All evils are to be consider'd with the good that is in them, and with what worse attends them." Theologians less hampered by tradition than Crusoe cannot arrive at a conclusion far removed from his. They can only indicate as he did that freedom from the terror of evil is to be found in the thought that evil is not as void of goodness as we in our short-sightedness imagine. Reflections of this kind occupied the mind of Crusoe when he contemplated the despair of the three men who anticipated death at the hands

of the "insolent seamen" who had brought them to Crusoe's island. He says:

"This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore, and began to look about me; how I gave myself over for lost; how wildly I look'd round me; what dreadful apprehensions I had; and how I lodg'd in the tree all night for fear of being devour'd by wild beasts."

"As I knew nothing that night of the supply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ship nearer to the land, by the storms and tide, by which I have since been so long nourished and supported; so these three poor desolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the same time that they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate."

"So little do we see before us in the world, and so much reason have we to depend cheerfully upon the great Maker of the world, that he does not leave his creatures so absolutely destitute, but that in the worst circumstances they have always something to be thankful for, and sometimes are nearer their deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the means by which they seem to be brought to their destruction."

The shop-keeper soul of the marooned Puritan is consoled by the thought that the Universe gives more of profit than of loss to man. With this men should be content. The ways of Providence are beyond our understanding. Let us accept our appointed lot cheerfully, rejoicing in a credit balance in favor of the good. Even evil often leads to good. Said Crusoe, "It may not be amiss for all people who shall meet with my story, to make this just observation from it, *viz.*, How frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very means or door of our deliverance."

Crusoe's doctrine of human nature is a consequence of his belief in two causes operating in the Universe, God and the Devil. We have a suspicion that Crusoe wanted to deal splendidly with "the natural man," but he was deterred

from so doing in the interests of a revealed religion and a Christological doctrine to which we shall refer later.

Of Crusoe's description of Friday, Henry Kingsley writes :

"He meant, I think, to describe a soul fresh from the hands of its Creator ; but he could not do without the devil, who was so terribly real to him. He wanted to give us a perfectly fresh soul with a high intelligence, with none but good qualities, and the intelligence dormant. But the devil must have some hand in the man, or he would not be a man, according to Defoe's light, at all. Friday was grateful, devoted, pious beyond measure to his father, in short, an improbably perfect character ; still the devil must have some share in him, and so Defoe makes him a cannibal, with occasionally an extremely ugly hankering after the old fleshpots of Egypt."

Friday's character made Crusoe doubt the superiority of the civilised man over the savage. The state of the latter he attributes more to limited opportunity than to nature. Of the character of Friday he wrote :

"This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that however it had pleased God, in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to take from so great a part of the world of his creatures the best uses to which their faculties and the powers of their souls are adapted, yet that he has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good and receiving good that he has given to us ; and that when he pleases to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the right uses for which they were bestowed, than we are."

Yet, in spite of this desire to think of human nature as essentially good, Crusoe cannot, by reason of his belief in the devil free himself entirely from a belief in the natural depravity of human nature. The beginning of his miseries, the act of leaving his father's house, he attributes to "something fatal in the propension of nature tending

directly to the life of misery which was to befall me." Like Paul he was conscious that the things he wished not to do were being done, while those he wished to do were not done. "I had several times loud calls from my reason and my more composed judgment to go home, yet I had no power to do it." When he had settled in the Brazils and had become a prosperous planter, the unrest which caused his flight from home again laid hold of him. He accepted an invitation to engage in the traffic of slaves from Guinea. Later he commented thus, "But I that was born to be my own destroyer, could no more resist the offer than I could restrain my first rambling designs, when my father's good counsel was lost upon me."

Crusoe was interested in the salvation of this depraved humanity. The means by which man is to be brought to a knowledge of the conditions of salvation is "revealed" religion. In his discussion with Friday, Crusoe lamented the inadequacy of natural religion. He held that "nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and a redemption purchas'd for us, of a mediator of the new Covenant, and of an Intercessor, at the footstool of God's throne; . . . nothing but a revelation from heaven can form these in the soul."

For Crusoe the vehicle of saving knowledge is not an ecclesiastical organisation. Henry Kingsley justly describes Crusoe as "an ideal Protestant monk." Crusoe's opinion is that priesthood is a fraud wherever it raises its head. The Oswokakee of Benemuckee, the priests of the god of Friday's people, are brethren of the priests of Rome. "By this," writes Crusoe, "I observ'd, that there is priestcraft, even amongst the most blinded ignorant Pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to be found in the Roman, but perhaps among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages." The marooned theologian speaks of endeavouring "to clear up this fraud to my man Friday."

Crusoe's religion was founded upon the Scriptures. A

recent writer remarks, "Defoe was essentially a Puritan, and the reflections that he puts into Crusoe's mouth are the clear Scripture-based beliefs of the Puritans." Crusoe did not see, as many Bibliolaters of to-day do not see, that an infallible book necessitates an infallible interpreter thereof. The right of private judgment in matters of belief did not present itself to him as the generator of religious differences. He says, "the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I mean the Word of God, and the Spirit of God, promis'd for the Guide and sanctifier of his people, are the absolutely necessary Instructors of the Souls of Men, in the saving knowledge of God, and the Means of Salvation."

The creator of Robinson Crusoe was a Unitarian. The Christology of Crusoe is not inconsistent with such a belief. There is no definite setting out of a theory of the Person of Christ in the book. Crusoe's interest is in the work rather than in the Person of Christ. His theme is Christ the agent of salvation. Christ is Saviour. Christ-worship has no place in the thought of Crusoe.

The religion of Crusoe is the Protestantism of the days of his creator. We find in his statement of his faith an absence of religious bigotry. He had no desire to make martyrs of his opponents. After the little company of Spaniards had joined him, he wrote "As to all the disputes, wrangling, strife and contention which have happened in the world about religion, whether niceties in doctrines or schemes of church government, they were all perfectly useless to us, and, for aught I can yet see, they have been so to the rest of the world." Despite his limitations Crusoe was great enough of soul to perceive that there is no heresy in too much charity. When the opportunity arose he was tolerant enough to learn something even from a priest of the Church of Rome!

One of the sins of the Protestant Church has been its frequent over-emphasis of individual salvation. Crusoe at first was guilty of this offence. At times he speaks the language of religious self-conceit. As the story proceeds, he outgrows this limitation. From a priest of the Roman faith he learns

that "true religion is naturally communicative, and he that is once made a Christian will never leave a pagan behind him." The essential part of a Christian is "to love the interest of the Christian Church and the good of other men's souls."

We have described this book as the story of a spiritual pilgrimage. With Crusoe we have travelled far. We take our leave of him "preparing for a longer journey than all these." Such a soul would find happiness in that realm where, we believe, creeds and churches have no power to close upon any man the doors of that Church wherein the love of God is understood with a perfect understanding, wherein we shall see triumphs of the grace of God which we, with our limited earthly vision, did not think to see.

The Story of a Great Italian.

BY THE REV. T. A. THOMPSON, B.Sc.

IT is not likely that any readers of this REVIEW will imagine the Italian Dictator to be appraised by the above title. Were there no Italy other than that flaunted before the world by the figure of the Castor-Oil Despot, humanity might well turn away hopeless. But there is Papini; there are Croce and Gentile, the leaders not only of a notable philosophic Renaissance, but the inspirer also of a profoundly practical application of their idealist doctrine to human affairs. And here comes Mrs. Edith Hinkley's book* to remind a generation in need of the reminder, of the glories of a recent past. Mazzini, fortunate, in his exile, in his English friends, has, since his death, been fortunate in his English biographers. He has had, and has merited the distinction of Bolton King's "Life," concise and noble-minded; he has had the careful appreciation of Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's three volumes of prose-epic. But after all that has been written there is room for this later book. For one thing it draws upon, and has been stimulated by, those recently published volumes of *Letters to an English Family*, edited by Mrs. Richards, which reveal many things about the hero more intimately than before. For another thing, Mrs. Hinkley's story exhibits almost to diffuseness—we had nearly said "preaches"—the moral of her hero's career, and the relevance of his principles, both in their partial realisation and their partial non-success, to the features of our own later world.

**Mazzini—The Story of a Great Italian.* By Edith Hinkley. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

In the two facts named consists the interest of the book. To a brief illustration of them we proceed.

Of the intenser light thrown upon Mazzini's personality, some serves to illumine and make more obvious his well-known charm. The title-page bears the glowing words of the passionately-admiring Swinburne (alas! that he so pitifully failed to see with appropriate sympathy, the more recent uprisings of the spirit of man in quarters nearer home) —“The soul beloved beyond all souls alive.” Other biographers have spoken of the sweetness and openness of expression that marked Mazzini, the power of firmness and decision mingled with the gaiety and sweetness in the bright flashes of his dark eyes. We do not wonder to read that the very officials who were searching for him would sometimes, all unrecognising, hold conversations with him, and be lulled into absolute unsuspectingness by the fascination of his talk. The charm of his manner, and the brilliance of his conversation were, as Mrs. Hinkley says, “probably better assets to him in his perilous journeys than disguises would have been.” It is striking to learn that he rarely used any concealment of face or feature.

The authoress lets us more into the innermost of this remarkable fascination by publishing a photographic reproduction of a printed letter Mazzini wrote to Caroline Stansfield's little son. It is a winsome message, breathing the loftiest spirit in words simply used. Mazzini was made for the domesticities. It was part of the heavy sacrifice of his career of devotion that he had to put sternly away any thought of union with his loved Guiditta Sidola, feeling that the duties of family life could not be undertaken by a homeless exile. What a pure and tender home life might have been his! It comes quite natural to hear of the man who could write so beautifully to a child, that when in the closing years of his life he was once again imprisoned in a massive Italian tower, where the fortress bristled with guns, and swarmed with troops, and five ironclads watched the waters of the bay, his guards had to be changed constantly, because, as we

learn from one of them, "they all in turn became his devoted worshippers."

Another matter which Mrs. Hinkley's biography illumines, by means of the *Letters*, is the Kossuth affair. During the abortive insurrection in Milan, Mazzini caused to be published a proclamation, bearing Kossuth's name, to the Hungarian regiments serving in Italy, calling upon them to support the national movement. The charge was made, and apparently, for a time, with Kossuth's almost active acquiescence, that Mazzini had made dishonourable use of a document of the Hungarian patriots, had altered it—some men said the whole thing had been forged. The calumny passes current in some quarters still to-day. But the literary evidence adduced by Mrs. Hinkley pretty clearly establishes the falsehood of the assertions. Here is the decisive passage. After recounting the drawing-up and signing of two forms of proclamation, one by Kossuth for Hungarians in Italy, the other by Mazzini for Italians in Hungary, Mazzini's letter proceeds:—

"Some unforeseen but decisive event might have occurred whilst we were far apart, and each of us was therefore to have full authority to affix a date to the proclamation in his hands and to make use of it when he should think fit. I availed myself of the authority then given, and at the commencement of the movement I ordered that Kossuth's proclamation should be posted up by the side of my own. The first news of the insurrection that reached London brought no details, and Kossuth was so roused by the intelligence that he applied to my friend Stansfield for pecuniary aid in order to join me, which was given. But when the news of our defeat arrived next day, Kossuth more tender of his own credit than of our friendship or of the truth, hastened to declare through the English Press that 'the proclamation to the Hungarians was purely and simply an invention of my own.' On being informed of this by my friend, I wrote a few words to the *Daily News*, simply saying that the original proclamation was still in my hands, and might be seen by anyone desirous of doing so."

At the same time as he wrote the facts above to one of the

Ashurst family, he sent a frank and dignified reply to Kossuth also, which can be read in the *Letters*. The evidence seems sufficiently to refute the charge of disingenuousness on Mazzini's part.

On another matter, Mrs. Hinkley's position admits of rather more doubt, if only for the reason that she seems somewhat uncritically to accept Mazzini's version of affairs, from which he was yet at some distance while they were being transacted. Yet her claim is interesting, and may possibly have more truth than some would admit. Mazzini, it is held, breathed soul into the movement, but lacked the practical organizing power, to translate his dreams into realities. The executive brain, as well as the flaming prophet-soul are indispensable allies in progress. It has been usual to say that Cavour supplied the former, in which Mazzini was lacking. Mrs. Hinkley, however, supplies some evidence on the other side. Such an authority as Palmerston spoke of Mazzini's diplomatic notes as models of reasoning and of argument. There is also the amazing record of the glorious, all-too-brief rule in Rome, in 1849, of the Triumvirates of which Mazzini was the head, ended only by the abominable treachery of the French. The government proceeded on Mazzini's own principles of faith in his fellowmen, and in the educative power of freedom. He was, however, no sentimentalist, and where crime was committed, it was punished swiftly and decisively. The press was free, punishments for political offences almost unknown; friend and foe were alike protected. All property was safe, and the citizens, to all previous appearance, demoralised by the preceding Papal misrule, rose surprisingly to a high standard of public virtue. One little illuminating fact may be mentioned. Once the crowds, indignant at some discovered priestly treachery, raided the churches and brought out confessional boxes with the purpose of destroying them. Their ruler persuaded the people to return the structures to the sanctuaries, using with the furious crowds the argument that from those confessionals had come words of comfort for their mothers. Mrs. Hinkley characterises Mazzini throughout this short but splendid period of power as recognising that

the growth of spiritual freedom cannot be forced but only fostered. Palmerston's verdict was that Mazzini was ruling Rome better than she had been ruled for centuries. What more eloquent tribute could there be to the reformer's practical skill? And this was the state of things upon which the crooked diplomacy of France proceeded to make war under the brazen protest of "the removal of an unpopular tyranny from groaning Rome," the real reason being a reason of that execrable foreign policy which demanded in those days that, in French interest, a possibly powerful neighbour should remain divided and weak. After reading the moving pages in which all this is depicted, one is the more disposed to lend an ear to Mrs. Hinkley's plea that the later attempts of Mazzini to foment insurrections, after the Kingdom of Italy had been founded, were not the futilities they have been represented to be. But she comes some way short, it must be confessed, of producing full conviction.

Turning now to the present-day relevance of the features and principles of Mazzini's career we may note a matter, not unimportant in these days when in the welter of things thrown up by a General Election, we have been reminded that we possess a Secret Service. Carlyle wrote a famous letter to the *Times* of June 15, 1844, denouncing the Government for opening Mazzini's letters, and betraying the contents to the Austrian ambassador. "On his honour," Lord Aberdeen, the Prime Minister, denied the facts. In an effort to evade awkward questions, Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, denounced Mazzini as "an assassin and the hirer of assassins." But the facts were too clearly proved for official malversations of them to succeed. The English people were not then so accustomed to espionage as they have since become. The *Times* freely published Carlyle's answer to the Home Secretary's charges.

"It may tend to throw further light on the matter," wrote Carlyle, "if I now certify you, which I in some sort feel called upon to do, that Mr. Mazzini is not unknown to various competent persons in this country, and that he is very far indeed from being contemptible It is a

question vital to us that sealed letters in an English Posts Office be, as we all fancied they were, respected as things sacred ; that opening man's letters, a practice near of kin to picking men's pockets, and to others still viler and fataler forms of scoundrelism, be not resorted to in England except in cases of the very last extremity."

Of that robust common-sense, and of that sturdy assertion of right we could well wish to have more, at times when Governments grow meanly timid, and a screaming press brings out its bogeys to scare the unthinking.

The splendour of the idea of an *International League* filled Mazzini's mind. The creative idea has been claimed by many, and to many it has occurred from one generation to another. But to Mazzini must belong the credit of stating at so early a date, and in terms so explicit, the actual notion. "What is wanted," said he, "is not a temporary agitation which will have to be everlastingly reproduced, but something permanent, a great Association for the Nationalities, which, by perennially insisting, changes the policy of Governments in international matters—a constant machinery functioning regularly and always." In 1847 Mazzini actually founded the *Peoples' International League*. William Ashurst and Joseph Toynbee were among its first trustees. It took action in urging the Swiss Diet to enforce a decree concerning its internal affairs, with which the French, the Austrians, and the Piedmontese wished to interfere in armed fashion. The pamphlet issued by the "League" was widely circulated, translated into French and German. Its dissemination created a volume of moral support for the Swiss action, and strengthened by the protest of the League, the Diet was able to maintain the unity of Switzerland, in spite of the menace. The League, as Mazzini conceived it, was to take cognisance of all those matters in which international co-operation could promote the progress of humanity ; it was to encourage the unlimited development of the resources of varied clime and country ; to increase facilities of transit (there is a Transit Commission in the

Secretariat-General of the League of Nations); to arrange for a constant intercommunication of ideas and information for the benefit of all countries. It was the hope of Mazzini and his English colleagues that the International League might grow to be a real force in England and from England spread to the Continent. But it was not to be, and it has needed world-war to teach the people of Europe the ineluctable necessity of even the first steps on the path so clearly pointed out by this noble Italian, who rose above nationalism to nationality and forecasted a better League than Geneva has yet evolved.

But the most interesting point of all Mrs. Hinkley's book has yet to be mentioned. An ordinary view has been that the intrigues and machinations of Cavour played an absolutely indispensable part in creating the freedom and unity of Italy. Politics are often vile, it is admitted, but it is urged that out of the vileness comes victory, by means of the tortuousness a new and straight path may be reached. Louis Napoleon was a trickster, of course; but without him and the crafty Piedmontese count, how could Austria ever have been managed? But Mazzini had a view of his own on this policy of supple and insinuating compromise, and Mrs. Hinkley agrees with him. "They are inoculating the infancy of our nation with dishonour It is the soul of the nation that I want . . . Better half a century of bondage for my nation, than a national lie." The liberty of his people was gained, but so gained that he would rather have had it frustrated. Is it, one is driven to ask, and Mrs. Hinkley's pages press home the question, to the results of Cavour's cynical diplomacy, and of his acquiescence in Louis Napoleon's subtle perfidy that we have to attribute the corruption that has fastened on the politics of the liberated kingdom from the first, and has poisoned them all along? Had Mazzini's ideas prevailed could a nobler Italy have faced a future more spiritually shining? Are the evil consequences for the world of the dubious process by which Italy became united yet fully worked out?

The Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ.

BY THE REV. J. T. NEWTON.

JESUS CHRIST occupies so central a place in the life of His followers that it is not easy to write about Him.

If you know Him as Redeemer and Friend, as your daily Counsellor and Comforter, the inspiration of your noblest endeavours and the centre of your highest hopes, then you also know something of a devotion which is apt to grow impatient when criticism suggests that the objective facts do not harmonise with your subjective valuation of them, which is likely to fret when the intellectual refuses to follow the affections in their complete self-abandonment, and which may even become unjustly intolerant of those who question and doubt. The image of Christ which commands your love has been built upon your particular interpretation of history and experience, and you can hardly help feeling that any attack upon the interpretation threatens the image also. Still, there can be no inward peace where intellect and feeling do not mutually support and stimulate each other; hence it is a vital question for all of us: How far do the recent movement of thought and the new knowledge of Scripture compel a modification of our beliefs? And if modification is at all necessary, does it weaken the bond of our allegiance or lower the temperature of our affections? But it is equally impossible to find peace if our belief or conduct is consciously at variance with truth. Truth is our first necessity, and we must pursue it though it wound our love. But let us not be afraid. The Christian experience of the last eighteen centuries is based upon no illusion. History shows that the sifting which weakens

conviction on one point strengthens it on another; whilst the only permanent result of criticism must be to reveal more clearly the unshakable foundations upon which our Christian faith is built.

The historical conditions out of which our faith grew are to be found in the pages of the N.T.; for whatever differences there may be between the Jesus of History and the Christ of Faith it was in the Person of Jesus of Nazareth that the Christian movement began. We shall, therefore, commence our enquiries by asking, What is the testimony of those who lived nearest to Him:—the Apostles, their disciples, and the Christian congregations of which they formed a part? In seeking this testimony we shall accept the belief that there is a growth of faith recorded in the N.T., and we shall follow the line of development usually marked out by N.T. scholars.

First, then, we turn our attention to the faith of the early Church as revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. The decisive passages are to be found in Peter's speeches and may be summarised thus: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by Him in the midst of you . . . ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." "This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we are witnesses." "God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." (Acts ii. 22, 23, 32, 36). In the next chapter the Jews are accused of having killed "The Prince of Life, whom God hath raised from the dead." This Prince of Life is a Prophet like unto Moses, sent to turn Israel from their iniquities (ii. 15, 22, 26). Similar testimony is found in v. 30, 31; whilst in x. 38 Peter adds: "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power."

Here certain facts stand out clearly: (1) Jesus was a man approved by God and anointed by the Holy Ghost; (2) What is ascribed to Him is Messiahship; (3) The Apostolic faith in Jesus as Messiah rested upon the fact of the Resurrection. There is every reason to believe that the

Messianic ideas of the Apostles had been those of their fellow-countrymen. They had looked forward to the political redemption of Israel (Acts i. 6), some of them had hoped for the chief places in the kingdom (Mark x. 37); here in Peter's speeches we find the first signs of change. The Messiah has no political kingdom, has even been crucified. To the Jewish mind a crucified Messiah was unthinkable, it could imagine no greater contradiction in terms than Peter's statement: "God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Messiah." The faith of the disciples was saved by the Resurrection, it was a sign from God which enabled them to transfer all their unfulfilled hopes to the Second Coming; for the promise was, "This same Jesus . . . shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven" (i. 11). We would emphasise the Resurrection, but may we not go further and say that it required more than the conviction that Jesus rose from the dead to induce these men to proclaim Him as the Messiah? During His life time there were those who believed that Jesus was John the Baptist raised from the dead (Cp. Mk. viii. 28 and Lk. ix. 7); but they did not proclaim Him as Messiah on that account. We believe the Resurrection led to faith in His Messiahship only because it was the confirmation of a unique conception of Jesus' Personality which the disciples had acquired before the Crucifixion. For them He was "the Holy One and the Just" (Acts iii. 14), who went about doing good (x. 38). So convinced were they of the sinless character of Jesus that the N.T. makes no attempt to defend or prove it. Thus to quote Johannes Weiss: "The faith of the first disciples is not merely rooted in the Easter experience, it goes behind Golgotha back to the impression of His personality." (*Christus*, p. 12).

This brings us by a natural step to the Synoptic Gospels. What we have in the Synoptics seems to be a very incomplete account of the life of Jesus coloured by the faith of the writers, which faith was also probably held by the Church at the time the Gospels were written. Jülicher says: "Always our tradition of Jesus shows the old history

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and the new faith in indissoluble union ;" and he believes the portrait of Jesus is sometimes varnished over rather thickly. The evidence leaves no doubt that during His earthly life Jesus was conscious of His Messiahship. According to (Mark xiv. 62), when the Chief Priest at the trial asked: "Art thou the Christ?" Jesus answered plainly: "I am." It was the charge upon which He was condemned. There is probably some truth in Wrede's theory that Jesus endeavoured to keep the Messiahship His own secret; but we have the record of Peter's confession at Cæsarea and the public entry into Jerusalem to prove that the people perceived something of His greatness. There is no reason for us to dwell upon the contradiction which we believe to have existed between Jesus' own conception of the Messiah and that held by the people. A more important point is, When did Jesus become conscious of His divine vocation? Was it present in His mind throughout His childhood and youth, or was there a gradually developing experience which led first, to a perception of the fact, and next, to a deepening of its meaning? Most modern scholars are of opinion that the consciousness of Messiahship came to Jesus first at His baptism. The chief evidence for this is the heavenly voice: "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Mark i. 11). The words from heaven may have been a direct quotation from Psalm ii. 7: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Dr. Estlin Carpenter tell us that Justin Martyr reports the words as being those of the Psalm, that they are so given in an early manuscript of Luke iii. 22, and also in the Ebionite Gospel. St. Paul makes use of the same quotation, but when speaking of the Resurrection (Acts xii. 33). In this form the heavenly voice is not a public proclamation as one might conclude from St. Matthew, but an inner call in the heart of Jesus. It is Jesus who sees the heavens open, the Spirit descend, and who hears the voice. It is the day of His adoption by God as His Son. If this interpretation is correct, then Jesus, who, in the Acts of the Apostles, is declared to His disciples as Messiah by Resurrection from

the dead, came to know His own Messiahship at His baptism. I think we must agree that the vision of the opening heavens and the hearing of the voice were subjective, otherwise we shall have some difficulty in accounting for the subsequent doubt of John the Baptist (Matthew xi. 2).

According to the early chapters in St. Matthew and St. Luke Jesus was divine not by adoption but by nature. It is a safe conclusion that the two Evangelists drew their information from independent sources; and any man who tries to reconcile them will find his ingenuity severely taxed. St. Matthew's genealogical table has the marks of artificiality written all over it. The compiler seems to have had special reasons for commencing his list of names with Abraham, for dividing it into three equal sections, and for allotting to each section fourteen generations. In the last section there are only thirteen names, the second is derived from 1 Chron. iii. where there are more names than Matthew requires, so the number is cut down accordingly. The probable key to the list is found in the Book of Enoch (xciii. 3-10, and xci. 12-17). A comparison of Matthew with Enoch suggests the view that Matthew sought to make the birth of Jesus coincide with the beginning of Enoch's tenth week; * whilst the list of names so meaningless to us, was most likely a late argument for the divinity of Christ addressed to the Jews. In the Sinaitic-Syriac Palimpsest, discovered by Mrs. Lewis in 1892, the genealogical table ends at Matt. i. 16 with the statement: "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus who is called Christ." The same authority in Luke ii. 5, reads: "Joseph also went up from Nazareth . . . to Bethlehem, he and Mary his wife, being great with child." The only reference to the Virgin Birth in St. Luke's Gospel is the Annunciation (i. 35), a beautiful piece of poetry which we ought not to try to compress within the limits of literal fact. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the Evangelists looked upon the Birth as that of a Divine Child.

* For details of this comparison see an article by the present writer in "Expository Times" October, 1917.

When we advance from the Synoptics to the Epistles of St. Paul we find ourselves in a different atmosphere. The title "Messiah" falls into the background and that of "Lord" comes to the front. "One can say that in the Pauline Epistles Christ exercises every function of Deity."* Christ controls the providences of life (1 Cor. iv. 19), from Him St. Paul received grace and Apostleship (Rom. i. 5), He dwells in the soul of the believer (Gal. ii. 20), He is identified with the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. iii. 17), the Apostle prays to Him in trouble (2 Cor. xii. 8), He has supreme authority, for in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow (Phil. ii. 10), in Him we have forgiveness of sins (Eph. i. 7), whilst in the Epistle to the Colossians (i. 15, 16) He is declared to be the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, the Creator of all things. As Prof. Morgan says: "In the Epistles of Paul we are face to face with a fully developed Christ worship."†

It is hardly possible to regard St. Paul as the creator of this sublime conception of Christ; for he everywhere assumes that his ideas on this point are in agreement with those of the Church generally. There was strong opposition to his views on Circumcision and the Law, but his teaching regarding the Person of Christ passed unchallenged. The new conception seems to have been very largely the natural outcome of the order of events. First, the Gospel had been carried into the Gentile world where the various mystery cults had their patron divinities, their sacraments, etc. The ideas which gathered round these divinities were very different from those which the Palestinian Jews attributed to their expected Messiah. Many of Paul's converts had been members of these cults, and it seems quite a natural thing that having become Christians, they should transfer to Christ the purest of those attributes which they had formerly ascribed to heathen deities, just as the first Jewish Christians placed Jesus within the frame-work of their noblest Messianic conceptions. This movement would be rendered easier by the

* *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, by Prof. Morgan, p. 43.

† *Ibid.* p. 45.

fact that the reminiscences, or if you will traditions, of the earthly life of Jesus would operate less strongly as a restraining force among Gentile and Hellenistic Churches than in the Jewish Christian community. Secondly, St. Paul seems to have been strongly influenced by current philosophy. It is too much to say that he regards God as absolutely transcendent, but the tendency to do so is there. That sense of familiarity and homeliness with which Jesus speaks of God as "*Our Father*," who clothes the grass, and feeds the birds, and knows the needs of His children, is missing in the Epistles. The emphasis is upon Christ as the Mediator. Through Him we have redemption and forgiveness of sins, we pray through Him, and He is the instrument in creation. That Christ is subordinate to the Father the title "*Son of God*" shows; "*when all things are subdued unto him, then shall the Son also be subject unto him*" (1 Cor. xv. 28). "*Every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father*" (Phil. ii. 11).

The Fourth Gospel carries St. Paul's thought a step further and identifies Jesus with the Logos and with God. "*The Word was God*," "*The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us*." God is transcendent, for no man hath seen Him at any time, the only begotten Son hath declared Him. Jesus is the Mediator: "*No man cometh unto the Father but by me*;" and as all things were made by Him. He is the instrument in creation. This Gospel may be "*a conscious rejection of the Philonic conception of the Logos*," still the influence of Philo is there, if it is only in the way his ideas are taken up in order to be transformed. If we remember the comparatively late date of the Gospel, and its probable origin at Ephesus, this philosophical colouring is hardly to be wondered at. There is one passage in the Synoptics which suggests that these ideas of the Fourth Gospel were more common than is generally supposed. "*All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him*." (Matthew xi. 27, Luke x. 22). The

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style and content of this passage are Johannine. The idea of a transcendent God who can only come into man's knowledge through the mediation of the Son, is so foreign to the Synoptics, that however difficult it may be to account for its presence there, we cannot help feeling that it is out of harmony with the prevailing tone of the Synoptics.

In the above review we have taken up towards the N.T., what may be regarded as a fairly radical position. One reason for so doing is to show that the most trenchant criticism leaves the Divinity of our Lord untouched. When it is successfully pointed out that the Messianic ideas were in existence before the Advent, ready for the first Christians to appropriate them, and that the Gentile converts simply thought of Jesus after the manner of their local deities, the great problem still remains. How came the first disciples to think of Jesus as the Messiah, and why did the most spiritual and godlike ideas of the Messianic conception crystallise about His personality? When the Gospel was taken to other lands and subjected to a different environment what caused a parallel movement of thought to take place and led the Gentiles to forsake their local deities, even as the disciples had already turned away from a purely Jewish Messiah?

The fact is, the first Christians found in Christ more than they could express. In attempting to explain what He had done for them they found human terms insufficient. When we say they ascribed Divine attributes to Him, we miss the vital relation which prompted the act; they were really trying to describe Divine functions which, through Him, had operated upon their lives. This is borne out by the absence from the N.T. of any merely formal, objective portrayal of Jesus; for you cannot imagine even the Synoptic Gospels, the most objective portions of the N.T., having been written by men who did not share the Christian experience. The N.T. writers always see Jesus through the medium of a spiritual life which He Himself has created and sustained; hence the exalted language of St. Paul's Epistles and the Fourth Gospel betrays no sign of extravagance or insincerity, but

only utters the earnest convictions of loving hearts. That they differ in the choice of their categories adds emphasis to their fundamental unity; whilst the progress of thought, from the Adoptionist theory of Peter's speeches in Acts to the Logos doctrine in the Fourth Gospel, indicates that they were compelled by an inner necessity of experience to adopt more adequate means of expression as more fitting terms presented themselves. Briefly then, the Divinity of Christ in the N.T. rests upon the solid rock of a unique religious experience. In Christ men found forgiveness, and through His Spirit an abiding peace. We believe the same experience gave rise to those controversies of subsequent generations which led to the formulation of the Creeds. It has persisted through the ages and still makes discussion on this subject as interesting and vital as ever. It has been said, "there is no such thing as a revealed theology," and we must confess that, so far, the human mind has not proved itself capable of constructing a universally satisfying theory of the Person of Christ. Men still persevere in their attempts, but notwithstanding our increased knowledge of history, of natural science, and of Psychology, the problem still remains.

To the argument from experience it is sometimes objected that it is subjective and therefore proves nothing. In fewest words the answer is this:—Generally speaking, the human mind in all ages is constituted on the same plan. Individual differences exist and reveal themselves in the interpretation of any complex set of facts; but they exist within narrow limits and often cancel each other out. Christian experience rests upon the same mental principles as any other experience. It is not subjective in the sense that it has no objective counterpart, its object is Christ, its subjective element is a sense of pardon, peace, and Divine companionship. Physical science says that the same force under the same circumstances will produce similar results, and so experiments can be verified. We say that the same attitude, repentance and faith, to the same persistent object, Christ, has resulted in the continuance of the Christian ex-

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perience. The *raison d'être* of all our preaching and propaganda lies here. If the Object is not still present, then is our preaching vain and our faith is also vain, moreover, Christian experience becomes an effect for which we know no adequate cause. As a matter of fact, Jesus comes into our experience as He did into that of the first disciples: He is one with our humanity, revealing in its fulness all its undeveloped beauty and glory, setting forth our moral ideal in an unswerving devotion to duty, an unwavering loyalty to the spirit of truth, and a joyful identification of His own will with that of God. And yet, on the other hand, He meets us as Divine, condemning our defects and sins, pronouncing pardon when we repent, applying the healing balm of His grace, and rejuvenating our souls by the indwelling of His Spirit. Just because the Apostolic experience is ours, the same underlying facts leave us with the same problem of interpretation.

It is not for me to hope to present an interpretation of the Person of Christ free from defects and acceptable to others, I can only state a view which has helped to support my own faith. First, the facts of experience make it essential to hold to a *real* union of God and man in Christ. This excludes the theory that the two natures existed side by side, sometimes the Divine operating as in the miracles, and at other times the human as when Jesus was hungry and weary. Such a view leaves God and man in a position of mutual exclusion and makes the Incarnation unreal.

But if the union was real, the two natures must have been compatible. To quote the late Principal Caird: "If our notions of divinity and humanity contain heterogeneous or contradictory elements, it is a truism to say that we can no more combine them in the conception of one and the same personality than we can think of a square circle, or a quadrilateral triangle, or a straight curve." We read that God made man in His own image, and we take that to imply, not only likeness, but also a human capacity for union with the divine.

That the divinity of Christ contains nothing incompatible

with humanity is shown by the fact that in all our thought of God there is no conceivable element foreign to our own being. Of course, none of us believes that man's thought is the measure of God, for the Creator must far surpass all the imaginings of His creatures; still, that part of the Divine nature which lies beyond our thought has little or no meaning for us and does not enter into our problem. It is the Christian conception of God, the loving Father of all men, which comes to light in Jesus Christ.

On the other hand, the humanity of Christ is not something that lies entirely outside the sphere of the Divine, nor are we to think of it as possessing the undeveloped and sinful defects of our own humanity. Our feelings are neither as strong nor as pure as we could wish them; we are not as appreciative of things beautiful and good as we ought to be. It is easier for us to slip into mental indolence than to pursue knowledge and to love truth for its own sake. Our will is weak and unstable from causes that might have been avoided. Altogether, our humanity is a poor mutilated thing, only the potentiality of what we desire in our best moments. But the humanity which united with God in Christ was without spot or blemish; and sin, the only element capable of separating man from God, was not present.

Regarding God and man from this standpoint I find peace of mind in relation to the Person of Christ. In the Creed of Chalcedon, Christ is said to be "truly God and truly man . . . consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood." I imagine that the framers of these phrases had in mind two distinct substances, not to be confused or separated; but to me they point back to the conviction that there is a place of meeting for God and man, where all opposition ceases, all differences melt away, and the two become one. As I write this the daylight floods my room, but it is not so light at my desk as in the open; I have only the amount of light that can find entrance at my window. Still, the sunlight has not degenerated or emptied itself in order to get in; the limitation is due to the medium through which it has to pass. In

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some such way I picture the Deity expressing itself in Christ. But now suppose I light the gas. That is another light very different from the sun, and no more to be compared with it than a drop of salt water with the ocean. Yet it is sunlight; and its feeble rays mingling with those that flood the universe, are taken up into them without any opposition. So is our humanity enfolded in our Lord's Divinity. They are two, but they are one; they are different, but they are the same. Because God is immanent there is that within Him which may be called human, and a similar element in us that may be called divine. Thus I can sing with Dr. George Matheson:

"O Light that followest all my way,
I yield my flickering torch to Thee;
My heart restores its borrowed ray,
That in Thy sunshine's blaze its day
May brighter, fairer be,"

Still, our faith is not created by logic, but by experience. Interpretations may be wrong, the fact remains; reason may falter, love is still warm. And so amid all the distressing problems of our time, and the confusing forces that play upon our lives, Christ abides within us, "the hope of glory."

The Rationale of Christian Experience.

BY A. VICTOR MURRAY, M.A.

IF we use the term in a narrower sense than the term "religious experience," there are four chief elements in Christian experience, strictly so called. There is first the epistemological, namely, the element of knowledge—knowledge of outside events, of history, of ideas and systems. Secondly, there is the ethical, that is to say, the normative element, the application of standards of right and wrong, appraisalment and classification. Thirdly, there is the emotional, or, if you will, the non-rational side of a man's being. And fourthly, there is the social element. Under each of these four heads may come impulses and attitudes which we commonly call supernatural, as well as those which are more pedestrian and everyday,—but they are all equally the subject-matter for investigation. One thing which has become more and more clear in these days is that there is nothing in either the form or the content of what we call "Christian" experience which does violence to the normal working of the human mind. Indeed, it is even true to say that the only normal working of the human mind is that within Christian experience rather than outside it. To begin as it were with one's conclusion—it is the *normality* of the person of Christ which is the unique fact of history. Every other personality has been and is to some extent abnormal, and every other psychological study is to some extent pathological. He alone is the normal man, that is to say, He alone is the normal or standard by which every other personality is judged.

When we look at these four elements in Christian experience we shall see that as a matter of fact they are elements in

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all experience. All experience, to be complete, includes the perception of some fact, the appraisalment of it, an emotional reaction to it, and a social consequence flowing from it. In that way Christian experience is in line with all experience. Any one of these four elements may be missing or faulty, and so the experience is incomplete. The problem of human life is how to bring them all together so that the man faces up to every situation as a whole man, for it is only when we face life as a whole personality that we can really be said to have any "experience" at all.

Now while "experience," in the sense in which it is here used, is the conclusion of a process of harmonisation, the process itself can begin in any one of the four elements concerned in it. A man's approach to the question, for instance, of the Christian view of war may begin in a description he has read of the horrors of the trenches, or in an examination of the effect of the Treaty of Versailles, or in his sorrow at the death of his brother at the hands of a sniper, or in an appeal to subscribe to the Ruhr Relief Fund. In the same way with Christian experience. A man may face up to the fact of God through reading the Bible, through his strong sense of the unity of nature, through his mystical love of beauty or through his love of people. But he cannot have a complete experience or conviction of the Christian view of war or of the fact of God by resting in one, two, or even three stages of the process of experiencing. The thing is not his own until he has gone right through with it. In other words, Christian experience is not a mere feeling nor is it a mere matter of conduct, nor is it clarity of thinking, nor yet adherence to a practical social programme. One side may be emphasised more than the others, but it does to some extent concern all four. We cannot even say that any experience is, for instance, purely intellectual or purely instinctive. Such conceptions are pure abstractions and do not exist in real life. No primal instinct comes to the surface, but takes on the colour of its intellectual and social environment.* No

* William Jones gives as an instance of sudden conversion the case of a freethinking French Jew, M. Ratisbonne. It is interesting that the form in which the vision came to him, and by which he was converted, was that of the Virgin. He was in Rome at the time and had strayed into a Church. (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, Pp. 223-226).

conclusion is arrived at in logical thought or in observation but has somewhere a bias of instinct in its favour.

I.

In the progress from a more simple and unitary form of life to one more complex and differentiated,—which is the evolutionary hypothesis, frankly accepted by modern psychology,—two things happen. In the first place, bodily characteristics and adaptations are transmitted, and become the property of the race, while the time taken in which to produce them is registered in the shortened period taken by the young of the species to arrive at the same point of maturity. The older powers of body, however, and the instincts which go with them do not pass away as the race progresses, but remain potentially present in every individual, until a crisis calls them forth. The bodily strength which lends fleetness of foot and endurance to ordinary mortals fleeing from the sudden terror of fire or earthquake is something which we cannot ordinarily command, because in the course of ages it has become unnecessary—but it is still there latent. In the second place, and for us much more important, not only do bodily characteristics persist from an earlier period, but so also do mental states. The instincts of the herd, the fear of the unknown, the impulse of sex, the parental instinct, curiosity, self-assertion, and self-preservation are all things that we share with the animals. In the course of time they have become disguised and may often seem to have vanished, but they are still present. Moreover, there is this difference between primitive instincts and primitive powers of body, that whereas bodily powers are only called forth, if at all, in a crisis, primitive instincts are also operative all the time. In a crisis they may be seen in all their naked antiquity, as in men scrambling for a boat on a sinking ship, or even in elbowing women and children out of the way in fighting for the last 'bus home, but in ordinary life their operations are disguised and their influence is unknown even to the person under their sway. The man who moves heaven and earth to get a minister he dislikes hounded out of the church on the ground of heresy, may do so in the name of Jesus Christ, but he may really be under the domination of the primordial lust to give pain.

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The so-called "new" psychology is in the main a study of the instincts and the part they play in ordinary life. It has not as yet come to any final conclusion about them, and there is meanwhile a fierce clash of opinions, in all the schools, however, it is realised that behind our conscious and rational existence there is an unconscious world—a world of motives and of standards of value of which we are usually but dimly, if at all, aware, but which has most patent influences for good or ill. The Unconscious is the psychical inheritance we take over from our animal ancestry. It is the non-rational part of our being, a vast underworld of experience far exceeding in extent our own conscious life and subject to little or no control, because little, if at all, understood. In it are all the primary instincts that we have inherited, and grouped round those instincts are associations which have entered from our conscious life, and which with their respective instincts form what we have come to call "complexes."

It is not to the purpose in this paper to traverse in any fulness ground which by this time is perfectly familiar. We will, therefore, assume a general knowledge of the hypotheses and terminology of the "new psychology" with its theories of "suppressed complexes," "suggestion," and the like. There are, however, two important assumptions concerning the instincts and the unconscious which are relevant at this point. In the first place the instincts are neither good nor bad, but neutral. Nothing but harm can come from ruling out the non-rational elements of our being as bad. They will be sure to have their revenge upon us. You may drive out Nature with a pitchfork but she always comes back. Our chief need is that we should be properly adjusted to our instincts. We cannot subdue them, but we can decide how they shall operate. If we refuse to decide, or imagine that we have subdued them, they will decide for themselves and we shall be the victims of our own folly. The man, for instance, who has not realised that he is self-assertive because he spends his life as an ardent Trade Unionist apparently working for the good of his fellow-workmen may be found to be utterly selfish when on the committee of a local co-operative store, or an official of a church. Vices do not become virtues when baptised with the name of altruism

or religion. We have continually to get an adjustment between the state of society as it is and our instincts. In an earlier stage of man's development, for instance, complete freedom of the sexual instinct did no harm. In these days the sex instinct is no less strong than ever it was, but complete "freedom" would be anti-social, even for the people themselves. A more suitable way has to be found, which is not the way of repression. The opposite to repression is sublimation, that is, the use of the power behind an instinct for some cause other than, but akin to, the normal physical one. Many unmarried women have been pioneers in educational and philanthropic work, and all the satisfaction and power which might have been found in rearing children have been found in love for the unfortunate and outcast. A man's self-assertiveness which might make him a bad citizen might equally well make him a first-class explorer. The dangerous zeal of a Saul of Tarsus was the best equipment for the Apostle to the Gentiles.

In the second place, the Unconscious is the source of *power*. It must be said over and over again that to dwell continually in the sphere of rational and conscious thought is to dwell in the sphere in which nothing ever happens. This is the fatal weakness so often characteristic of liberal Christianity. It is too sophisticated, and so results not in doing things, but in forming committees to inquire why they are not done. All the vast energy in man which has driven him up from the primæval organism into the complex social life of to-day lies buried in the Unconscious. What is the source of this energy? It cannot be something that is the product of our rational thought. Our rational thought is rather the product of it. On investigation we shall find that there has emerged in history and pre-history no force so mighty as the maternal instinct, connected as it is with reproduction, the preservation of the race, love of the species, fear of the enemy, and self-expression at the highest. At bottom it is the instinct for self-surrender, to be willing to die that a child may be born, to give and not to count the cost, to throw oneself utterly away. The biologists of the last century were greatly excited by the spectacle of its opposite,—“nature red in tooth and claw,”—but their evidence was insufficient, and their conclusion faulty. The race has moved forward into light, not by the brute force of

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self-assertion and aggressiveness over weaker elements, but by the triumphs of the gentler instinct of mother-love over mere physical superiority. The animals that chose the path of aggressiveness and physical power in the march of evolution grew to enormous size, but they are those that have perished from the earth. Those, on the other hand, that developed the instincts of mother-love are those that have survived, so much so that in the highest sphere of the animal world the weaning period, during which the young are most unable to protect themselves, is longer than it is in the lower spheres. This instinct of self-surrender and limitation is the chief instinct of all, and behind it there is incalculable power. But it is something non-rational. All conscious argument is against it. It seems indeed to fly right in the face of other instincts. But there can be no progress without it. To lose is the only way to gain, and our systems are of nothing worth, however liberal and intelligent, if they make us less willing to lose even themselves. It surely cannot be accident that the self-limitation involved in the Incarnation and death of Christ is along the line of strict biological development. All His teaching was to this end, and it would seem that the only normal working of the human mind is along the lines of His experience.

II.

The element of knowledge is crucial in Christianity, because Christianity is a historical religion. We give so much place in these days to the "psychological" side of experience that it is well to emphasise this historical side. Some psychologists, indeed, are so much obsessed by the place of the instinctive element in experience as almost to create the impression that intellectual truth does not matter, or even that there is no such thing. But it must be clearly understood that Christianity is based on certain definite facts of history, and a man or an act or an institution is Christian according to the attitude taken up with regard to those facts. This is an important and necessary definition. So also is the fact which should go along with it, namely, that the distinction between Christian and non-Christian is not the same as that between right and wrong. A thing may be

right and yet not be Christian, and it is a misuse of terminology to use a word which properly indicates a historical distinction as being the same as a word indicating moral values. A man, therefore, can hold the Christian ethics and live the life of self-limitation which Jesus lived, and be better than any one of us and yet not be a Christian. Of men born of women there was none greater than John the Baptist, but he that was least in the Kingdom of Heaven was greater than he.

Christianity being a historical religion much depends on how we receive the facts of history on which it is based. It is a religion and therefore not wholly concerned with what we call "intellectual belief" in those facts. The epistemological problem in Christianity is, How does ancient fact become present experience in such a way as to produce permanent moral and spiritual change? Thus appreciation of its historical basis cannot be simply a matter of perception: it must be something more fundamental than that—something linked up with emotion and morality and instinct which affects the whole man.

Once we begin investigating perception or any of the avenues through which experience comes, we soon arrive at a point where all the different avenues meet and go along together—so that we cannot arrive at the goal of perception without the accompaniment of ethics, instincts and the will to act. It is therefore important in our experience that the perfection of every mind-process is reached only where the mind functions as a whole and the self reacts to the situation as a whole. We do not perceive a fact properly, even intellectually, unless we also feel it and are prepared to do something about it. Nor do we feel a thing properly unless the elements of understanding it and acting on it also enter in. This is the more to be emphasised because people often talk as if there was a great division between feeling and knowing and that one was higher than the other—a wholly mischievous way of thinking. The boy Michael in *Sinister Street*, when preparing for his history examination, had by constant reading, so the author tells us, whether of old romance or of ancient institutions, "got himself into that state of spiritual freedom which the saints achieve by prayer." That is true of every earnest intellectual effort; it results in a state which is more than intellectual. Philoso-

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phers have had a "religious experience" in their philosophy, mathematicians in their mathematics, scientists in their science. Indeed this state of spiritual experience is the very perfection of intellectual effort. Conversely, in the case of emotional experience—it is the more vivid according to the intellectual effort which precedes or follows it. Music is the highest of the arts because there is greater technique in music than in any others. A Bach fugue or a Beethoven symphony lends itself to the most minute mathematical analysis, and just because it does so is the sense of freedom and escape produced so great. There is no perfection along one line alone. It is, indeed, impossible to have a very profound emotional experience without an adequate development of the intellect. So far from being opposed, the two are concomitant. The spiritual deadness of contemporary evangelical Christianity is due more than to anything else to the neglect of the teaching office of the Church. No man has entered into Christian experience who merely approves of the Sermon on the Mount, but neither has a man entered into Christian experience who merely feels thrilled by the excitement of a revival meeting. Experience, we say, creates theology, but it is equally true that theology creates experience,—it gives form and content to that which before was merely a mass of unrelated impressions. Men who take no delight in the recorded experience of other people, are men who miss a great deal and are to be pitied. Reading, says F. W. Faber, is the food of the spiritual life, and a life loses in spiritual effect which draws its inspiration from those sources alone which are usually denominated "spiritual."

III.

When we come to consider the ethical element in experience we find it linked up closely with instinct on the one hand and with social action on the other. In both of these associations it has been subjected to abuse. On the one hand it has been considered that a particularised sense of right and wrong has been implanted in man by God, and this we call conscience; on the other it has been held that right and wrong are simply relative and represent the conventions of the society in which we live. Both of these are half-truths which are also half-falsehoods. Nothing is more

significant in the "new" psychology than its adherence to the belief that right and wrong are not conventional and relative, but instinctive and absolute. But we must be careful to use the term "instinct" in its technical sense. If the ethical sense is something instinctive, it cannot very well be something that in itself is particularised, although, of course, it may reinforce a particular judgment arrived at on other grounds. I do not see, for example, how a man can have a "conscience" about vaccination, or about passive resistance to the Education Act. These are far too small affairs to be associated with so big a word. A man may feel a thing is wrong in the sense that it is inexpedient, or unjust, or untimely, or uncomfortable, without feeling that it is something marked off by God from all time as ethically impossible. A thing is only properly a matter of "conscience" when for a man to go contrary to it is virtually to negate himself as a moral being. When men use big words for little things they are to be suspected. From the point of view of experience, however, and the actual standards of daily life as we know it, the distinction between right and wrong, not in the general sense, but in the details of law and custom, is connected with the evolutionary development of man. Certain things have proved in fact to be according to the law of a man's being and in line with his powerful primary instincts; certain other things have turned out otherwise. In this sense morality is due not to society but to the nature of the Universe. The ultimate justification, for instance, of the supremacy of the Cross in human history is not that by this time we now live in a society nominally Christian, but rather that men always have lived in a world so constituted that self-limitation and surrender are the only discoverable law of progress. In the crude dogmatic way in which the facts of biological research were stated in the middle of last century, it might indeed seem that the Gospel of the Cross cut right against the ordinary biological instinct of self-preservation. The "new" psychology, however, has, I think, rescued us from the dogmatism of the biologists of the Nineteenth Century, just as the historical study of the Bible has rescued us from its Christian apologists.

The connexion of ethics with social life and action has again, as we have seen, been stated as a half-truth—that

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morality is the result of the conventions of the society in which we live. We are driven now to ask: If this is so, then of what are those conventions themselves the result? We have considered the deposit of earlier instincts which is handed on to us as an unchangeable heritage. There is also something else which is handed on, and that is the lessons which have been learned in progress. Certain things have worn well in human life and the developing society has organised itself to conserve those things. It may not always have done it wisely and it may not always be able to give reasons for doing it, but on the whole what we call the conventions of society represent the accumulated commonsense of the ages. So many of them have to do with women. One of them, for instance, concerns polygamy. The fact that society honours motherhood more if preceded by marriage was railed against by many people during the war as a stupid convention, and is, I believe, still railed against by the Freudians as opposed to all the instincts of sex. But behind the system in progressive countries of monogamous marriage there is an age-long wisdom, blind and unconscious, perhaps, but unerring in its knowledge of what was best for the race and the most honourable position for women. And in the long run the only thing which is ethically best is the thing which is biologically sound. There is no more unanswerable argument against the wickedness of war than this. It is here surely also where the link is to be found in thought between God the creator and upholder of all that is, and God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

IV.

Christianity is a religion which can be lived to perfection only in a society. If self-surrender is the deepest instinct (and "self-surrender" is a better term than "love," because love is a term which needs considerable definition) it must be self-surrender to something. As we have seen, the perfection of life is the harmonisation of all the elements into experience, and no one element can be complete even as itself without passing on to the point where all the others come in as well. It is true of knowledge and feeling. It is true of the ethical element—a cold morality is too intellectual a thing for God Himself whose very name is Love. It is

also true of the instincts. They are primary and powerful, but they arrive at perfection as they are guided and controlled by influences that come from the other factors in experience. In other words discipline is the great condition precedent to all creativeness. A knowledge disciplined by ethical considerations and social sentiment is a truer knowledge. An ethical code disciplined by reference to the human instincts is likely to be more successful even as an ethical code. The primary instinct of mother-love is more and more disciplined as it rises in the biological scale and instead of spreading itself over millions is concentrated on one. And the herd-instinct, too, finds its perfection in the discipline which arises from the other instincts and also from ethical and social considerations. This is true of social life all through. The discipline involved in living together does not limit individual freedom but is actually the condition of its existence. The highest kind of fellowship is the fellowship not of likes but of unlikes. And in the will to live together in fellowship the only principle of survival is that of self-limitation and surrender. Each willing to stand aside for others even when it hurts and even when reason is against it; a society that is based on tension and difference and individuality, but all harmonised by mutual respect—this is the perfection of social life. This is what the Christian Church is meant to be. The life of the Christian community is, or ought to be, normal human life at its best—that is, lived in fellowship with other people. In such a society two great instincts find their full expression—the instinct of the herd and the instinct of self-surrender. And behind those instincts there is power, and the society should have available power as great as that which was at the disposal of Christ. Indeed, it may even be greater. “Greater works than these shall ye do, because I go to my Father.” And the physical association is but sacramental of the spiritual association and, like all sacraments, is not only a symbol of grace, but also a means of grace. The Church is the sphere in which all Christian experience comes to perfection. In the fullest and least dogmatic, but inwardly, true sense, Cyprian’s dictum holds, that “outside the Church there is no salvation.” It is there that psychological processes and Christian experience find their goal and crown, for they meet in Christ, the only normal member of the human race.

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Christian experience is a narrower and yet, in one sense, a wider thing than "religious experience." It is narrower because it is limited by its historical reference. If this paper were to deal with the elements in Christian experience which it has in common with the rest of religious experience it would have to deal with the idea of the holy, prayer, worship, and the objective side generally. We should have to ask ourselves the question, "What is it experience of?" and that question cannot fully be answered within the limits deliberately taken in this paper. On the other hand, Christian experience is a wider thing, because its concern is with more sides of life than one, and, indeed, its manifestation is not in an emotion, nor in an opinion, nor in a mood, but in a Life and in a Society.

Editorial Notes.

ON October 6th, 1924, we celebrated the semi-jubilee of the opening of the John Rylands Library. I cannot let the occasion pass unnoticed in these pages. Although it has been in existence for only a quarter of a century it ranks fourth, I believe, in the libraries of the British Empire and is in some respects perhaps unrivalled. It was founded by Mrs. Rylands in memory of her husband, the famous Manchester merchant. He had a keen interest in religion and had published an edition of the Bible in which its teaching on different topics could by a system of reference numbers be rapidly collected. This enterprise had grown out of his own personal need for such counsel. He had an elaborate Hymnal compiled under the title "Hymns of the Universal Church." He was active also in helping poor ministers to gain access to books which they could not afford to purchase; and had for this purpose formed a small theological Library at Stretford near Manchester. His vast fortune was left in the control of Mrs. Rylands and she determined to create a great library in which her husband's ideals should receive the fullest possible expression. Theology was to be the dominant feature but other branches of learning were to be adequately represented. Then by a supreme piece of good fortune the great Althorp Library, with its glorious collection of early printed books, came into the market and Mrs. Rylands had the opportunity of purchasing it. The price paid for it was nearly a quarter of a million. Not only did the Library thus acquire a really priceless treasure, conferring on it an imperishable glory; but the tragedy of the dispersal of a collection, formed with such patience and such skill, was averted and the library was retained in our own country intact. This gave a new direction to Mrs. Rylands' enterprise and in less than two years after the opening of the library she purchased the manuscript collection belonging to the

Earl of Crawford for a sum little short of that paid for the Althorp collection. The architect of the building was Mr. Basil Champneys, the architect of Mansfield College; and as all who know it will testify, the interior of the Library is of extraordinary beauty.

The building was opened on October 6th, 1899. The most distinctive feature of the ceremony was a striking and masterly address by Dr. Fairbairn. Dr. McLaren among others took part and delivered a short, but characteristically beautiful, speech.

The Library is controlled by a Council of eighteen Governors, twelve of whom, it may interest Primitive Methodists to know, are laymen. Ten of the Council are representative Governors and are all laymen. Eight are co-optative Governors and two of these are laymen. The Library has been very fortunate in its librarian, Dr. Guppy. Eminently qualified for the position by native aptitude and technical accomplishment, he has brought to his duties great executive gifts, energy, enthusiasm, devotion, a constant sense of the greatness of the opportunities the Library offers and the high responsibilities attaching to his own office. And he has been ably seconded by devoted assistants. The endowment of the Library is large, but under present conditions it is not more than adequate; and owing to the immense increase in the number of books, the growing number of readers, the necessity of making provision for the storing and custody of the manuscripts, it has been necessary to spend large sums on the extension of the buildings.

Professor Tout and I are the only two governors who were members of the original Council. I have completed twenty years of service as chairman of the Book Committee and have thus been in a very favourable position for observing the inner working of the institution and watching its wonderful development. Shortly before the building was opened; Mrs. Rylands invited the Governors in small groups to go over the Library under her guidance. It was a memorable experience, for the first time to see that wonderful building and still more marvellous treasures which the Library contained. Shortly afterwards she invited the Governors to dinner and it was possible for all of us to be present. I have an amusing recollection of what Dr. Mackennal said to me in the smoking room. He offered me a cigar, and when I made the conventional reply that I had no vices, he said, "You remind me of what Abraham Lincoln said, that he always found that those people who had got no vices had got pesky few virtues." This reminds me of a story told about Pius IX. A cardinal who was offered a cigar replied,

"Thank you, I have not that vice." The Pope's comment was "If it were a vice, you would have it." Later in the evening I had an opportunity of a conversation with Mrs. Rylands in which I said that the fear had been expressed that the Library would be a museum of rarities and how glad I was that she had made it so rich in modern works valuable to students. She replied that her desire was that a student in any of the subjects covered by the Library should be able to find at his disposal all the latest and best literature upon it waiting for him to use. One of my first tasks was to discover how far the best recent literature on the Bible was already provided. I found a large number of gaps, especially in the foreign literature, and made a detailed report upon them. Mrs. Rylands, hearing of it, ordered the whole of them to be procured without delay. She was especially anxious that theology should be kept well to the front and once sent me an urgent message to that effect. Another thing which I recall with gratitude touched the purchase of German books. I generally prepared on my own account a list for each meeting of the Book Committee containing suggestions of recent theological literature. The criticism was more than once made that we were buying too many German books. As a matter of fact the books were all carefully selected and probably out of a list of monthly publications in German theology I should not as a rule pick ten per cent, and rarely put anything down for which I was not prepared personally to vouch. During that time Mrs. Rylands asked me to see her on a matter about which she desired to consult me. When we had talked this over she asked me how we were getting on with our work and I told her about my difficulty. She said that she should back me whole-heartedly, because we could not have the best literature unless the German books were purchased. Fortunately as time went on, the member of the Committee who had felt specially doubtful came quite round to my view. In my report containing suggestions for the filling up of lacunæ I had included the photographic facsimile of the *Codex Vaticanus*. Owing to destruction by fire, at Danesi's in Rome, of most of the edition, copies were very scarce and costly. One of her agents had procured a copy and she asked me to go over and verify if it was right. When the Crawford manuscripts were purchased she consulted me about the cataloguing. The cataloguing of manuscripts is an expensive matter demanding high expert knowledge. I suggested to her that she should invite Mr. Hope Hogg to settle in Manchester to deal with the Semitic

manuscripts. I carried through the negotiations with him. He was at the time resident in Oxford, working in London on the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and visiting Manchester for Semitic teaching. I took him to see Mrs. Rylands and we discussed the whole question. He undertook the work and removed from Oxford to Manchester, where a little later he became Professor of Semitic Languages at the University. He died prematurely in 1912, to the great loss of Semitic learning and especially of Assyriology which more and more engaged his attention. At a later period the staff of the Library was greatly strengthened by the coming of Dr. Mingana, the eminent Orientalist, who has already made remarkable discoveries among our Arabic manuscripts. And it was a special pleasure to his old friends when Dr. Rendel Harris added new lustre and interest to the institution by accepting a position in the manuscript department, and delivering his charming and inimitable lectures.

One of the most remarkable enterprises undertaken by the John Rylands Library was in connexion with the reconstruction of the Library at Louvain to replace, so far as replacement was possible, the great collection so wantonly and barbarously destroyed by the German army in 1914. The supreme credit for this is due to Dr. Guppy. But in the colossal enterprise he was loyally assisted by his staff. Altogether nearly fifty thousand volumes were received at the Library, from a multitude of contributors, and sent to Louvain. The eminent Biblical scholar Professor A. Van Hoonacker, acknowledged the gift in the following terms: "The retoration of our Library is progressing splendidly, and it is gratifying to acknowledge for us that the most valuable contributions by far are those of our English friends. Our debt of gratitude towards the Rylands Library is very great indeed and can never be forgotten. Our Library will be a historical monument in a special way: it is going to be for its best part an English Library."

During the five and twenty years in which the Library has been in existence, the average number of annual additions has been about ten thousand books. We have purchased property at the rear of the original building, and some time hope to complete the original plans for extension which should provide us accommodation for 750,000 volumes. Naturally the great increase in the price of books and the heavy tax on our funds, due to the cost of administration and upkeep, leaves us, in spite of our very handsome endowment, with a much smaller sum for the purchase of books

than it was our good fortune to have at our disposal in the days before the war. Even if no new books could be added at all, the Library is so rich in famous and priceless treasures that it would remain through all time a temple of beauty and storehouse of erudition, which students and bibliographers would journey from the ends of the earth to visit.

* * * *

One of the most notable recent events in the field of Biblical scholarship is the publication of Dr. Moffatt's translation of the Old Testament. It is all the more remarkable an event that three other books from his pen have appeared in 1924. He has also edited *The Expositor* and done his work as a professor. The smallest of the volumes is *Everyman's Life of Jesus* (Hodder and Stoughton, price 6s. net.) The main body of it is formed by extracts from the Gospels in the author's own translation, arranged in order so as to indicate the development. No attempt is made at a harmony and the arrangement is not invariably chronological. Portions of the Fourth Gospel are worked in at various points, but a good deal is omitted. The object has been to select what is central and arrange it in a natural and consecutive order. A valuable feature is the introductory matter prefixed to the chapters sketching the background and enabling the reader to follow with intelligence the development of the story. I hope many Bible readers may choose this for their text-book, and work through it carefully.

A much bigger book is *The Bible in Scots Literature* (Hodder and Stoughton, 10s. 6d. net). His subject he defines as "either explicit quotations or fairly obvious allusions to phrases, incidents, and characters in the Scripture, such as may be culled from our literature during the five centuries under survey." From Scots literature he excludes books written in Latin, Gaelic literature, and the great majority of theological and homiletical works. The earlier part of the book brings before the reader numerous names but little known in England and I imagine that few of the author's countrymen will move over the ground with such familiarity as Dr. Moffatt displays. And even where the names are known, the literature itself is presumably but little read. With the later sixteenth century we come to John Knox and George Buchanan, not to speak of King James VI. In the seventeenth century we have, above all, Drummond of Hawthornden. The eighteenth century is studded with greater names, James Thompson, Robert Blair, David Hume, Smollett, Boswell. The nineteenth century has

a greater claim in Burns, James Hogg and Thomas Campbell than the eighteenth. But the great glory of the last century was Sir Walter Scott and to him a whole long chapter is devoted. Dr. Moffatt is best known as a Biblical scholar but he has written a good deal on literature ; and in this volume the two interests unite.

A far more important work is the author's long expected volume on the *Epistle to the Hebrews* in the "International Critical Commentary" (T. & T. Clark, 14s. net.) The Editor's general view of the Epistle has been stated in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, and he does not spend much time over the critical problems. The authorship is entirely unknown and all the ancient statements or conjectures were simply guesses in the dark with which it is futile to concern ourselves. There is no rigid determination of date, and beyond allowing that the phrase "they of Italy salute you" perhaps more naturally implies that the recipients were in Italy, no opinion is expressed as to the identity of the community addressed. On the more important problem whether the readers were Jewish Christians Dr. Moffatt takes a convinced negative position. I find it for my own part impossible to accept this fashionable conclusion, for reasons I gave more than twenty years ago. Fortunately this difference does not spoil my warm appreciation of the very valuable exposition of the religious ideas, to which a long section of the introduction is devoted. The reconstruction is brilliantly done and expounded with great freshness. The commentary is, as we should anticipate, very full and thorough. Comparatively little space is accorded to the discussion of his predecessors' opinions, though these have been carefully studied. Much attention has been given to Philo and the wisdom literature of Hellenistic Judaism, to the new material for textual criticism, and the philological problems. The exegesis is marked by thoroughness and sobriety and a wealth of illustrative material. The book is to be studied rather than read ; it is one of the most valuable aids, perhaps the most valuable, to the interpretation of the Epistle in our language.

But while the main appeal of *The Bible in Scots Literature* will be to his fellow-countrymen and that of the commentary on Hebrews to New Testament students, a far wider circle will be reached by his translation of the Old Testament. He has translated the New Testament twice and his Biblical work has been for the most part concentrated on the New Testament. But those who have followed his work will have noticed his familiarity with the Old Testament

field and we may congratulate ourselves that he has devoted his great gifts as a translator to this new rendering of the Hebrew Scriptures. How formidable was the task is clear from the fact that, apart from revisions of the Authorised Version, nothing has been done beyond the rendering of a few books and those by different hands. Dr. Moffatt has produced a completely new rendering of the whole Hebrew Bible single-handed. His translation of the New Testament has achieved so striking a success and so wide a circulation that his version of the Old Testament will arouse keen expectation. But only a small proportion of the readers will realise how difficult the task has been. In the New Testament the text is far more certain. The text of the Old Testament, especially in the poetical and prophetic literature, is often corrupt; and the process of emendation is not infrequently risky and in some cases leads to no secure or even plausible results. On the other hand the Septuagint in many instances preserves a more original text or suggests how this may be secured at the cost of a slight emendation. And even where the versions give no help, an easy correction of the Hebrew may yield a satisfactory sense. Dr. Moffatt has freely admitted emendations where they seem to restore a tolerable sense. In certain instances he has been forced to leave a gap. This, no scholar will be surprised to learn, has been much more frequent in the portions of the Old Testament covered by the second volume (Job-Malachi), than in those contained in the first volume. Something has been done to distinguish between the sources employed. In the Pentateuch J has been printed in Italics, sections taken from E have been included in square brackets. Glosses and editorial interpolations have throughout the translation been placed in double brackets. In some instances the portions derived from one of the documents have been collected together and followed by those taken from the other document at the cost of very considerable rearrangement of the text. No reasons are given either for the documentary analysis, the rearrangements or the emendations of the text. This would not have been possible without a considerable enlargement of the book which would have added greatly to its cost.

The prose parts of the Old Testament seem to me to have been well and skilfully done. To condemn the translation because it is not in the style of the Authorised Version is to apply a wholly inappropriate test. The author's aim was not to produce a revision of that version but an entirely new translation in modern English.

No doubt some of the renderings will strike numerous readers as infelicitous because they are irritated by the contrast with the familiar phrases. But the translation should be read without any thought of comparison with our classical version. Justice will then be done to the frequent felicity and suggestiveness, the resourcefulness and the skill which Dr. Moffatt displays. The poetical portions leave a more mixed impression on my mind. Dr. Moffatt not infrequently drops into rhyme and also into blank verse. These features I do not like. Where the greater part of the rendering is in rhythmical prose, the introduction either of rhyme or of metre produces a jarring effect. But much of the rendering in the poetical and prophetic literature strikes me as spirited and effective. The Song of Songs shows the author's quality at its best. And he generally succeeds in conveying a clear impression. His rendering is often more lucid than that of the Revised Version, not to speak of the more obscure Authorised Version. The emendations are more numerous and bolder than I should have expected in a rendering unaccompanied by annotations or even any indication that the traditional text was being abandoned. Probably it seemed to involve too much disfigurement of the page for indications of departure from the Hebrew text to be added. But the reader who knows nothing of the original, cannot tell whether a divergence in sense from the Authorised Version reflects a difference in the interpretation of the same Hebrew text or a difference in the Hebrew text presupposed. I have been specially interested for example to see that at the beginning of the fourth Servant Poem Dr. Moffatt has adopted Budde's brilliant emendation "Israel" translating "Behold, my servant Israel yet shall rise." I followed the same course in my *Problem of Suffering*; but I doubt whether I should have ventured to do in an unannotated version. Dr. McFadyen also accepts it in his translation. It is a matter of great importance because it definitely identifies the Servant with Israel. But advocates of the individual interpretation may feel that their case is unduly prejudiced by the correction of the text. It is all the more remarkable that in the second poem "Israel" is struck out (xlix. 3). It would certainly be a great boon to students if Dr. Moffatt would compile a companion to his volumes indicating the text substituted for the Hebrew, where this is abandoned. But whatever the criticism on details, no review can do justice to this work unless it emphasises the amazing character of the achievement. Those who know by experience how difficult the task of translation is, will be the first to recognise not only the labour but the erudition and the skill which the translator has lavished on his task.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

The Study Circle.

QUARTERLY REPORT.

Matter intended for insertion in the Quarterly Report should be sent to the Rev. W. E. Farndale, 10, North Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead.

Dr. Rudolf Otto's "Idea of the Holy."

An outstanding feature of the Autumn Session of the Manchester and Liverpool District Ministerial Association was the excellent paper given by the Rev. R. Ferguson on this book. The topic proved eminently congenial to the essayist who gave a most thought-provoking presentation of the author's argument. The discussion which followed showed in a marked way the distinct appeal that had been made by the views put forward. The desire was expressed that Mr. Ferguson's article should be secured for the HOLBORN REVIEW and we are pleased to draw attention to its appearance this quarter. In accordance with the Editor's wish it was selected as the subject for Study Circles and by the addition of questions for discussion it is made specially suitable for this purpose.

It may be pointed out that Dr. Otto, who is Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg, first published the book (under the title *Das Heilige*) in 1917, and that in six years no less than ten editions were called for in Germany. The English version issued by the Oxford University Press last year has attracted considerable attention. Dr. Horton devoted one of his monthly lectures to a review of the work and a report of his appreciation appeared in the *Christian World Pulpit*. Dr. Peake, it will be remembered, dealt with the book in the July number of the HOLBORN REVIEW and closed his estimate of Dr. Otto's work by saying, "We urge our readers to devote deep study to this book which should do much to redeem our theology and our preaching from the sentimentalism and superficiality which have weakened the effectiveness of the pulpit." He

has also issued an article on it in *The Primitive Methodist Leader* for Dec. 11, 1924. We may add that the book is published at 7s. 6d.

Colchester Circle.—The Rev. T. Thompson reports that on Sept. 19, this Circle had a full attendance of members, though the majority had a considerable distance to travel to the meeting place. The Rev. J. C. Mantripp introduced Dante's *Divina Commedia* and dealt with its purpose and practical aim and the view it disclosed of this life as well as of the hereafter. Many interesting points emerged in the discussion and it was felt that the study of Dante was of immense value to all preachers. Arrangements were made for the next meeting to be held in December when the subject would be "Pentateuchal Criticism," by Dr. D. C. Simpson, the topic to be opened by the Rev. J. Crawford, of Cambridge.

Merseyside Circle.—This Circle is now composed of seventeen members drawn from a wide area. Since January 1924 seven meetings have been held at the Birkenhead Y.M.C.A., the mornings being devoted to philosophy, and the afternoons to the Sermon on the Mount. Clement C. J. Webb's "History of Philosophy," in the Home University Library, was adopted as the text book; but this has been admirably supplemented by wide reading on the part of each essayist, and the conversations have been of a high order. With the later stage of the consideration of the Sermon on the Mount, the Copec reports on "Sex," "Crime" and "War," have been taken and very far-reaching problems have been faced. The demands of the Master are increasingly seen to be searchingly intensive and universally extensive and bring home with terrific power the need of a supernatural evangel to be true to such an ethic. The advantages of consecutive study on such themes are obvious and have been fully experienced. The method adopted can be heartily commended to other Circles. A Book Club has been started, each member putting into circulation one book for general use, and this is proving of mutual service.

Next Quarter's Topic.—This will be "Spiritual Healing," and the Rev. L. W. Grensted, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford, and late Principal of Egerton Hall, Manchester, will contribute an article to the April number, which will be used as the basis for study.

W. E. FARNDALE.

Questions on Otto's "Idea of the Holy."

1. What, according to Otto, is an authentic religious experience, and what is the unique and unifying element in it?

2. Can religion be fairly analysed as an immediate and elemental consciousness of God as "The Wholly Apart"; and if so, what rational and ethical extension is necessary to make the consciousness truly Christian, and to give it genuine sanctions and safeguards?

3. Have we lost the pale shadow of a religious experience and not its vital essence when we are emotionally and intellectually fascinated by the mystery of God, without being subdued in awe by His majesty?

4. To what extent has the general anthropomorphic tendency, and the stressing of the Immanence of God to the slurring of His transcendence, contributed to the enervation of the religious life of our day, and along what lines has enrichment come through this tendency?

5. What does Otto regard as the fatal defect of a utilitarian outlook in worship, prayer and religion generally, and is the relationship between worship and conduct rightly stated in Bishop William Temple's words, "We should not say that conduct is supremely important and prayer may help it, but rather that prayer is supremely important and conduct tests it"?

6. Keeping in mind Otto's distinction between the primal essence of religion and its ethical and rational factors, what then is our greatest need—a clearer rationalising of religion, a completer ethicising of it, or the permeation of it by the numinous, or all of these concurrently?

ROBERT FERGUSON.

Current Literature.

The Children's Bible. Pp. xi, 278. Price 4s. net. *The Little Children's Bible.* Pp. ix, 105. Price 2s. net. Cambridge University Press. 1924.

The Bible for Youth. With Introductions and Notes by REV. R. C. GILLIE, M.A., D.C.L., and REV. JAMES REID, M.A. Pp. 1003. London: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 1924. Price 6s. net.

The Bible Story. By WILLIAM CANTON. Pp. xv, 403. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE *Children's Bible* and *The Little Children's Bible* have been prepared by Professor Nairne, Sir Arthur Quiller Couch and Dr. Glover, on the basis of the syllabus for religious teaching drawn up by the Advisory Committee appointed by the Cambridgeshire Education Committee. The former is intended for children from seven to eleven, the latter for children from five to seven years of age. In both cases the selections begin with the Gospels, taking the story of Christmas for the starting point. But the larger book completes the story of Jesus before touching the Old Testament, which occupies the second part under the title "The Story of His People." The third part is entitled *The Song-book of the Lord Jesus*, and consists mainly of Psalms. But it includes, rather strangely, the Priestly story of creation and some sections from the Book of Isaiah. There is nothing at all from the Acts of the Apostles, and only a few verses from the Epistles except the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. The Old Testament stories are not continued beyond the reign of Solomon. We cannot see why room should not have been made for some of the stories of Elijah and Elisha, for some selections from the Acts of the Apostles, and for carefully chosen selections from the Epistles, including I Corinthians xiii. The arrangement of the smaller book is more ingenious. After the birth and early life of Jesus the Old Testament material is worked in under the heading "Stories that Jesus would learn from His Mother," dealing with Noah, the Patriarchs, Moses, Samuel and David. Then we have the Baptism, followed by a section entitled "Kind Deeds of Jesus" (mainly miracles), then "Stories told by Jesus" (chiefly parables), then "Passion and Resurrection Narratives," finally a brief section on "God the Father and His World," followed by "The New Heaven and the New Earth." The volumes are attractively produced, and they are sold at various prices.

The Bible for Youth contemplates readers from fourteen to eighteen.

It is an attractive volume and, in view of the amount of printing, exceptionally cheap. It contains some useful introductions, which will help to remove many difficulties, and some brief annotations. The selection of passages and, what is also very important, their arrangement, strikes us as on the whole very successful. We regret that the Book of Jonah should have been omitted, and at least the narrative sections of Job, with a connecting chapter explaining the character and progress of the debate, would have added greatly to the value of the work. But it is a pleasure to commend this edition which is more likely to beguile young people into Bible reading than the ordinary unattractive editions of the complete Scriptures.

Mr. Canton's volume is published in The Golden Series of Colour Books. It is illustrated by sixteen colour plates, executed by W. Hatherwell and Arthur Dixon. The book itself belongs to the same class as Mr. Baikie's *Story of the Bible*. It follows the Biblical text closely in substance, but with considerable freedom in form; and frequently brings out the significance of what in the narrative is left rather obscure. But at some points it would have been well if the author had followed the guidance of expert Biblical scholars. The book, however, will serve its main purpose, and give its readers a connected view of the Biblical story.

The Children's Bible. Arranged by ARTHUR MEE. Pp. xx., 474. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THIS is an attractively produced volume, well printed and amply illustrated. Mr. Arthur Mee has had great experience in preparing books for children and we naturally take up his treatment of the Bible with considerable anticipations. The Authorised Version is used and the method is to make extracts from it. Much of the matter which is too dry for children is omitted, but a good deal is included especially from the prophets and the poetical books, which will probably be too advanced for them. The book accordingly, while intended in the first instance for children, will, we anticipate, be even more suitable for those who are older. No two people would make the same selection of extracts. At various points our own choice would diverge from that of Mr. Mee. But in many respects we think the enterprise has been carried through with a considerable measure of success; and if multitudes read no more of the Bible than is contained in this book they would read far more of it than they do at present.

Israel before Christ. By A. W. F. BLUNT, B.D. Pp. 144. Oxford University Press, 1924. Price 2/6 net.

THIS volume appears in the excellent new series *The World's Manuals*. It is admirably produced, well printed and, for its size and price, pretty lavishly illustrated. It is specially concerned with the social and religious development which is traced in five periods. There is no brief book available which quite covers the same ground. It gives a useful account of the Canaanites, based on recent excavation; and it has an excellent account of the social conditions of the Hebrews and their political development. The history is sufficiently sketched as a background for the religion. The author's standpoint is soundly critical, though at some points one might disagree. So cheap and so good a volume should secure a large circulation.

The Bible Doctrine of Wealth and Work in its Historical Evolution. Pp. 282. 1924. Price 6s. net. *The Bible Doctrine of Womanhood.* Pp. 128. 1923. Price 3s. 6d. net. By C. RYDER SMITH, B.A., D.D. London: The Epworth Press.

THESE volumes complete the author's work *The Bible Doctrine of Society in its Historical Evolution*, from which they were excluded by considerations of space. The critical position is that of Driver's *Introduction*. The treatment is historical; the work traces the development from the patriarchs to the New Testament. The material for the books has been collected with great care and woven together into a continuous presentation with an indication of its significance. The bearing of the investigation on modern issues is constantly kept in mind; but in addition to this, the author handles them explicitly at the close of his narrative. The task which he has undertaken has obviously been very laborious, but it has been well worth while. As a contribution to Biblical study the three volumes will be justly valued, but their usefulness is enhanced by the relevance of the enquiry to our present social and economical conditions.

Interpretations Old and New. By ALFRED S. GEDEN. Pp. vii., 223. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Reality in Bible Reading. By FRANK BALLARD. Pp. xii., 268. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1924. Price 6s.

DR. GEDEN'S earlier work in the fields of Comparative Religion and Biblical scholarship have earned for him the warm gratitude of many students. Now in his retirement he has put together a number of studies. He discusses the problem of creation; the revelation enshrined in the ineffable Name; the conflict between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, as typified by the fall of Dagon; the source of happiness, suggested by a study of Gehazi; and of true and false loyalty, based on the story of Hazael; the problem of Job and its solution; the twenty-third Psalm; everlasting life as the prize of faith; the nature of truth as raised by the cynical question of Pilate; sin and death; divine re-creation; inspiration. The treatment is suggestive and edifying and has the stamp of the writer's individuality. He recognises the facts on which the critical theory of the Pentateuch is based, but his cautions may be used in a cause which he would not approve, and we regret that he should have allowed himself to say of the substitution of Yahweh for Jehovah that it "appears to be as unreasonable as it is wanting in tact and good sense." He is quite aware that "Jehovah" would have been an inconceivable form of a Hebrew word, and that it cannot be traced back earlier than the late thirteenth century of our era; but he does not seem to have grasped the real reason why scholars use it, which is that it is free from the associations which make the term Jehovah very unsuitable in connexion with the early religion of Israel. This, however, is a detail, though not unimportant, and we are glad to emphasise the positive elements of value which the book contains.

Dr. Ballard is concerned that the reading of Scripture, especially in public, should not convey the false impressions often given by the Authorised, and even the Revised Version. His book opens with

a chapter on this topic which is followed by a discussion of general principles and special terms. A short chapter deals with misleading renderings in the Old Testament. Nearly two hundred pages are allotted to the New Testament, in which Dr. Ballard goes through the New Testament, book by book, picking out a large number of passages in which the Authorised, the Revised, or some of the modern translations give what in his judgment is a misleading rendering. No doubt in many instances there is room for difference of opinion; but Dr. Ballard has rendered an excellent service by calling attention to a large number of mistaken or infelicitous renderings which are responsible for much misconception of the meaning of Scripture.

Songs of Sorrow and Praise. By REV. DUNCAN CAMERON, B.D. Pp. ix, 240. 1924. Price 7s. net.

A First Hebrew Reader. By DUNCAN CAMERON, B.D. Pp. 5, 90. 1923. Price 6s. net. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Key to the Exercises in the late Professor A. B. Davidson's Revised Introductory Hebrew Grammar with Explanatory Notes. By JOHN EDGAR MCFADYEN, D.D. Pp. xi, 145. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1924. 10s. net.

MR. CAMERON is assistant to the Professor of Hebrew at Edinburgh University. The former volume contains the lectures delivered in Glasgow when he was Hastie Lecturer, and consists of studies in the Hebrew Psalter. The first chapter deals with the composition of the book and with rhythm and parallelism. The second chapter investigates the meaning of "covenant" and its place in the Psalter. It contains an interesting discussion of "Chesed" which is taken to mean properly, not mercy, but loyalty or fidelity. The next subject is the place of the Law and of the Temple in the Psalter. Two chapters follow on Songs of Sorrow and of Praise and these lead on to a more general discussion of religious emotions, and find a fitting completion in a chapter on the prayers in the Psalter. The book closes with chapters on the Psalter in the Jewish and the Christian Church. The volume is based on sound scholarship and close study of the original text; it is fresh in its treatment; and the author gives due prominence to the intensely religious character of the Psalms. Students will find the treatment illuminating and preachers may derive helpful suggestions from it.

The *Hebrew Reader* has been compiled for the sake of those who have to learn Hebrew without a teacher. It should also prove of service to those who have learnt some Hebrew in college but have allowed their knowledge to get rusty. All the Hebrew examples are taken from the Book of Jonah. There are ample vocabularies and exercises; and in particular, there are very clear though not exhaustive explanations. It is intended that this work should be mastered before the grammar is learnt.

Professor McFadyen's key is much more than a key in the ordinary sense. It will prove helpful to those students who do their own work first and then test it by the key. But its distinctive value lies in its very full explanatory notes, in which difficulties are cleared up and the phenomena of the language are amply illus-

trated. Like Mr. Cameron's work, the volume will be of special utility to those who are studying the language without a tutor.

Untersuchungen zum Hexateuchproblem. Von MAX LOHR.. I. Der Priesterkodex in der Genesis. Pp. 32. Giessen: Töpelmann. 1924. Price 10d.

Das Hauptproblem des Deuteronomiums. Von HAROLD M. WIENER. Pp. 56. 1924. Price 1.50 m.

PROF. LOHR is well known to Old Testament scholars by his commentary on Lamentations, his revision of Thenius' commentary on Samuel and numerous other contributions to Old Testament study. The pamphlet before us is the first of a series directed to a re-examination of the dominant solution of the problem of the Hexateuch. We feel some difficulty in reviewing the discussion because it is a fragment of a larger whole, and we should like to have all the author's cards on the table. Moreover it is hardly likely that results reached in one part of the field and that relatively small, can be more than very tentative; they must be tested by the phenomena as a whole. It is rather remarkable that at the age of threescore a scholar of Prof. Löhr's position should begin an investigation of this kind. Apparently its object is to discredit the view that the Pentateuch has been put together out of four main documents. For him the Pentateuch is the work of Ezra and his associates who had at his disposal a great mass of pre-exilic material—material of very various kinds, some of it already worked up into cycles of narrative. He thinks that on the whole the Pentateuch has been the literary creation of one man and his associates with a definite plan and design. Still he allows that it is the result of a complicated literary process, that after Ezra many insertions were made, including the whole chronological scheme of Genesis and not a few chapters, and that innumerable glosses were inserted and detailed alterations made. It will be clear that any appeal to Löhr as a champion of tradition would be quite illegitimate. He regards Eerdmans as his truest predecessor, but confesses a special debt to Dahse and Wiener which we are afraid does not predispose us to anticipate very sound results from the investigation. We shall look with interest to the continuation of the work, but must once more express our regret that the case is being stated in this fragmentary fashion.

Mr. H. W. Wiener's work is the translation into German of an English original, and is therefore not intended for English readers. The discussion in the main follows Driver's presentation in his commentary, with some reference to later work, and, as usual, with constant reference to his own discussions. It is not, of course, necessary for us to follow it here, since for English readers the original is naturally preferable. But we must mention that Dr. Kegel has written an introduction for the German edition. He may be known to some of our readers for his own small work on Deuteronomy and his *Los von Wellhausen*. He has induced Dr. Knauth, a well-known German jurist, to pronounce an opinion on the legal questions touched by Mr. Wiener. We can hardly regard it as so important that Mr. Wiener is a lawyer, though real light from any quarter

should be welcome. It is rather interesting that while Mr. Wiener decides that there is not the shadow of a proof against the authenticity of the Mosaic addresses, Hölzner should have published a very elaborate study designed to show that Deuteronomy was considerably later than the reign of Josiah.

The Social Origins of Christianity. By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. Pp. vii., 263. The University of Chicago Press. 1923. Price 2½ dollars.

The Rise of Christianity. By F. OWEN NORTON. Pp. xxvi., 269. The University of Chicago Press. 1924. Price 2 dollars.

PROF. CASE is best known by *The Historicity of Jesus* and *The Evolution of Early Christianity*. The volume before us is an essay in the same general field, but with exceptional stress on the social environment as a leading factor in the development. He deprecates the emphasis on doctrine, regarding social experience as a more important clue to the rise and development of early Christianity. The theological standpoint of the writer is radical. He recognises the value of the critical examination of the documents and the history; but thinks we must advance to a new emphasis on the Christian Society itself and its environment—both Jewish and Gentile. He rapidly summarises the career of Jesus, not too sympathetically, and of the Palestinian Church, insisting that the new religion could scarcely have survived had it not gone out into the Gentile world. Its history there was largely determined by the new environment; so a chapter is devoted to the "Religious Quest within Gentile society." The Pauline communities are then depicted, with their experience of the emotional uplift due to the presence of the Spirit, and the enjoyment of the charismata He conferred, and the observance of the Eucharist. But alongside of the enthusiastic there was the more sober type with different social interests, with a stress on Scripture rather than on the Spirit, a readiness to accept a status in the world as it was, a heightened view of the Sacraments, a loftier Christology, a sacred Canon, a rule of faith, a rigid organisation. The closing chapter depicts Christianity in conflict with its rivals, the imperial worship and pagan culture. The book is interesting, though we question whether it marks so great an advance as the author supposes.

Prof. Norton's work moves on more conventional lines. It is a simple statement of New Testament history with a brief sketch of the literature and a description of the background. It is well suited for less advanced students, bringing out clearly the significance of the personalities and the narratives as the author interprets them. He traverses for the most part familiar ground; but the sketch of the pagan and Jewish background will no doubt be new to many of his readers.

The Historical Jesus. By CHARLES PIEPENBRING, Th.D. Translated by Lillian A. Clare. Pp. 224. London: George Allen & Unwin. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. By ERNEST F. SCOTT, D.D. Pp. xii, 133. London: Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 6s. net.

PIEPENERING was originally best known for his Old Testament works, his *Theology of the Old Testament* and his *History of the People of Israel*. Later he turned his attention to the New Testament. The first edition of his *Jésus Historique* appeared in 1909. It contained a long discussion of the New Testament sources. In the second edition, published in 1922 and now translated, the critical section has been struck out and summarised in a brief appendix and the text of the work has been thoroughly revised. The author has been greatly influenced by Loisy, but does not accept some of his more extreme positions. He thinks that Loisy's estimate of Jesus and His teaching left several things out of account, and was defective in its recognition of the nobler and more permanent elements in His personality and work. The book is written from an advanced critical and theological standpoint. It describes the career of Jesus and inserts discussion of His teaching at appropriate points. While the author handles the material with a good deal of scepticism and takes a purely humanitarian view of Jesus, he recognises the supreme value of His Gospel, comparing it with the teaching of Laotze and Stoic doctrine. The book is clearly written, and supplied with ample Scriptural references. French and German authorities are constantly quoted; knowledge of English literature is apparently limited to Dr. Carpenter's *The First Three Gospels*.

Professor E. F. Scott's discussion of Christ's ethical teaching is brief but full. It is needless to say that he has a thorough mastery of his subject and has thought for himself. He will hear nothing of attempts to divorce the moral teaching of Jesus from His religion, the two were vitally associated. It is impossible in our space to touch on the numerous themes here expounded. His treatment of non-resistance and the political attitude of Jesus is emphatically opposed to pacifism, and he insists that Jesus demands that those who enjoy the benefits of an ordered state may not decline the obligation to conform to its laws. We note that he rejects the view that the Fourth Gospel is composite, but admits that the author may have had some earlier document to work on.

The Christ of the Logia. By A. T. ROBERTSON. Pp. 247. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Syllabus for New Testament Study. By A. T. ROBERTSON. Pp. 274. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1923. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Of the thirteen essays here reprinted the first five deal with the presentation of Christ in Q and the four Gospels. Two are devoted to recent criticism of Mark and John, one is a very brief paper on the ethics and eschatology of Jesus. The longest chapter consists of a series of eighteen lessons on the Gospel of Mark in the light of the world-war. The author is vehemently anti-pacifist, indeed the Pharisaic opponents of Jesus are described as "the conscientious objectors." Other discussions are devoted to Christ's claims of power and knowledge, our Lord's command to baptise, the primacy of Judas Iscariot, the result here being left indecisive, and the cry for Christ to-day. The author reviews a considerable amount of literature, and we think that it might have served the interests of students better to have scrapped the form in which the essays were originally published so as to have brought together the discussion of the dif-

ferent topics which at present are separated. We have specially in mind the discussions of the critical problems. The other volume is a syllabus primarily intended for the author's own classes. It falls into three main parts: The Interbiblical History, The Life of Christ, The Acts and the Epistles. A fourth deals with the Revelation of John, but we wish the author had not contented himself with reproducing Broadus' Syllabus with some additions. The syllabus for the Gospels takes constant account of the arrangement in the author's harmony. A useful chronological chart is prefixed. Most teachers will probably prefer to construct their own scheme, but they may find useful hints in what another teacher has found remunerative in practice. The lists of books are very elaborate; their compilation must have been a laborious piece of work. They are, on the whole, very serviceable, but they need revision. A certain amount of inferior or obsolete work might well be omitted, though we must not be understood to say that this element is prominent; and a number of mistakes should be corrected. On page 37, for example, the present writer is credited with a work, *The Bible in the Twentieth Century* (1910). Presumably the author has in mind *The Bible; its Origin, its Significance, and its Abiding Worth* (1913). It might be worth his while also to consider whether he could not indicate the books of outstanding importance, and also those suitable for beginners and those for advanced students. A considerable number of misprints or other errors should also be corrected. In spite of the remarkable fulness of the lists there are naturally some rather striking omissions, and in some cases titles are given in English where the book has a non-English title and has not been translated.

Was Holy Communion Instituted by Jesus? By DOUGLAS S. GUY, B.D. Pp. x., 213. London: Student Christian Movement. 1924. Price 6s. net.

THE title will startle some readers, but the fact must be recognised that a considerable number of scholars incline to a negative answer. Canon Guy has devoted a careful and thorough discussion to the subject marked by wide reading, freedom from prejudice, and sobriety of judgment. He recognises that a grave problem is involved. He patiently follows it through its ramifications, and, frankly conceding what ought to be conceded, nevertheless reaches the conclusion that Holy Communion goes back to the institution of Jesus—a conclusion with which we cordially sympathise. The evidence from the Gospels is examined with candour; and while the startling divergence is recognised it is argued that the main features harmonise. Considerable attention is naturally given to Paul, his account of the Last Supper, his relation to Jesus, and the alleged influence of the mysteries. We are glad that the author has not been dissuaded from publishing his investigation, and we have pleasure in commending it to our readers.

The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians. With Introduction and Notes by E. F. BROWN, M.A. Pp. xlvii, 351. London: S.P.C.K., 1923. Price 6s. net.

THIS volume appears in the series *The Indian Church Commentaries*,

of which we have previously noticed that on Colossians and Philemon. We are so rich in expositions of I Corinthians that as a contribution to exegesis this volume might seem unnecessary. But its special title to existence lies in the fact that, true to the special purpose of the series, constant attention is given to its bearing on Indian conditions. The fact that the Epistle was written to a Church in a heathen environment of exceptional grossness, and that it deals definitely with problems emerging from this unhappy situation, makes an exposition of it peculiarly relevant to the situation in India, and these are constantly kept in mind. Such problems as those connected with marriage and divorce, the Christian's contact with idolatry, the caste system, the use of animal food, the Hindu attitude to the body and its type of asceticism, the direction of a newly-founded Christian community in a heathen land, the position to be adopted by the missionary towards Hindu philosophy—these and other questions are raised in the course of the exposition. "There are other Epistles," the author says, "which are of greater use in the explanation of Christianity to the heathen, but in all the questions which concern the conduct of a newly formed society of Christian converts the First Epistle to the Corinthians takes the leading place among the writings of the New Testament."

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Pastoral Epistles. By Rev. WALTER LOCK, D.D. Pp. xlv., 163. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1924. Price 12s.

PROF. LOCK's exposition of the Pastoral Epistles in the International Critical Commentary was included in the original prospectus. Now, after thirty years, it has been published. It is marked by the scholarship, the accuracy and the sobriety we expect in his work. The exegesis is careful and in close touch alike with the older and the more recent interpretation. As is desirable in a commentary on these Epistles, the Editor adds to his scholarly equipment long experience in pastoral and ecclesiastical affairs. And he is always alert to note and emphasise the rich, ethical teaching which they contain. Special commendation is due to the full paraphrases, which are a prominent feature of the exposition, and the notes on many of the words and phrases are very well done. The attitude on the critical problems is on the whole rather indecisive. Dr. Lock has obviously been greatly impressed by the very thorough investigation of the problems, particularly those of style and vocabulary, in Dr. P. N. Harrison's notable book *The Origin of the Pastoral Epistles*. He is inclined to think that II Timothy is Pauline throughout, but that iv., 9-22, contains notes earlier than the rest of the Epistle. On the other two Epistles his attitude is less clear. He feels the strength of the arguments on both sides, and apparently leaves the question open, while treating the Epistles in his exposition as if they came direct from Paul's hand—"that is what their author intended, whoever he was." The conclusion will seem unsatisfactory, but the editor's candour deserves our admiration. The question of a second imprisonment is dismissed in a footnote as not of primary importance for the critical problem. Dr. Lock thinks there is no valid reason for doubting the tradition of release, though he will only claim for Clement's alleged reference to Paul's journey

to Spain that it is at least a possible, though perhaps not the most probable, inference. The strength of the work lies in the commentary itself and its solid merits will be best appreciated by those who give it the most careful study.

The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis: Agricultural and Pastoral, By RABBI ASHER FELDMAN, B.A. Pp. xi., 290. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

MORE and more attention is fortunately being paid to Jewish literature, and its value for the illumination of the New Testament is increasingly recognised. In English this is illustrated by the welcome given to Dr. Abrahams' *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*. Much the most notable and comprehensive enterprise is Strack and Billerbeck's monumental work *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*; two volumes have appeared and we hope the two final volumes will achieve publication. Rabbi Feldman's work is much slighter, but it brings together a good deal of material, collected from the sources and translated afresh for the purpose. The author deals first in a long chapter with the field, its cultivation and products. A briefer section is devoted to the garden. There is a general chapter on trees, followed by chapters on the vine, the fig, the olive, the palm and the nut tree. The other chapters deal with the thorn and the reed, the lily, the myrtle, and with pastoral similes. The final summary treats of the poetic point of view, social and economic sidelights, the comparison of the Rabbinic figures of speech with those in Biblical and post Biblical literature, and finally with the religious teaching. The exegesis will often seem far-fetched to a modern student; but the Jewish interpretation of Scripture is an important subject. The anecdotes and illustrations are often interesting for their own sake. A rather unpleasant feature is the racial megalomania which is too frequently in evidence. But the book throws a vivid light on far worthier elements in Judaism, and students of the religion will be grateful for it, while preachers may find some of the illustrations suggestive.

The Gnostic John the Baptizer. By G. R. S. MEAD. Pp. ix. 137. London: John M. Watkins. 1924. Price 5s.

WE have already called the attention of our readers to much of the contents of the present book in our notices of *The Quest*, which is edited by the author. He has previously done good service by his works on the Hermetic literature and Gnosticism and his rendering of the *Pistis Sophia*, and while he approaches the problems from the standpoint of a Theosophist, he carries on his investigations in close connexion with modern critical study. Those who are following recent developments are aware of the growing prominence given to the Mandaeans by such scholars as Bousset and Reitzenstein, who can now utilise the work not simply of Brandt, but also of Lidzbarski, who has gone far beyond his predecessors. Mr. Mead's work is timely because of the direction in which investigation is now moving. The first section is on John the Baptizer and Christian Origins. The second is specially concerned with the John-Book of the Mandaeans, dealing with the Gnostic representation of the Baptist, the story of the breach

between the Mandaeans and the Jews, and concluding with typical extracts from the book. The third section gives an account of the references to the Baptist and Jesus in the Slavonic Josephus. To this we have recently called attention. There is an interesting attempt at an interpretation of the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. The whole of the problems discussed in this book will require repeated examination; but Mr. Mead deserves our thanks for his suggestive contribution.

Some Minor Works of Richard Rolle with the Privy of the Passion by S. Bonaventura. Translated and Edited by GERALDINE E. HODGSON, Litt.D. Pp. 225. London. John M. Watkins. 1923. Price 5s. net.

As Pant the Hart, and Other Devotional Addresses. By J. RENDEL HARRIS. Pp. 249. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 6s. net.

Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion. By W. R. INGE. Pp. 96. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1924. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Reality and Religion. By SADHU SUNDAR SINGH. With an Introduction by CANON STREETER. Pp. xvi., 88. London: Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 2s. 6d. net.

The Finding of the Cross. By E. HERMAN. Pp. 121. London: James Clarke & Co. Price 3s. net.

DR. HODGSON, whose work on English Literature will be known to many of our readers, has also written on Mysticism and edited some early English devotional literature, including Rolle's *Form of Perfect Living*. The present book contains twelve of Rolle's smaller works; some of them in fact amount to but a page or two, but others are longer, such as *The Commandment of Love to God*, *On The Name of Jesus*, and *On Prayer*. The longest is *The Mirror of S. Edmund*. This, however, is the work of Edmund Rich, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but was probably translated from Latin into Middle English by Rolle. There is a meditation on the Passion and on the Three Arrows of Domesday. This links on to Bonaventura's work which is also a meditation on the Passion. The editor has prefixed a valuable introduction written out of a very deep sympathy with the standpoint of the writers and with an intense conviction of the permanent value of their message and its appropriateness for our own day. Rolle was a very direct and searching writer, uncompromising in his demands. But while his words will find readers who are temperamentally sympathetic, his appeal is, we believe, bound to be rather limited. But the book is a real addition to our mystical library, and Dr. Hodgson deserves our gratitude for this edition in modern English.

It is happily needless to commend the devotional addresses of Dr. Rendel Harris, they are among our cherished possessions. We are grateful to Mr. T. H. Darlow for selecting and editing the three and twenty addresses contained in *As Pante the Heart*. The author's addresses are like those of no one else, they have a flavour and a tang which is his own secret. The volume is not primarily intended as a contribution to Biblical scholarship, but it could not have been

written except by a Biblical scholar, and the utility of scholarship to devotion is illustrated over and over again. But its value lies in its spiritual depth and richness, its suggestiveness, its unexpectedness, its penetrating insight, the felicity of its expression. Preachers will find a wealth of material in it—not the kind of wealth that if they are prudent they will try to “lift,” but fruitful hints which will set their own minds working. It is quite impossible to touch on the book in detail, but then it is quite unnecessary.

For Lenten reading the Dean of St. Paul's has prepared the volume on personal religion. It opens with a striking chapter on the mystical experience, with a salutary warning against over-valuing the psychological study of it and an insistence on first-hand experience in the spiritual life. The remaining chapters deal with The Soul's Thirst, Faith, Hope, Joy, Self-consecration, The World, Bereavement. The last of these is of peculiar value for the exquisite sketch of the author's little daughter, Margaret Paula, who died in 1923. It is completed by a Latin poem in her memory in which the father has said what he could not bring himself to say in English or in prose. Every chapter deserves detailed reference, but we must content ourselves with commending to our readers a truly beautiful book.

The Sadhu has created such interest in Europe that anything he writes is certain of attention. The present volume contains twenty-seven meditations, most of them very, and some extremely, brief. They are on the deep themes of religion, but they are written with great simplicity and lucidity. They have behind them a wonderful spiritual experience, and what is striking becomes still more impressive when this is remembered. It is illuminated by quite a number of fresh illustrations. Very emphatic is his testimony to the real Godhead of Christ and the real salvation to be found in Him. Naturally he speaks with exceptional authority on such topics as prayer and meditation.

Mrs. Herman's volume contains seven Lenten studies originally contributed to the *Church Times*. They are The Joy of Penitence, The Mystery of Mortification, The Treasure of Silence, The Glory of Patience, The Transfiguration of Thought, The Adventure of Endurance, The Finding of the Cross. They have been edited by her husband. We have often spoken of the value of Mrs. Herman's work and the present volume is impressive and very searching. For one who was herself a Free Church woman it is surprisingly “Catholic” in its outlook and method. Protestantism seems to be actually contrasted with genuine Christianity in the statement “self-improvement, however laudable, is not Christian repentance . . . the character it produces is, at its best, Protestant and Puritan, and, at its worst, either Pharisaical or pagan.” But this is surely not fair to Protestantism. And that Mrs. Herman should have written it distresses us.

Hymns of Prayer and Praise, with Tunes. Selected by C. E. B. YOUNG. Pp. cxvi., 1298. London: Humphrey Milford. 1921. (Price 8s. 6d. net.

THIS collection has been for some time before the public, but was only recently brought to our notice. It contains 1240 hymns and

still more tunes, since in many instances alternatives are offered. The aim of the Editor has been "to make the collection as comprehensive as possible of the different kinds of hymns suitable for singing on different occasions, in church and chapel, in the mission room, the school, and the home." It is decidedly a catholic collection.

Most of the great hymns in the English language are to be found here, and Roman and Protestant, Anglican and Free Churchman, English and Scotch, are well represented. A surprising feature is the extent to which revivalist and "convention" hymns are included. There are no fewer, for example, than 24 from F. J. Crosby—more than are borrowed from Frances Ridley Havergal. We should not be too rigid in this matter; but the proportion of this type of hymn seems to us excessive and to be a weakness in the book. As is natural, Charles Wesley is far more prominent than any other writer, but we miss "All praise to Him who dwells in bliss"; "My God, I am Thine"; "Oh disclose Thy lovely face"; "Thou Shepherd of Israel and mine"; "Weary souls that wander wide." Other omissions that have struck us are "Oh happy day that fixed my choice"; "City not made with hands"; "I would commune with Thee my God"; "How shall I sing that Majesty"; "And now the wants are told, that brought"; "My God I love Thee, not because"; "Breathe on me, breath of God"; "Break Thou the bread of life"; "Hear what God the Lord hath spoken." The absence of Kipling's *Recessional* is regrettable. The omission of "The Lord's my shepherd, I'll not want" will seem unpardonable to many Scotsmen. And to have Addison's rather frigid version of the 23rd Psalm is no compensation for this omission, nor yet for one equally surprising, "The King of love my Shepherd is." And we wish that another hymn of Baker's had been included, his fine translation of Gerhard's famous "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden." "O sacred Head surrounded." Nor can we easily reconcile ourselves to the omission of the finer stanzas from the older version of "Jerusalem my happy home." But no collection of hymns was ever published against which similar criticisms might not be urged. And it is only the barest justice to say that the collection is unusually complete, edited with exceptional care, and attractively produced. The musical side of it has received much attention and, in view of the large amount of music printed, the book is very cheap. The indexes are more elaborate than any we have seen in a hymnal.

The Art of Preaching. By DAVID SMITH, M.A., D.D. Pp. vii., 221. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 7s. 6d. net.

At a time when many are doubting the value of preaching and anticipating that it will give place to other forms of edification, there is room for another convinced vindication of its indispensable necessity. Dr. Smith believes that it is vital to the very existence of the Church. Two chapters are devoted to Jewish preaching and Greek rhetoric, as the antecedents of Christian preaching—the latter recalling Hatch's well-known chapter in his Hibbert Lectures. An account of apostolic preaching follows. From history the author turns to practical advice. He emphasises the vital necessity of study and gives helpful counsel on methods of study. Coming closer to

the preacher's task, he discusses the preparation of the sermon, the cultivation of the right spirit and attitude, and then the delivery of the sermon. We are glad that he speaks so strongly on the value of free delivery as opposed to reading in the pulpit. The last chapter deals with the important, but too neglected, duty of pastoral visitation. Dr. Smith speaks to a large circle of readers, and we hope that many preachers will profit by this volume.

Givers of Life and their Significance in Mythology. By MAURICE A. CANNEY. Pp. vii., 114. London: A. & C. Black. 1923. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE author is probably best known by his *Encyclopaedia of Religion* which he carried through single-handed. In the present work he has been deeply influenced by the new school of ethnologists founded by Dr. Rivers, Dr. Elliot Smith and Mr. W. J. Perry. He holds emphatically that psychology is essential; but contrasts the historical school, to which he is attached, with the psycho-analytical. He sketches the development of the theory, indicating the contribution of each of the three scholars. He then proceeds to sketch the history of civilisation as the new school has reconstructed it. The idea that the essential elements of civilisation originated in Egypt and spread from there is accepted, and the theory that the impulse which led to the migrations was to discover an elixir of life. The various objects and substances to which the life-giving power was assigned are enumerated. Other chapters deal with The Power of the Word, The Power of a Name, and The Hand of Might. It must be remembered that the theory here represented is still in its vigorous youth, and will no doubt be for a long time discussed.

Leaves from the Golden Bough. Culled by LADY FRAZER. Pp. xii, 249. London: Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Sir James George Frazer. Selected passages from his works. Chosen by GEORGES ROTH. Pp. 64. Paris: Librairie Hatier.

LADY FRAZER has had the happy idea of collecting from *The Golden Bough* a large number of passages, generally quite brief, for the delight of young people. They have not been selected to instruct so much as to entertain; what has been told by her husband to support his massive argument is told here for its own interest. The extracts are arranged in five sections, dealing respectively with Christmas and the Mistletoe; Uncanny Beings; Quaint Customs; Myths and Legends; Stories; Landscapes. About half the book is occupied with Quaint Customs, far too many to be enumerated, but containing much information on curious survivals and strange superstitions. The uncanny beings are demons, witches, were-wolves, vampires, tree spirits; and there is an extract dealing with the external soul. Among the myths and legends are included Isis and the Sun God; The Death of Adonis; and Persephone and Demeter. The stories are fairy tales but several of them will be new to most readers, though they may be familiar with stories having a similar motif. The landscapes are for the most part taken from *Adonis*, *Attis* and *Osiris*, which was specially rich in those descriptions of scenery which the author writes with such consummate skill.

The book should make a very welcome present, all the more that it is very well produced and lavishly illustrated.

The other volume is a little pamphlet of selected passages, and it is published in a series in which no other English writer has so far been represented. It is intended, of course, for French readers. It consists of two parts, the former entitled "Glimpses of Ancient Lands and History," drawn from *Folklore in the Old Testament* from the article *Pericles* in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Studies in Greek Scenery* and *The Golden Bough*. The second part consists mainly of sketches of Sir Roger de Coverley and *The Quest of the Gorgon's Head*. An interesting brief biography of Sir James Frazer is prefixed.

Our Debt to Greece and Rome. By E. B. OSBORN. Pp. 192. Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Our Hellenic Heritage. By H. R. JAMES, M.A. Vol. II. Part IV. The Abiding Splendour. Pp. xiii., 273-527. 1924. Price 4s.

The Homer of Aristotle. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. Pp. ix., 245. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1923. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Herodotus. By T. R. GLOVER. Pp. xv., 301. Published in Great Britain for the University of California Press by the Cambridge University Press. 1924. Price 18s. net.

Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates and Crito. Edited with Notes by JOHN BURNET. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1924. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Greek: Literary Criticism. By J. D. DENNISTON. Pp. xli., 224. London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1924. Price 5s. net.

IF, as we devoutly hope may prove to be the case, a revival of interest in Greek and Latin is on the way, the first two books on this list are well designed to accelerate its arrival. We have previously called attention to the earlier parts of *Our Hellenic Heritage*. This closing portion gives an admirable account of the great philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; of the historians, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon; the orators, above all Demosthenes; the dramatists, with a special account of the Oresteia, the supreme achievement of Æschylus; architecture and sculpture; and archaeology and travel. The whole work, which reaches its climax in this volume, deserves warm commendation. But while Mr. James' volumes fill more than 900 pages and cost 14s. 6d., Mr. Osborn's is a little volume in *The People's Library*, and may be purchased for half-a-crown. He gives no sketch of the actual history of Greece, as Mr. James does, but he includes Rome, though naturally assigning it much smaller space. And if any of our readers wish to be placed at the right point of view for appreciating the classics, or to inoculate a friend with their own enthusiasm, they could not do better than use this book for the purpose. The author is the literary editor of *The Morning Post*, and therefore approaches his task with a wide culture which enables him to place classical literature in its right perspective. The whole field of Greek historical literature, science, philosophy, drama and art is traversed with rapid but expert move-

ment. Rome's legacy is described with special reference to its historians, its language and its literature. There are illuminating discussions of the Greek Spirit and the Roman Character. The book will form an admirable introduction to *The Legacy of Greece* and *The Legacy of Rome*.

Professor Margoliouth's volume is an astonishing piece of work. We have read it with amazement at the erudite author's ingenuity. The roots of the investigation may be found in his edition of Aristotle's *Poetics*. With this, however, we cannot deal, and must content ourselves with exhibiting some of the startling results. He believes that the first seven lines of the *Iliad* and the first ten of the *Odyssey* contain a cryptogram in which the Homeric authorship of the poems is disclosed, and also the cause of their composition. Perhaps more amazing still is the attempt to show that in the same way the extant plays of the Greek tragedians also contain a cypher constructed on a regular model. He has succeeded with laborious ingenuity in reconstructing the solutions and the fact that he has been able to achieve the task in so many instances is at first sight very impressive. But on reflection the student may well cherish serious doubts; and experiment may show that other cyphers may also be discovered giving quite contrary information if the scholar has sufficient patience and cleverness to construct them. It may be remembered that a critic, using the methods of Ignatius Donnelly with more rigour than their inventor, discovered a prophecy in Shakespeare that Mr. Donnelly would solve the secret of the plays. This reminds one of the inscription dated in the first century B.C. which asserted that its author was the discoverer of America and that Columbus was a fraud. The Professor also holds that the plot and the characters of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are completely fictitious. But for the archaeological evidence, we expect that he would have denied the historicity of the Siege of Troy. It is surprising that he supposes the *Iliad* to have been written on the commission of Greek immigrants who had settled at Troy and were governed by a ruler named *Æneades*. But the ingenuity with which the cyphers are unravelled is worthily matched by that with which the author traces the spinning of the plots and the invention of the characters from the logical necessities as they arose. One artistic lie leads to another. The book is, of course, very learned and we have found it very stimulating. But we recall the story of the temperance lecturer who made the following reply to the criticism that you could not get stimulus without nutrition: "Oh yes, you can. A man went for a walk in the fields and inadvertently sat down on a wasp's nest. He got no nourishment from the experience, but he found it extremely stimulating."

Of all historians Herodotus is perhaps the most engaging. For sheer brain-power, scientific detachment, and critical insight Thucydides stands supreme. But the intellectual calibre of Herodotus is often undervalued, partly because he is one of those rare artists who have the gift of concealing their art. Moreover, he was not the credulous, uncritical recipient of old wives' fables. He was gifted with unusual shrewdness and cultivated a cautious scepticism. He took great care to distinguish between what he knew at first-hand and what he had learnt from others. He had an insati-

able curiosity, he touched life with vivid interest at innumerable points; he had an infallible instinct for what would prove interesting to his readers; and he was gifted with a style of irresistible fascination and charm. Dr. Glover's volume of lectures brings out with unusual penetration and force the great qualities which have made the work of the historian immortal. He has approached his task with an equipment of exact scholarship and wide learning; long familiarity with his author and intimate sympathy with him; a full mastery of detail and yet the gift of rising above it to a comprehensive view of the whole; a talent for felicitous exposition, with which multitudes of readers are already familiar. The problems of literary and historical criticism are carefully discussed; the environment in which Herodotus lived is vividly described; the famous foreign peoples and the remoter tribes on the fringe of the empires provide material for illuminating the whole subject. But while the scene for the action is brilliantly depicted the author is specially concerned with the principles which came into collision in the Persian wars. And he brings out clearly the passion for freedom which animated the Greeks in their great days. Deep interest also attaches to the closing chapter dealing with the historian's attitude to religion.

We welcome Professor Burnet's edition of the *Apology* and two dialogues of Plato as a valuable companion to his edition of the *Phaedo*. The author has edited the whole Greek text of Plato and is a profound student of the history of Greek philosophy. As we have on various occasions pointed out, he stands with Professor A. E. Taylor for the belief that Plato's ascription to Socrates of the views propounded by him in the Socratic dialogues is justified. This volume is a further contribution to the case; but it is valuable in the first instance as a highly satisfactory commentary in touch with all the best literature of the subject, yet the fruit of prolonged independent investigation and reflection.

Mr. Denniston's volume belongs to the series entitled *The Library of Greek Thought*, edited by Dr. Ernest Barker. It mainly consists of extracts, some of them lengthy, representative of Greek literary criticism. The translations have for the most part been borrowed. The greatest space is given to Plato. Aristophanes, Aristotle, and Longinus come next and then Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The extracts have been carefully selected, and this has been the most responsible part of the author's work. But he has prefixed an excellent introduction, dealing with the principles of literary criticism followed by the authors represented, and the success with which they carried them out. All students of literary criticism should be grateful for this work.

The Problem of Atlantis. By LEWIS SPENCE. Pp. xi, 232. London: William Rider & Son. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

PLATO's famous narrative of the Island of Atlantis, the seat of a great empire which disappeared beneath the sea, has evoked much discussion and is still warmly debated. The identity of the island has been much discussed, assuming, that is, its real existence. Mr. Spence, who has gained distinction by his works on the myths of

Mexico and Peru, of the North Americans and of ancient Egypt, has put together a powerful case for the hypothesis that Atlantis was a continent in the Atlantic Ocean. The evidence is scientific, traditional and archaeological. He brings strong reasons against the view that the examination of the bed of the Atlantic negatives the existence of such a continent. Recent soundings have shown that the whole bed of the Eastern Atlantic has altered greatly within the last twenty-five years. At one time, he thinks, Atlantis was actually connected with Europe. The geological evidence favours the existence of such a continent and the biological evidence supports this conclusion. He brings arguments to show that the Crô-Magnons were an Atlantic race. Both European and American tradition, he believes, corroborates the identification. In opposition to Professor Elliot Smith and Mr. Perry, he contends that Egypt itself derived its civilisation from Atlantis, and that Central America, Mexico and Peru also drew from the same source. If it would be too much to say that the author has established his contention, at least he has made out a very strong case; and, even apart from his thesis, the book is full of instructive material and provides a most fascinating study.

Prophets of Yesterday and Their Message for To-day. By the Rev. JOHN KELMAN, D.D. Pp. 220. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS volume contains the William Bellen Noble Lectures delivered at Harvard, 1924. The first lecture is devoted to a comparison of Hebraism and Hellenism, terms which represent not an absolute difference but one of emphasis. Carlyle and Matthew Arnold are chosen as their respective representatives; while Browning stands for the synthesis of conscience and desire, and "is the supreme reconciler for the English people of their Hebrew with their Greek inheritance." To these three great writers the rest of the book is devoted. Carlyle and Arnold are dealt with, first together and then separately. Two lectures are devoted to Browning, one to Browning the Hebrew, and the other to Browning the Greek. We have read the book with great enjoyment and admiration. It rests on prolonged and thorough study of the authors, it gives wise guidance to those who wish to study them for themselves, it brings out the leading characteristics of each, their contribution to theology, to philosophy, to ethics. Preachers will find much valuable matter in this volume.

English Portraits and Essays. By JOHN FREEMAN. Pp. vii, 244. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THIS volume in *The Bookman Library* is a delightful collection of essays which we have read with unflagging interest. The spiteful definition of a critic as "a man who has failed in literature" has no application here. The essays are literature and of no mean order. They can be read with delight for the qualities of their style. But their main intent is criticism; and in this they impress us with their sincerity, their candour, their discrimination, their fine and delicate balance. The subjects are Mr. Chesterton, whose heights he, the author, generously praises, while deploring the depths to which he

can sink, and his "obstinately static mind"; Robert Louis Stevenson, which is mainly a douche of cold water for the enthusiast; William Cobbett, a vivid portrait; Walter de la Mare, a most sympathetic and penetrating analysis; Maurice Hewlett, devoted almost entirely to "The Song of the Plow"; Edmund Gosse, whose excellences are praised while his limitations are suggested with delicate frankness; Coventry Patmore, whose poetry is found to be an expression of pure genius; Compton Mackenzie, a faithful handling which should make the novelist wince; and finally, the *English Essayist*, which touches on a number of practitioners from the time of Francis Bacon to our own day. We hope that we shall be fortunate enough to read many more papers of the same quality by Mr. Freeman.

These Eventful Years. The Twentieth Century in the Making as Told by Many of its Makers. In two volumes. Vol. I. Pp. xxi, 692. Vol. II. Pp. xii, 695. London: The Encyclopædia Britannica Company. Price £2 10s. net.

THIS amazing production is the work of nearly eighty writers of distinction, in some cases of very high distinction. They write with intimate first-hand knowledge of their subjects. They have been left free to express their own opinions; hence divergent, and indeed opposite, views are frequently presented on the same subject. This has the merit of placing before the reader fuller material on which to form his own judgment. The volumes are lavishly illustrated, and the portraits in particular are welcome. The longest contribution is by Mr. J. L. Garvin. In nearly 200 pages it sketches the history of our own times from 1890 to the beginning of 1924 in a way possible only to a master before whom the whole complex world-movement through these so heavily laden years lies open, and who has the gift of handling vast masses of material, and clothing his narrative in brilliant array. The record of the war itself is sketched by Sir Frederick Maurice. Lüdendorf gives an account of it, from his own point of view, under the title "Germany Never Defeated!" General Mangin deals with the French contribution. Von Tirpitz writes on the German Navy during the war. The Battle of Jutland is described by Jellicoe from the British, and by Scheer from the German side. Several papers examine the financial problems involved—reparations, inter-allied debts, paper money inflation, taxation, wages. Special interest will be excited by Mr. Philip Snowden's essay on "Social and Revolutionary Unrest." Articles are given on the various countries. We may call special attention to those on Great Britain, Ireland, France, the United States, Russia, and to Maximilian Harden's characteristic paper, "Germany's Place in the Sun." Its account of the German Emperor throbs with indignation, contempt and disgust. Mr. Wells is on oft-trodden ground in his forecast of the world's affairs. He is always suggestive and stimulating, but we are generally reminded by predictions, from whatever quarter, of George Eliot's saying that of all forms of folly prophecy is the most gratuitous. To many of our readers some of the most interesting articles will be found in the latter part of the second volume, where literature, science, art, invention, archæology, psychology, medicine, commerce, exploration, are dis-

cussed. Prof. J. A. Thomson contributes an important paper on "What Science Can Do for Man." Madame Curie, the discoverer of radium, writes on her discovery and its possibilities. A specially interesting article is that by Harrison Howe on "Industry and Invention." Prof. Breasted gives a valuable survey of the bearing of recent discoveries on man's early history, while Prof. Saville deals with the antiquity of man in middle America. Freud contributes an account of Psychoanalysis; Sir Oliver Lodge writes on Psychical Research. Prof. Shailer Mathews writes a brief article on Modern Religious Tendencies. It is a real defect in a scheme admirably planned on the whole, that religion should receive such scanty attention. Dr. T. N. Carver has an instructive article on Prohibition. It has not been possible to do more than touch briefly on some of the outstanding features of these volumes, but we are greatly impressed with the quite exceptional value of much of the material here brought together. Ample matter is here collected for prolonged study of all the forces which have created the critical but intensely interesting conditions under which we live. It is a book not only to read, but to keep constantly at hand for reference.

Economics of the Hour. By J. ST. LOE STRACHEY. Pp. xv, 191. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE Editor of the *Spectator* holds a position of tremendous influence. We may agree or disagree with his general position, or agree with some things and dissent from others, but to be forced to ask ourselves why we accept or reject his arguments is for most of us salutary. His book falls into four parts: Common Sense in Economics; The Partners of Industry; Four Questions of the Hour; Charity, True and False. Since demand creates value he argues that the limitation of supply to endow an object with value is a disastrous policy. Demand not only attaches value to an object and stimulates price, it creates fresh supplies. A chapter of economic aphorisms is full of suggestion on wealth, the home market, free exchange, taxation, socialism and free exchange, wages and capital, rising prices. The second part deals with the dread of a profit which he thinks one of the most perverse and injurious obsessions of the British people in 1919 to 1921; men and machines; the considerations which ought to guide the unions and their leaders in the decision on the question whether to strike or not; the third party in industry—a particularly interesting reminder to employers and workmen of the vital importance of the "black-coated" workers and the big part they are destined to play in labour disputes; State interference with labour, its use and its perils; a caustic examination of the view that there is an enormous surplus available for redistribution, and that the workers only receive a third of the total wealth produced in the country. He passes on to the problem of restarting the wheels of commerce, examines the way in which a capital levy would work, discusses remedies for unemployment, with some interesting pages on road-making and road improvement, ship canals, damming and canalisation of tidal rivers, house building, low temperature carbonisation of coal. Other questions discussed are the National Debt, charity organisation, and the administration of the Poor Law.

The author is emphatic on the vital necessity of maintaining the independence of the workers. There is a striking, and indeed moving, dedication to the working mothers of England.

The River of Life. By JOHN ST. LOE STRACHEY. Pp. x, 306
London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 20s. net.

THE author's *Adventure of Living* had a very favourable reception. The present volume is a diary. It is not a journal of events, though these are not absolutely excluded, but it is a record of the writer's reflections on problems or subjects which interest him, apart from those political and economic questions which must be a constant preoccupation of the great journalist who edits the *Spectator*. We knew from his autobiography how deeply, and indeed passionately, he is interested in literature, and with what sympathetic insight he appreciates it. This quality constantly comes to expression. Shakespeare and the Sonnets, apparent irrelevancies, condemned by Dr. Johnson as quibbles but which really are the special artifice used by Shakespeare to give his wisdom to the world, Racine, whom he places very high, Spenser, Cicero, Horace, Byron, Matthew Arnold, Carlyle, Disraeli, Jeremy Taylor, Donne, Aristotle, these are the literary subjects on which he writes with an intimate touch. Psychical Research, Spiritualism, Auto-suggestion, the Subconscious Self are discussed in a balanced and unprejudiced way; and in this connexion we may refer to his entry on poetical inspiration. He has something to say on religion. His love of Nature, his joy in enchanting scenery, come to constant expression. One of the most striking sections of the book is the collection of what, following Bacon's example, he calls "Desperate Sayings." We may quote one example, Douglas Jerrold's on the socialistic ferment of eighty years ago. "Ah! yes, we're all brothers now—all Cains and Abels." It is curious that Mr. Strachey does not add the terrible phrase of Tacitus, with its appalling insight into human nature, "a hatred deeper than that of brothers." The book is full of good things, and what is better, rich in suggestive things.

Sigmund Freud—His Personality, His Teaching, and His School.
By FRITZ WITTELS. Pp. 287. London: George Allen & Unwin.
1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a singularly interesting volume. The literature of psycho-analysis is now so large that students of it will be grateful for a sketch of Freud's career and the development of his views, together with a critical estimate of the man and his work. The book is the more valuable that it rests on an intimate acquaintance with Freud from 1905-1910, which was brought to a close by a personal difference. In 1910 the author left the Psycho-analytical Society, but continued his study of psycho-analysis. He recognises in the fullest degree the genius of Freud, says that he is the ablest of the whole school, and must necessarily be the supreme leader of the movement while he lives. Yet he deplores the way in which criticism within the society is repressed and the master's infallibility tends to become a dogma with his disciples. The chief is rarely pleased when his collaborators develop independent ideas. His breach with Adler,

with Jung, and with Stekel receives full attention. He does not put the full blame on Freud by any means, at least in the case of Jung and Adler. Both were ambitious, and there was a real difference of view between them and the master. The special value of the book lies in its clear record of the origin and development of Freud's views. The book thus constitutes an excellent introduction to the whole subject, into which the reader is gradually initiated, following the path actually taken by the founder. We should add that the author sent Freud a copy of the work, and, prefixed to the translation, we have lengthy extracts from Freud's acknowledgment. He found various things to criticise, and neither desired nor expected the publication of the book. On the other hand he recognised its excellences, and sent the author a number of emendations which have been embodied in the English edition. We might add that the book is extremely plain-spoken, in full harmony with Freud's own deliberate principle.

EDITOR.

The Early History of the Church from its Foundation to the end of the Fifth Century. By MONSIGNOR LOUIS DUCHESNE, Hon. D.Litt. (Oxford), and Litt.D. (Cambridge). Membre de L'Institut de France. Vol. III. *The Fifth Century.* English Translation by Claude Jenkins. Pp. xiv, 555. London: John Murray. 1924. Price 21s. net.

THOSE who are familiar with Abbé Duchesne's two former volumes will give a hearty welcome to this third and last volume of *The Early History of the Church*. Fourteen years is a long time to wait, but this is a case in which waiting brings its reward. Freshness, vigour, independence, and a sardonic manner of glancing at matters regarded by his Church as sacrosanct, mark these volumes. The ecclesiastic is in the custody of the humanist, and authority or tradition is not allowed to stand in the way of truth. The result is that careful study is repaid; these volumes invite a second and third reading. For his statements the author goes to the sources. His candour appeals to readers of all shades of opinion. The present volume is taken up with the story of the fifth century—the century which witnessed the decay and collapse of the Western Empire. This event made for the primacy of the Roman Church. It was not merely as the Church of the imperial city that this position was won. Little was contributed by the Church either towards the downfall of the Empire or to arrest that event. Its interests, as Augustine shows, in that unsettled time were in the City of God. The character of Leo the Great, dignified, orthodox, independent, courageous amidst heresy, fanaticism, corruption, and barbarian invasions, contributed most towards winning dominant position and power for the Roman Church. The story of the doctrinal conflicts of the century is told with understanding, although there are traces of impatience with theologians who cared more for conflict than for truth. The tragedy of John Chrysostom, and that of Nestorius, the scourge of heretics who became a heretic himself, and the record of the Council of Chalcedon afford sad reading. Yet there are great names in this century—Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Pelagius, Cyril of Alexandria, Nestorius, Leo, Theodoret. Some of these by their writings,

others by their personality, some by both, have left their impress upon succeeding centuries. Of these Augustine is by far the greatest. "He stands upon an eminence entirely by himself. From his far-off African home his influence extended over the whole of Christendom." He was the interpreter of the spirit of Christianity to his own age, and he exerts influence in the spiritual realm still. Together with these famed names there is recognition of good Christians among the common people. A full index adds to the value of this volume.

The Goodness and the Severity of God. By the REV. J. O. F. MURRAY, D.D. Pp. xvi, 208. London: S.C.M. 1924. Price 5s. net.

Du Bose as a Prophet of Unity. By the REV. J. O. F. MURRAY, D.D. Pp. 126. London: S.P.C.K. 1924. Price 4s 6d. net.

Problems of Church Unity. By WALTER LOWRIE, M.A. Pp. xvi, 328. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1924. Price 9s. net.

THE publication of the Hulsean Lectures delivered by the Master of Selwyn in 1917-18, has been delayed because he had cherished the hope of elaborating them into a book that would rank with Dr. Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, and Dr. Charles' *Jewish and Christian Eschatology*. This hope has been frustrated, and the lectures are published as delivered, with the addition of a correspondence between F. J. A. Hort and F. D. Maurice in 1849. Dr. Murray not only trusts the larger hope in reference to human destiny, he teaches it and is convinced that it can and should be taught as a doctrine warranted by serious study of the Scriptures. He points out, in answer to Baron von Hügel, that if Hell must be unending for the purpose of safeguarding moral values, this, logically pressed, would make forgiveness impossible in this life. God's intention, manifested in Jesus, does cut across what would else be the inevitable progress of sin. The question is whether the great revelation concerning God in the New Testament, which is love, has, in the last resort, to submit itself to holiness. It is not possible to do justice to the argument of these lectures in the space available here. They are an important contribution to the problem of the last things.

At the beginning of the present century the books of Professor Du Bose (1836-1918) had a great vogue. Those who passed through his classes are convinced that his teaching has permanent value, and they have established a lectureship in order to secure attention to his contributions to philosophy and theology. Dr. Murray delivered the first course on this foundation in 1922. The lectures are concerned with the man and his teaching. Theology in general is their theme. The question of Church unity is introduced in the Preface. Du Bose teaches that unity comes for the individual by his being brought out of distractions into oneness with God and himself; unity in the Body of Christ realises itself in relation to the Head more than in affiliation with any local organisation; the outlook is towards a world unity in which the purpose of God becomes complete—as Dr. Hort puts it, the Church is "nothing less than mankind knowing and fulfilling its destiny." The insistence on truth as the guiding principle and goal of progress introduces some

interesting and fascinating discussions concerning sin and salvation. There will not be agreement on all points, but this is a book the importance of which cannot be measured by its bulk. Many partisan contentions would die away if it were conceded that "nothing short of the whole Church, when it has gathered in the whole race, can grasp and embody the whole truth."

Mr. Lowrie, who is Rector of the American Church, Rome, wrote a book some years since in which he demolished, to the satisfaction of Dr. Patton, then President of Princeton Theological Seminary, the Presbyterian theory of Church government. It is true that Dr. Patton was convinced that the Episcopal theory had been demolished also, but Mr. Lowrie had not intended this and does not admit it now. He thinks the times are ripe for bringing his views on Church polity forward again. He states "that no Church to-day reproduces exactly the organisations which prevailed in the Apostolic age or in the ages that immediately succeeded it." In this he agrees with the Bishop of Gloucester, but he is led to different conclusions. The Lambeth appeal is not mentioned directly. The idea, however, that separate Churches have a real contribution to make to a common store is repudiated. The Churches must put away their errors and find their way into truth. There will be agreement that fellowship in prayer is necessary if union is to become a reality, but it is strange that for the most part the argument for the primacy of faith and love is taken up with matters of Church order. Liturgical propriety is what matters most. If the spectacle is provided, religion can be taken for granted. Spirituality in leading strings is safe. It is strange also that Mr. Lowrie should imagine that, because the non-episcopal Churches are willing to consider proposals for union, it follows that they are utterly discredited and about to perish. His idea that a Christian should, by virtue of his faith, be a member of all the Churches is attractive. His prejudices notwithstanding, and these are many, he has written a book that will please neither Catholic nor Protestant. This makes it more interesting, but it leads nowhere. The proof-reading leaves much to be desired.

Songs of Service and Sacrifice: A Study in Isaiah xl-lv. By W. G. JORDAN, B.A., D.D. Pp. 189. London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd. n.d. Price 5s. net.

THE twelve expositions brought together in this volume, in which an endeavour is made to discover the permanent meaning of Israel's call to sacrificial service, are based upon a critical study of the sources, although results are more in evidence than processes. In an Introduction a brief sketch is given of the critical views generally held concerning the book of Isaiah as a whole, and the position of the prophecies of this section in particular. This will be useful to those who come fresh to the critical problem. Mention is made of the theory of Mowinkel, accepted by Gunkel, that the subject of the Servant passages is the prophet himself. This is not accepted. The expositions will be helpful to preachers. The last is based upon the question of the man of Ethiopia, and points to the perfect realisation of the prophet's ideal in Christ. The bibliography is far from sufficient. Dr. Peake's promised contribution to the I.C.C. is mentioned, but not his illuminating treatment in *The Problem of*

Suffering, nor is Prof. Wardle's contribution in *Peake's Commentary* in the list—both of which are of great value.

With Mercy and With Judgment. By ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D. Pp. xiii., 285. n.d. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The Imprisoned Splendour: A Study in Human Values. By J. H. CHAMBERS MACAULAY, M.A. Pp. xxxi., 223. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The Uncarven Timbers. By KENNEDY WILLIAMSON. Pp. 281. n.d. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. Price 6s. net.

Yesterday and To-day: Studies for Inquiring Minds. By CONRAD A. SKINNER, M.A. Pp. 196. London: The Epworth Press. 1924. Price 3s. 6d. net.

EACH of these books, each in its own way, will have interest for those who are concerned for the successful presentation of Christianity to the thought of to-day. Only one is cast in sermonic form, and this is from a prince of preachers; but in all the intention to arrest thought and direct it towards the Christian way of life is in evidence. They will serve preachers as examples in different methods of presenting truth so as to secure conviction.

The successful biography of Dr. Alexander Whyte, by G. F. Barbour, was bound to direct fresh attention to his preaching. The twenty-two sermons brought together here embrace a period of at least thirty-five years. They are marked by massiveness of conception and a marvellous power of penetration into the intricacies of individual experience. The traditional view of Scripture is taken for granted. There is no hint of historical criticism. Religion is regarded as an intensely personal concern, a constant individual contest with sin. What a great preacher in his own way Dr. Whyte was, the Communion sermon on "The Ransom" will show, so far as cold print can convey the white glow of a fervent spirit.

Readers of Mr. Macaulay's previous books will come with interest to his new volume. Its contents are in harmony with progressive Christian thought, and give evidence of wide interests. The main portion of the book is the most arresting. Christianity is presented as living energy and ever increasing light. It is in the world to enable human life to express God's splendour. The Preface and a fairly long Introduction add nothing to the exposition; in these, indeed, there is conformity to the title—the splendour is imprisoned by a multitude of words.

Mr. Williamson's volume contains poetry and prose. The poems are printed to fill what would otherwise have been blank pages, and are passable. There is more poetry in his prose. Some of the studies woven around incidents in the Gospels reveal much imaginative power; the old stories are illuminated from new viewpoints. The humour, pathos, and deep significance of everyday incidents and casual matters are brought out with entrancing facility. It is a book brimful of interesting and suggestive thoughts—a happy companion for a dull day.

There is a sense in which Mr. Skinner's book is of more value than the others in this list. Not that it is of permanent value; but the writer does his own thinking and is not afraid of shar-

ing the results. In reading the various essays on Authority, The Kingdom, Guidance, Salvation, and Death, awareness grows that other views than those declared are possible, and even preferable. Mr. Skinner, also, is conscious of this. In his last essay, on The Way, he says: "All the essays are full of loose ends asking to be pulled. . . . It is not in me, however, to write a work that shall have all these ends tidily accounted for." He has some wise and pertinent things to say on the Sunday question. On Authority he is candid almost to the point of being cynical. The piquancy of such a statement as this, for those who pretend to despise historical ecclesiastical order, gains by its pitiable truth: "We are so pitifully concerned about historical links. We are not content to see the new Jerusalem that comes down out of heaven. We want it to emerge from our own Chapel door." Such a suggestive book deserves a great sale and careful study.

Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary. Selected and Translated by H. I. WOOLFE. Pp. 316. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. n.d. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THIS work originally contained articles contributed to the famous *Encyclopédie*. To these Voltaire added other pieces, and eventually it became a bulky volume. In its time it was influential if not important. The bulk has been reduced by the present translator, but we are not informed on what principle his selection has been made. Professor Saintsbury describes the original as a "curious medley." This phrase aptly characterises what remains in this volume. The term philosophy would need to be unduly stretched in order to cover its contents. Voltaire in his preface says: "It is only really by enlightened people that this book can be read; the ordinary man is not made for such knowledge." Those who search here for enlightenment will gain little from their quest. Voltaire launches his mordant wit against organised Christianity. His mockery exposes much hypocrisy, but, certainly, he is not an unprejudiced censor of insincerity. The tendency of his method is that described in the article on "Fraud"—to "make them believe that there is no religion at all, because the only one that is taught them is ridiculous." Much that is regarded by him as subversive of Christianity can be accepted by Christians to-day; often without surprise, sometimes with appreciation. The plain placarding of facts of nature cannot be resented; but the impression grows, as reading proceeds, that Voltaire explores and exposes what expresses the lowest in man because he finds delight in what is nauseating. He regards religion as an institution which "tends only to keep mankind in order." His own religion is deism. He finds many abuses and scandals in current Catholicism on which to pour his ridicule. The value of these selections is that they show how far we have travelled from the eighteenth century. Some reforms, however, are still due.

Myths and Legends of India: An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism. By J. M. MACFIE, M.A. Pp. xxiv, 333. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1924. Price 8s. net.

WHAT is being done for Rabbinical literature to-day, Mr. Macfie attempts to do for the literature of Hinduism. His stories are

selected from an immense mass of materials, the product of many centuries. The Vedas probably go back to 1,500 B.C., and the earliest portions of these took their present shape 500 years later. The later books belong to the Christian era. The Brahmanas, the Upanishads, which belong to the Vedic literature, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Laws of Manu, and the Puranas, which are post-Vedic, are the sources of these myths and legends. When it is realised that the translations of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata alone "occupy five large volumes of more than eight thousand closely-printed pages," the labour involved in this selection will be appreciated. The design of the writer is to depict what is essential in Hinduism—its weakness as well as its strength. The first part consists of stories concerned generally with the wonderful and grotesque; although even here moral elements emerge. In the second part the stories reveal the most salutary and abiding elements of Hinduism. Here truth and devotion become more prominent than knowledge, ritual, and sacrifice. Mention is also made of grace, and salvation by faith. Students of Hinduism, however, "think that the introduction of faith and devotion into the Hindu system is due to the influence of Christianity." These are the most fruitful elements in Hinduism to-day. Examples could be given, if space permitted, of affinities with the Old and New Testaments, and with other classical literature. Notes supply information concerning cosmogony, the gods, caste, development of the different strands of doctrine, and other matters. In his introduction the author states that his purpose is not analysis and exposition, but to set forth "what man and woman thought and said and did." He admits the mass of insipid and repulsive matter in Hindu literature, and the negative tone of much of its teaching on virtue, yet he claims that there is teaching here "that has seldom been surpassed outside the pages of the New Testament." This book should appeal to those who love quaint stories, and also to serious students of Comparative Religion.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

Goethe's Faust. First Part. Translated by JOHN TODHUNTER. With an Introduction by J. G. ROBERTSON. Pp. xvi. 188. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Fritiof's Saga. By E. TEGNER. Translated in the Original Metre by C. D. LOCOCK. Pp. 140. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1924. Price 6s. net.

Selected Poems of F. W. Orde Ward. Pp. 176. London: The Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 1924. Price 5s. net.

The Trumpeter of the Dawn, and Other Poems. By ALFRED T. STORY. Pp. vi., 84. London: Selwyn and Blount, Ltd. 1923.

Education. A Medley in Four Acts. By FRANK J. ADKINS. Pp. 128. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1924. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE translation of poetry is an exacting task. Numerous translators have tried their powers on Goethe's masterpiece, a few with considerable measure of success; there was still, perhaps, scope to excel. The late Dr. John Todhunter had to recommend him for

the essay some not undistinguished achievement in lyric and dramatic verse and some happy renderings of Heine's *Lieder*. Publication of this volume, prepared for the press in 1914, was hindered by the war, and it now appears posthumously. It is of the painstaking and scholarly order of Miss Swanwick's and Bayard Taylor's translations, following as closely as possible the rhythm, metre and even the irregular rhyme-scheme of the original. As a close reproduction on these lines it is worthy to rank with the best. Prof. Robertson claims that it brings us "a step nearer to that perfection, unattainable as it may be, when the veil that separates tongue from tongue has become so attenuated as to be no longer a veil." That is very idealistic, and it is highly debatable whether the truest translation is to be achieved by such uncompromising methods. The idiosyncrasies of language, after all, are considerable, and in the attempt to fit the exact mould to a different tongue other poetic values will almost inevitably suffer. Certain metres and rhythms are better suited to one language than to another. The laborious attempts of some of our most distinguished poets have failed to acclimatise the hexameter to English. So Dr. Todhunter's carefully rendered lines often trouble the ear with a difficult rhythm, and in packing the exactitudes of sense the music of vowel-and consonant chime is lost. is lost.

To take one example, the lines from Scene I. (330-331),

Du alte Rolle, du wirst angeraucht,

So lang an diesem Pult die trübe Lampe schmauchte,

are rendered:

Thou ancient scroll, thou wilt be with smoke suffused

As long as on this desk the dim lamp's reek suffuse thee,

which illustrates at once the scrupulousness and the limitation of Dr. Todhunter's rendering. It is evident how much he has tried to do, and yet the result as English verse is unpleasing; the elements are all there, and to a great degree the form, but the melody is lost. Bayard Taylor handles this rather better, but both Miss Swanwick and Prof. Blackie save the poetic situation by changing the "smoke" of the second line to "light." In compensation, a few lines farther on Dr. Todhunter achieves a happier line than all the other leading translators:

Du Inbegriff der holden Schlummersäfte

Thou essence of all suave and drowsy juices.

Here and there the sense is a little obscured, and he is sometimes reduced to very awkward inversions of sentences. On the whole, however, it reads well, and certain passages have a vitality and sinewy force hitherto unequalled. The Easter canticle is a critical item for the scholarly method, and Dr. Todhunter's version is not pleasing. In such a number to be scrupulously faithful is to fail, and Sir Theodore Martin's remains the best rendition. The punctuation of the work needs careful revision throughout, and there are a few misprints.

Mr. Locock is another conscientious translator, and in his centenary translation of Bishop Tegnér's Swedish masterpiece he has taken particular pride in reproducing metre and rhyme with

scrupulous fidelity—even to feminine rhymes. He regards a meticulous rendering of the author's words as subordinate to this faithfulness to form and the achievement of intrinsic worth as English verse. Certainly he handles deftly metres of varying degrees of difficulty, and the verse runs with remarkable smoothness. He is as successful with the exacting two-foot iambics of Britiof's Farewell (XIV.) as with the seven-foot anapæsts of "The Viking's Code" (XV.); while not only are his hexameters in Canto III. respectable, but he makes the best of a bad job with the ugly iambic hexameters of the concluding canto. It is all eminently readable, and the diction satisfies poetic demands—save where, by a curious lapse, he embodies the modern slang phrase, "let her rip," in the Viking Code! Mr. Locock discusses his task in interesting fashion by way of introduction, and appends a useful glossary.

The selection from the voluminous verse of the late Mr. Orde Ward is prepared by his daughter. The sentiment and religious faith of Mr. Ward's work are unimpeachable, but he was lacking in the self-criticism which the poet's craft demands. While he had a due sense of rhyme and rhythm, his numbers flow too glibly, there is a frequent inconsequence of image and incongruity of idea, sometimes bordering on incoherence. For instance, in the first few lines of his address to "Doctor Johnson" the lexicographer is variously compared or contrasted with an army corps, India and a banyan tree; and in "Passion and Palm" the work of life suffers the mingled adversities of "loose rough ends," "broken pieces," "knots and blots," "wounds," "blemishes," and "erring stitches." There are, however, a few pieces which escape these faults, e.g., "The Universals," "The All-Sided God"—while occasionally, as in "The Resurrection of the Flowers," Mr. Ward achieved real beauty. All bears the stamp of a truly devotional spirit.

We wish we could say more for the verse of Mr. Story, but it betrays on almost every page a similar lack of discipline. He evidently has a sympathetic feeling for Nature, and looks at life with the eyes of a religious idealist, but his verse-expression is neither sufficiently considered nor coherently fashioned. In matters of rhyme and quantity he is fairly sure—though he has an irritating habit of forced elision. His chief faults are in overbalanced sentences and a strained poetic diction which does not always give to words their just value. The result is frequently to obscure the sense. As minor defects, there is nothing to commend "Great Somewhat!" as a form of address to the Deity, while presumably several references to "Diss" intend the infernal regions and not a town in East Anglia. A tale in blank verse, "Giulio and Loretto," is notably free of these blemishes and suggests that Mr. Story would be most successful in this order of verse.

Mr. Adkins claims for his "medley" that it is a play and not a tract. On the whole, medley is the best description. The first three acts set forth the founding of Cambridge lectureships by a thirteenth-century abbot, an American railroad king and a Lancashire Co-operative Society respectively. Then in the final act candidates are examined for a chair of Economics combining the three. It is amusingly done, and with considerable skill, though

Abbot Withernsea talks in very much the same idiom as the mid-Victorians and neo-Georgians of succeeding acts. Still, there is some attempt at characterisation.

Devotional Classics. Martha Upton Lectures delivered at Manchester College, Oxford. By J. M. CONNELL. Pp. viii., 152. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Price 5s. net.

Richard Hooker. A Study of his Theology. By L. S. THORNTON, M.A. Pp. viii., 128. London: S.P.C.K. Price 4s. net.

MR CONNELL'S lectures are admirably adapted for the purpose claimed for them—the stimulation of interest in the great devotional classics. The items treated are Augustine's *Confessions*, St. Patrick's *Confession* and St. Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, St. Bernard's *Letters*, Tauler's *Sermons*, the *Imitation*, St. Francis de Sales' *Introduction*, the *Pilgrim's Progress* and Law's *Serious Call*. Mr. Connell's method is to give a biographical outline, with a sufficient character-interest, and some well-chosen excerpts from the book under consideration, not without some element of critical comment. In most instances he takes into his purview other writings of his author, and even other writers whose work is germane to the setting. Thus the reader will get some slight introduction to Eckhart, Ruysbroeck, Suso, Boehme, and the *Theologia Germanica*. It is well written, and is altogether a welcome and useful little manual. A bibliography and index are appended. In the former, Dr. Reaveley Glover's initials are, in one instance, wrongly given.

Mr. Thornton, who is a member of the Community of the Resurrection, writes ably and lucidly on Hooker in the series appearing under the general title of "English Theologians." He defines Hooker's position between the extremes of the Papacy and Puritanism, and analyses his *Laws* book by book. On the whole it is very excellent and demonstrates once again the greatness of Hooker's mind and spirit. The Mirfield point of view, however, asserts itself when such matters as the Church, the Eucharist and Holy Orders come to be treated. Mr. Thornton demurs to Hooker's Protestant distinction between the visible and the invisible Church and his Protestant conception of the Eucharist, while he confidently claims him as a sound Catholic on the question of orders—though Hooker's clear insistence on Divine ordination and his preference of "presbyter" to "priest" are at least open to other interpretation. Free Churchmen will find Hooker's reasoning easier to follow than the mysterious logic of the Anglo-Catholic, which makes a deft transition from the premise of "the Word made Flesh" in the Incarnation to a permanent relation between "persons and things" in the visible Church and the Eucharistic elements. Mr. Thornton sums up Hooker as an incomplete convert from Protestantism to Catholicism and is grateful at least that he "saved the Church of England from a destiny of pure Protestantism." In the concluding chapter he applies Hooker as a corrective to Modernism, with special reference to Ritschl. Chronology, bibliography and index are added.

The Historical Novel. An essay. By H. BUTTERFIELD, Fellow of Peterhouse. Pp. 113. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1924. Price 5s. net.

THIS is the Le Bas Prize Essay for 1923, and is an interesting piece of work. The author attempts to estimate the value of the novel as an adjunct to formal history. He traverses the various types—the "geographical," the thematic, the episodic, the prose epic, etc., discriminates between the treatment of history as static and as dynamic, and properly requires as the first desideratum for a good historical novel a mind steeped in the history of the period, out of which the story shall issue. His examination of certain classic examples is very discerning, and there is a highly artistic style about some of his pages which induces expectancy of further work. At the same time, he gives an occasional impression of spinning out his argument. The book is tastefully produced: we have noted a single misprint on p. 93.

Walter de la Mare. A Biographical and Critical Study. By R. L. MEGROZ. Pp. xii, 303. London: Hodder & Stoughton 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THIS, another volume in "The Bookman Library," is written by a personal friend of Mr. de la Mare, and an enthusiastic admirer. The biographical portion is naturally somewhat slender, and the resuscitation of some not very wonderful boyish efforts from a school magazine a little ludicrously ekes it out. The critical remainder, however, is very thorough and of considerable value. Mr. de la Mare's work is examined as "Poetry of Childhood," "Poetry of Dream," and "Poetry of Life," with a good bit of New Psychology *en route*. His "Ghosts," and his "Style and Content," are also refreshingly discussed and he is made the text of suggestive essays on "The Psychology of Dream," "The Language of Poetry," and "The Poet and His Environment." It will be gathered that Mr. Mégroz casts his net both wide and deep. The prose work is dealt with concurrently. Due note is taken of the prosodical experiment of "The Listeners," Dr. William Thomson illustrating this further in an appendix. Other appendices give a bibliography and particulars of the poet's kin-connexion with Robert Browning. The book is certain to stimulate increasing interest in the work of Mr. de la Mare, whose reputation has been steadily growing.

P. J. FISHER.

The Inner Discipline. By CHARLES BAUDOUIN and A. LESTCHINSKY. Pp. 229. London: Allen & Unwin. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Life and Work. An Essay in Psychology. By R. E. LLOYD, M.B., D.Sc. Pp. xvi, 139. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Skill in Work and Play. By T. H. PEAR, M.A., B.Sc. Pp. 104. London: Methuen. 1924. Price 4s. net.

THESE three books are all, formally at least, psychological; but only that of Professor Pear carries us very much further. Professor Baudouin's position is now pretty well known. This book is an attempt to describe some methods of self-discipline that have been adopted by certain religious and other methods used in psycho-

logical practice. The aim is practical rather than technical. There are two parts; Part I discusses "Moral Methods" in six chapters, and quotes extensively from Buddhism, Stoicism, Christianity, and Modern Mind Cure Movements (Christian Science and New Thought). Part II treats of the main psycho-therapeutic methods—Hypnotism and Suggestion, Rational Persuasion, Psycho-analysis, and Auto-suggestion. It is of considerable value to have the different methods brought together as examples of one technique. This and certain historical information as to the inter-relations of the different methods are the book's chief claim to notice. In other ways it is somewhat disappointing. In the religious section the sources used are too restricted. The description of the Inner Discipline in Christianity for instance, is taken entirely from the "Imitation of Christ" which the authors describe as "the text-book of this Christianity of the heart." What is needed is a larger collection of material and a more searching analysis of method. The psychology of the book is even less satisfactory. It is surprising to find, in these days, even in a popular manual, references to "faculties." And the writers seem to be dominated by the out-worn notion of the "force of the idea." Such a statement as this, "An idea is able to release subconscious energies, thus realising itself without our knowing how," has most of the vices of much popular psychology.

Dr. Lloyd's book is a further example of the difficulty of the expert in one field transferring his ability to another. The purely biological sections are welcome, the chapter on Evolution being the best in the book, in spite of the emergence of the author's King Charles's head towards the end. Of the philosophical position it is difficult to form an estimate, owing to the confusion of the exposition. The author's metaphysic seems to be what we can only call a medley of Kant, Bergson and James, with a certain amount of Hegel. The writer has read widely and has compounded contributions from his various authorities according to a formula of his own. The result is not altogether happy, though criticism is somewhat disarmed by his modesty and obvious sincerity.

Professor Pear's little book is on quite a different plane; and in fact, we do it some dis-service by considering it in conjunction with the two others above. It is a limited but serious contribution to psychological investigation, even more valuable for its suggestiveness than for its conclusions. We reviewed Professor Pear's "Remembering and Forgetting" in the *HOLBORN REVIEW* for July, 1923, and drew attention then to an appendix dealing with that kind of learning which seems to reside in the muscles and limbs, and to be independent of the usual intellectual machinery. The same subject is followed a little further here, and illustrated not only from the relevant literature, which is meagre, but by certain practical experiences of the writer. How do we actually come to learn a new game or a new stroke? What are the mental processes in such learning? Are they the same for all people? Can learning and teaching be rendered more efficient by a stricter analysis of such processes? These are some of the questions that arise, and their importance in the acquisition both of athletic and of industrial skill is obvious. The author is exploring new ground, but is able to reach one or two interesting results. Skill seems to demand intelligence; it resembles knowledge in being, in any particular case, a co-ordinated whole;

"an organisation and integration"; it is not necessarily dependent upon blind groping about; and the importance of mere "experience" may easily be exaggerated. The author anticipates, with reason, that important results may follow from the further pursuit of such analysis. We see no reason why in time a sort of Logic of muscular activities should not be evolved. The reaction of this upon games and industry we can leave to the imaginative to work out. Meantime, Professor Pear's book is one of the freshest (and best-written) pieces of psychological work we have read for some time.

Education and Religion. Lectures delivered in Bristol Cathedral.

Edited by the Very Rev. E. A. BURROUGHS, D.D., Dean of Bristol.

Pp. 253. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 5s. net.

As is to be expected in such collections, the lectures in this book are of varying merit. Some traverse familiar ground without marking much progress, while others, especially one, are as good as such things can be. All are sincere attempts to discuss one of the great problems of our day in a way that is not only open-minded, but practically helpful. In this the book undoubtedly succeeds. If the questions belonging to that area where religion and education meet and inter-act could always be discussed in this spirit the future would be full of hope. It is a little regrettable that a doctor, even a mental specialist, was chosen to give the lecture on "Psychology and Religion," for the terminology is far more loose than need be, and the acceptance of some recent conclusions (especially those of the psycho-analysts) too uncritical. The Rev. C. S. Woodward has some very practical things, based on his own experiments, to say about "Children and Churchmanship"; but the lecture that gives distinction to the book is that of the Headmaster of Eton, Dr. Alington. Alike in its acute analysis, its vigorous expression, and its insight, it is worthy of the very highest praise. Such sentiments as the following are not as familiar to us as they should be, "It is very easy to be dogmatic; and very likely it is right to be dogmatic about things that do not matter much. But in religion it is far better, it is absolutely necessary to be completely honest." We hope, if only because it contains this one lecture, that this volume will become widely known.

Christianity and Modern Thought. By C. R. BROWN, B. W. BACON, etc. Edited by R. H. GABRIEL. Pp. 196. 11s. 6d. net. Yale University Press. 1924. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

THESE nine lectures grew out of a course given at a Connecticut Church in 1923. It is not clear that they were all delivered on that occasion, but probably the demands of the popular lecture explain a certain looseness of texture in the great majority. What we miss is a serious and thorough-going attempt to face up to the changes, for good and ill, introduced into Christianity by modern thought and modern conditions. In most of the essays the soil of the subject is only scratched; in very few instances does the blade strike deep. Two of the essays are exceptions. That by the Rev. C. W. Gilkey on "The Function of the Church in Modern Society" is a very competent analysis of the permanent and present-day factors of

Church life. But the most valuable essay in the book is undoubtedly that by Professor Bacon on "The Return to Theology," where the description of the new interest in an intellectual formulation of Christianity and the discussion, vigorous and at times pungent, of what this means, make a real contribution to the subject. There is room for a book that will attempt to estimate, fully and frankly, the inter-action between Christianity and modern thought. But we are afraid this is not the book.

F. C. TAYLOR.

Speculum Mentis, or The Map of Knowledge. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD. Pp. 327. Oxford Press. 1924. Price 12s. 6d. net.

MR. COLLINGWOOD, who will be known to some readers as the author of a book called *Religion and Philosophy*, offers us in the present work "a crude sketch" of a philosophical system. He well says that such a system nowadays should take the shape of a critical review of the chief forms of human experience, and that none but those who have had long practice in some of those forms are competent to discuss them philosophically. He consequently examines in turn Art, Religion, Science, History, and finally, Philosophy itself, in order to discover what they reveal about ultimate reality. He finds that each of these is infected with error, since it asserts a partial and one-sided form of experience to be the whole. The artist, religionist, or scientist considers his world to be *the* world, and hence each quarrels with the other. But each devotee of a pursuit is corrected, not by discussions with his rivals in other pursuits, but by the internal contradictions of his own world when it is fully developed. Thus Art purports to be mere imagination, yet cannot avoid claiming truth; religion would be sheer faith, yet asserts dogmatic knowledge; science aims at laws, yet is ever at the mercy of contingent fact; history should embrace all fact, yet constantly forgets that the historian himself *makes* history; and even philosophy is apt to regard systems as perfect truth, whereas absolute truth can only be attained by the mind's ceaseless correction of its own (inevitable) error. All the forms of human experience are implicitly right but explicitly wrong, since what they mean to say is not what they do say. They point beyond themselves to an absolute whole which includes them all, yet which sets them their special tasks. "For the life of the mind consists of raising and solving problems—problems in art, religion, science, politics, and so forth."

Such in barest outline is the thesis of the book, which has strong affinities with the Italian school of Idealism, and which is written with admirable verve and finish. Through it all is an air of paradox culminating in the sentence quoted above. Mind so employed seems to be engaged in a rather futile occupation. But we are not now concerned to criticise this conception, but to commend a piece of work which bears the mark of long and strenuous thinking, which is largely original, and which presents one form of modern idealism in a striking and attractive manner.

The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. By ETIENNE GILSON. Pp. xv, 284. Cambridge: Heffer. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. (Authorised translation by EDWARD BULLOUGH, M.A.)

Principles of Natural Theology. By GEORGE HAYWARD JOYCE, S.J., M.A. Pp. xxviii, 612. Longmans. 1923. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Studies on God and His Creatures. By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. Pp. vii, 205. Longmans. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE revival of the study of St. Thomas Aquinas, which is so notable a feature of modern Roman Catholicism, is producing a crop of excellent treatises upon scholastic philosophy. It is also stimulating a contemporary scholasticism which is most able and fresh, as a glance at the Stonyhurst Philosophical Series may demonstrate. It is incumbent upon those who are interested in modern thought to take account of this movement, for it is living and influential in more than ecclesiastical quarters. The translation of M. Gilson's book enables us to get a bird's-eye view of the philosophical system of St. Thomas, which is a vast and massive thing. M. Gilson has brought together material from all parts of his author's writings and made a summary which is an excellent example of the best French work—at once concise, luminous and solid. The book is indispensable to the serious student of Thomism. Its various chapters discuss such problems as Faith and Reason, the proofs of the existence of God, Creation, the Angels, Human Nature, and the Last End—all in the most careful terms and the choicest language. The translation is guaranteed by M. Gilson himself, and the volume well produced by the publishers, though not without several misprints.

Father Joyce's *Natural Theology* is a modernisation of Thomistic philosophy, and is very clearly and competently written. It is thoroughly abreast of recent thought on the subject, and speaks on easy terms with contemporary philosophy. Much of it is helpful to any school of Christian theology, and all of it is at once skilful and urbane. If it seems unduly deferential to the authority of St. Thomas, and excessively critical of modern science, that was only to be expected in a dogmatic treatise.

Father Rickaby's *Studies on God and His Creatures* are much freer in their handling of controversial questions, such as the proofs of God's existence, His unchangeableness and condescension, free-will and miracles. For the book is in dialogue form and ventures into discussion of the most difficult points of natural theology. In most cases the author, whilst keeping within the bounds of orthodoxy, contrives to throw fresh light upon abstruse questions, and that in a distinguished and pleasing manner.

The Philosophy of the Upanisads. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. Pp. xv, 143. London: Allen & Unwin. 1924. 5s. net.

THE author and the publishers of the volume entitled *Indian Philosophy*, which we received some time ago, have had the happy thought to publish separately the section of that work which deals with the Upanisads. The whole volume has been very well received by critics, and has already become a chief authority. There are many people, however, who cannot attempt to study Indian philosophy as a whole, who will welcome this study of the core of Indian thought. To the present volume Rabindranath Tagore contributes a foreword, full of that dreamy mysticism which one expects from this writer. Mr. Edmond Holmes also adds an introduction, which

is short and clear, and which points out in exact and careful words what is the central idea of the Upanisads, and how it is related to that of Western thought, especially Christianity. It is remarkable how he finds the ideal of Buddha and of Christ to be the same. We have much to learn yet about the essentials common to all religions, and an authoritative book like this makes comprehension easier.

Ultimate Values. By J. S. MACKENZIE, Litt.D., LL.D. Pp. x, 191. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 5s. net.

The Idea of the Soul. By JOHN LAIRD, M.A. Pp. viii, 191. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. 5s. net.

THESE two volumes form part of a series which has already been noticed in this Review. It aims at presenting the latest philosophical knowledge in a form understandable by the average person. In this purpose the two volumes before us have largely succeeded. Prof. Mackenzie gives us first a sketch of the theoretical outlook to-day, touching lightly but surely upon such matters as space and time, appearance and reality, relativity and evolution, realism and idealism. This leads to a discussion of ultimate values such as truth, goodness and beauty, in the last of which the author tends to find the clue to the world's mysteries. This very interesting result is reached in an all-too-summary manner, but with Prof. Mackenzie's usual display of candour, incisiveness and urbanity. The bearings of his views upon the world and upon practice conclude an eminently wise and suggestive little book.

Prof. Laird's treatment of the Idea of the Soul follows much the same lines as his larger work on Problems of the Self, reviewed some years ago in this Quarterly. It is thoroughly fresh and modern, and likely to be helpful to persons interested in psychology. After an historical account of the subject, it discusses the nature of the self and certain difficulties involved therein. This leads to an exposition of the soul as concrete mental and moral process, and justifies its individuality as against both sceptical and absolutist theories. Interesting suggestions upon the question of immortality close the discussion, which is thoroughly sane throughout. One should add that in the case of both books it is doubtful whether the average reader will appreciate the historical references, but they are not essential to the main themes.

The Beautiful. By HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL, L.H.D., D.S. Pp. x, 238. Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 15s. net.

MR. H. R. MARSHALL has made in this new work an important contribution to the theory of the beautiful. He is well equipped by previous psychological study and by wide knowledge of aesthetic literature to undertake a psychological investigation of the nature of beauty, though he appears to be less skilled on the metaphysical side. The first part of his work discusses the psychology of beauty and arrives at the law that "Beauty is relatively stable, or real, pleasure. Any pleasant element may become part of the field that is relatively stable. We call an object beautiful which seems always to yield pleasure in impression, or contemplative revival." This generalisation is then applied in the second part of the work to the observation, criticism and production of beauty, in the course of

which discussion many wise and helpful things are said. The third section of the book deals with the relations between the True, the Good and the Beautiful, which three he finds to be mutually independent, exclusive, and collectively exhaustive of the Real. This part of the work appears to us to be well and soundly done, the criticism of ancient and modern schools of thought being specially valuable. But as to Mr. Marshall's main theory, that beauty is essentially subjective and relative, we must own ourselves to be unconvinced. The pleasure-pain conditions of beauty do not seem to be identical with the beautiful object itself.

Prolegomena to an Idealist Theory of Knowledge. By NORMAN KEMP SMITH, D.Phil., LL.D. Pp. xiii, 240. Macmillan. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR NORMAN KEMP SMITH'S book is an attempt to further the work of reconciliation, now not uncommon, between Idealism and Realism. It might even be well called "Realistic Prolegomena," etc. and naturally enough it may fail to satisfy either the thorough-going realist or full-blooded idealist. In this respect it resembles the work of Kant, from the prolonged study of which it is easy to see that Mr. Smith has drawn his inspiration. Kant's theories were in uncertain equilibrium and the same must be said of Dr. Smith's.

At the start he removes a common danger to both realist and idealist by refuting again the doctrine of representative perception which hails from Descartes. But he will not accept the attempt of Dr. Ward and his like to account for the construction of our world of knowledge, and thereby involves himself in unnecessary difficulties, besides deserving the strictures which Dr. Ward passes upon him in the *Hibbert Journal* for October, 1924. He essays to explain knowledge by three main factors—sensa, intuition and the categories. Sensa are the joint product of physical and physiological processes, and possibly also of psychical processes. They are, so to say, the colouring which the mind gives to the intrinsic qualities of the independently real. They are a means of adaptation to the outer world. Intuition contemplates these sensa as spatial and temporal. Categorial thinking apprehends space-time events as possessing ideal meaning, such as whole and part, necessitation, cause and substance. "Complete consciousness, i.e., any actual consciousness involves all three—on the objective side, the sensa, categorial relations, time and space; on the subjective side, sensing, categorial thinking and intuiting." Professor Smith works out the relations between these three with much pains, and yet in the end does not feel that he has quite solved his problem. A critic may indeed doubt whether he has not needlessly complicated his task by introducing the cumbrous machinery of Kant to account for what Dr. Ward has explained in both a simpler and a completer fashion. The book is full of suggestive and at the same time controversial matter, and Dr. Smith would do well to work it out into full system, for at present, as mere prolegomena, it is difficult and obscure from its very fragmentariness. A full treatment would expose both the strong and the weak parts to the reader, and, one suspects, also to the writer.

ATKINSON LEE.

There They Crucified Him. By REV. JOHN A. HUTTON, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 6s. net.

Addresses in a Highland Chapel. By G. E. BARBOUR. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 6s. net.

Possessing our Possessions. By REV. W. JUSTIN EVANS. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 6s. net.

The Changing Church and The Unchanging Christ. By R. H. COATS, B.D. James Clarke & Co. Price 6s. net.

The Scottish Pulpit. Edited by D. P. THOMSON, M.A. James Clarke & Co. Price 6s. net.

Dr. HUTTON's discourses revolve round our Lord's death as a centre, flashing light now on one aspect, now on another, but always with a certain leisureliness, which is one of the author's characteristics. If not always equally successful he does make the light of his genius play round his subject, and sometimes, as in the sermon on Judas, with singularly illuminating results. He has a practical purpose ever in view, and so makes the hearer see himself in the varying aspects of these last days of our Lord's passion. Each will find his own sin, his failure, his need clearly mirrored. Dr. Hutton is emphatically *sui generis*, as this admirable volume once more shows.

The author of the *Life of Dr. Alexander Whyte*, Rev. G. F. Barbour, presents in his volume a series of addresses, delivered in the Highland chapel rendered almost sacred by the frequent ministrations of the famous minister of Free St. George's, Edinburgh. For more than thirty years Dr. Whyte, year by year, never failed to preach once at least in Fincastle Chapel. Dr. Whyte's biographer discourses with learning and insight on a number of out-of-the-way themes, such as "How Life shows itself," "The Test and Crown of our Lord's Ministry," which are admirably illustrated from history and literature. It is curious to find him, however, in citing illustrations of how a new vision of God has always incited men to preach in the open-air, omitting any mention of one of the most striking of them all. Surely no resort to open-air worship is quite comparable in its results with that of Wesley and Whitefield.

It is fitting that some memorial of the eloquent and fruitful ministry of the late Rev. Justin Evans should be preserved. The appreciations by Rev. Henry Harries and Rev. G. Beesley Austin fail somehow to give any adequate impression of either the man or his ministry. The sermons themselves are off the beaten track in their style and method of treatment—fresh, unconventional, and intensely practical. The preacher seems to plunge headlong into his theme. Addressed chiefly to the "saints," they do not give us much idea of what his ministry was in its more evangelistic aspects. He may not have been such a great natural orator as his more famous brother, Herber Evans; but he attained a worthy eminence in his own Church and the ministry of London.

Every age has desired to see Jesus, and to each a new vision of Him has been given, in which some long-neglected aspect of the Christ has been presented. The revelation has, of course, been conditioned by the subjective element inseparable from all seeing. In a perpetually changing Church, where is the unchanging Christ? is the question Mr. Coats seeks to answer in his able and interesting volume. How fascinating are

the chapter-headings—the Christ of Scripture, of History, of Romance, of Catholicism, of Evangelicalism, of Rationalism, of Speculation, of Art, Poetry, Social Service, and of the Ages. Nor does the fulfilment fall short of the promise. The interest, the lucidity, the breadth, the informativeness of each section command our admiration. The book should be in every preacher's library, to widen the horizon and inspire new passion in the proclamation of the Christ, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

These twenty-one sermons, representative of the Scottish pulpit, may not be all gold, but what fine gold is here! Quickly you come upon a sermon vivid in conception, clean-cut in phrasing—not a superfluous word,—lucid in its thinking, direct in its style—a joy to read; another arrests you at once by its freshness of thought, its verbal mastery—the word so exactly fitting the thought, the accuracy with which it contrasts two opposing ideals, and the completeness with which the whole is rounded off in application. Yet another startles with an idea it flashes upon you, so new and with such far-reaching implications. The short paragraphs are as winged arrows reaching their mark with infallible accuracy. Still another is a sledge-hammer of judgment, much needed in this slack age. Then you come upon a sermon full of quiet beauty, of thought, of phrase, that leads us on from point to point with its magic of word and phrase, and its keen insight. Among the younger preachers is one whose sermon is marked by deep spirituality and an apt quotation of Scripture which makes his prelection fragrant with the *ipsissima verba* of the Book of Life. Such real preaching would redeem the rest of the volume even were some of its pages a trifle arid.

Religious Experience. By R. H. FISHER, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THE Baird Lecture, 1924, is of special interest and value, a book to be read from cover to cover, and then kept for reference. We expect from Dr. Fisher, Editor of "Life and Work," the official organ of the Church of Scotland, wide knowledge, and literary craftsmanship; and we are not disappointed. But it is in its religious aspects that the book makes its strongest appeal. There is a fine spiritual glow from first to last, and it will edify and inspire as well as inform the reader. In the chapter on Mysticism it would be difficult to find in the same space equal fulness and balance. The same qualities are manifest in the treatment of heredity. Forgiveness, Conversion, Regeneration may not command quite the same assent, the mere paragraph dealing with the Atonement being too fragmentary even in the case of so difficult a subject. There are chapters devoted to the making of Christian Character, Growing Age, and the Outlook and Hope for Time and Eternity. Altogether the Baird Lecture is worthy of its distinguished author, who is said to be the most interesting preacher in the Church of Scotland.

J. RITSON.

The New Theories of Matter and the Atom. By ALFRED BERTHOUD. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Pp. 289. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

FIFTEEN years ago we knew hardly anything about the structure of

the atom. During this period, the advances made in the study of this subject, and in all correlated physical science, have been stupendous. Berthoud gives us a brief and fairly complete account of the recent developments in this branch of physics. He commences with a historical account of the growth of ideas on the atom, from early days up to the beginning of the last quarter of a century, describing the work of the pioneer physicists. He then deals, so far as is necessary, with the modern electronic theory and the theory of relativity. The remainder of the book is occupied with accounts of the recent discoveries on the structure of the atom by Rutherford, who has subjected various atoms to a severe bombardment, and has succeeded in battering them down; and with the new work and theories of Bohr, including his application of Planck's theory of quanta to the atom.

On first acquaintance with the subject, one is astounded at the space allotted to the description of such minute phenomena as are revealed in work of this kind. As Bertrand Russell says, "Sherlock Holmes at his best did not show anything like the skill of the physicist in making inferences, subsequently verified, from minute facts which ordinary people would have thought unimportant." But the fact remains that the problems are still unravelled and their solution is still incomplete, both as regards the general point of view and the elaboration of detail; and no explanation of the mysteries of this science can be given; we can only affirm a connexion between inexplicable experimental facts. Berthoud has pointed out where the models of Rutherford and Bohr are found wanting, and has indicated how much more prolonged effort and co-ordination are needed before we can really feel that we have an accurate solution of the problem of the structure of the atom and molecules.

In a work attempting to cover so much ground, the material has necessarily to be much condensed; and this, together with the nature of the subject matter, makes the book one which demands attention and concentration. One suggestion which might be made is that some slight indication might be given, preferably in an appendix, as to the process by which the mathematical formulæ have been reached. Though the volume is not written for the specialist, it is likely to be read by the mathematician and physicist; and the addition of such an appendix would constitute an improvement in their eyes, while its existence need not worry the general reader.

The book describes with great lucidity the present state of the problems discussed, and would well repay any time and trouble taken in its perusal. It affords, in addition, an insight into the mysteries of the subject, which gives it a peculiar charm of its own.

DORIS WITHINGTON.

NEW EDITIONS.

A most attractive edition of *The Sonnets of Shakespeare* from the quarto of 1609 has been edited by Prof. T. G. Tucker (Cambridge University Press, 17s. 6d. net). The text of the sonnets is furnished with a critical apparatus and with a full and exceptionally valuable commentary. The sonnets present problems so intricate and baffling that, unless new evidence is forthcoming, we must

remain in ignorance. Prof. Tucker states the problems clearly and discusses them with commendable caution. He warns us against assuming that, even when we have distinguished two separate series, we are entitled to suppose that the whole of the sonnets belonged to one or other of these. Several may be included which are distinct from either. This being admitted, he examines the two main series. He believes that they are autobiographical, and while allowing that Mr. W. H. may be entirely unknown to us, argues strongly for the identification with William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, if he is to be sought among familiar contemporary figures. The "Dark Woman" series is also, he believes, autobiographical, recounting an entanglement with a married woman and exhibiting the poet as displaying a regrettable lack of decent taste and ordinary chivalry. Careful discussions are given of the date and the poetical form. The investigation of the technique is very instructive. Much attention has been devoted to the difficult textual problems. This sumptuous edition should prove an acceptable present to lovers of great literature.

In connexion with the centenary edition of George Macdonald's works we have to welcome *The Tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: A Study with the Text of the Folio of 1623*. This was first published in 1885. The reprint is published by Allen and Unwin (8s. 6d. net). There is a brief preface in which the author explains his attitude to the textual problem. The text of the first folio is exactly reprinted on the left-hand page, and the editor's annotations on the right-hand page. The first quarto, he thinks, was printed without Shakespeare's permission from his sketch for the play. The second quarto he takes as Shakespeare's own, though full of appalling printer's errors, the first folio as the poet's last presentment of his work. We shall be very interested to see how the problem is dealt with in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare*. The annotations reveal close study of the masterpiece by a man of genius who is specially concerned to understand the poet's delineation of Hamlet's very complex personality. Special value attaches to the summaries which are given at critical points in the play. Students of Shakespeare and lovers of George Macdonald will alike rejoice in this volume, and those doubly so who are devoted to both.

Many of our readers will be familiar with Canon D. C. Simpson's *Pentateuchal Criticism*, which we reviewed on its original publication in 1914. A new edition has now been produced photographically by the Muston Company and published by the Oxford University Press (price 6s. 6d. net). The reprint differs from the original simply in the addition of a bibliography and a footnote referring to Dr. Skinner's *Divine Names in Genesis*. We are glad that a new edition of this excellent volume has been needed and is now available, and commend it warmly to our readers.

Lovers of St. Francis of Assisi and students of the Franciscan movement will be glad to know that Father Cuthbert has prepared a second edition of *The Romanticism of St. Francis* (Longmans, 10s. 6d. net). The author, who has written an important life of St. Francis, is an eminent theologian of the Roman communion and recently edited the notable exposition of its faith, *God and the Supernatural*. For the benefit of those who are not acquainted

with the first edition, we may say that, in addition to the article, which gives its title to the work, it contained articles on St. Clare, The Story of the Friars, and A Modern Friar. The last was a sketch of Father Alphonsus, who died in North Wales on February 5th, 1911. But the second edition is not simply a revision of the first; it also includes an essay on Adam Marsh, an English Franciscan of the thirteenth century, the intimate friend of Grosseteste. We know him only through his correspondence and the tributes of his friends; but he was a scholar of great accomplishments, an eminent theologian, a wise counsellor, a loyal friend, an ardent apostle of reform. The author expounds dogma and handles history from a standpoint which we cannot share, but there is much in this volume by which all Christians may profit.

We welcome three new issues in "Everyman's Library" (Dent, 2s. net each). The first is *The Journal of George Fox*. This edition is identical in text, page for page and line for line, with that prepared by Mr. Norman Penney with an introduction by Dr. Rufus Jones. This edition we recently noticed. The present issue is more closely printed on a smaller page and inferior paper and without the illustrations. But it is a great deal cheaper and remarkable value for the money. The second volume is *Swift's Journal to Stella*. It has been deciphered afresh and edited by Mr. J. K. Moorhead and adequately annotated. The third volume is a collection of Russian stories translated by Mr. R. S. Townsend. Its plan is to represent the development of the Russian short story from Pushkin in the early nineteenth century down to the outbreak of the war. The writers included are Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy, Korolenko, Anton Chehov, E. C. Chirikov, Leonid Andreyev, A. Kuprin, Maxim Gorky, T. Sologub. The translator has written a brief preface, indicating the standpoint from which most of the stories are written. This is a book no student of fiction, and in particular of Russian fiction, should miss.

It is quite unnecessary to praise or describe Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Books*. The first is in its 241st thousand, the second in its 129th thousand. But many will be interested to know that under the title *The Two Jungle Books* (Macmillan, 10s. 6d. net) both series of tales have been included in a single volume of 576 pages and printed on thin paper. It has been illustrated by J. Lockwood Kipling and W. H. Drake. The order of the stories has been rearranged. The volume is attractively produced and would form a most acceptable present.

The problem of translation has always fascinated us and since, nearly half a century ago, we first discovered Pope's rendering and read it over and over again, we have always been specially interested in versions of the *Odyssey*. In his famous lectures *On Translating Homer*, Matthew Arnold argued that the hexameter was most suited for the purpose. We must own a liking ourselves for other types of translation, such as Worsley's Spenserian stanza, Mackail's use of the stanza of Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyâm*, and the favourite metre which William Morris used for this purpose, as for so much beside. We approach the hexameter with a natural repugnance, as for something exotic and artificial; but we must confess to having received a pleasant surprise when a number of years ago we made the acquaintance of

Mr. H. B. Cotterill's *Homer's Odyssey: a Line-for-line Translation in the Metre of the Original*. We were fortunate enough to have the costly *Edition de Luxe* as a present from a friend; but apart from the splendour of the dress and the adornment of its illustrations, we were much struck by the poetical success of a really difficult experiment. The book was doomed to a limited circulation by its price, though it has now for some time we believe been out of print. We accordingly welcome a new edition (G. G. Harrap, 7s. 6d. net) which should by its cheapness and excellence command a good sale. It is well produced, though without the illustrations; and Dr. Leaf, the famous Homeric scholar, has contributed an introduction dealing with the metrical problem. He goes so far as to say "honestly I think that Mr. Cotterill's imitation of the Homeric stanza is quite as good as Virgil's."

In 1907 the present Dean of St. Paul's published his volume, *Idealism and Mysticism*. Five years later it went into a second edition, and now the author has published a third edition. Since 1907 the author has gained a wider fame, he has deepened his thoughts and expanded his erudition. But on going back to read these lectures over again he finds nothing that he desires to alter, and republishes the work because it discusses the relation of current philosophical controversies to Christology. In view of the vital importance attaching at present to Christological discussion the republication of this book is very welcome. We may accept or reject details in his presentation or even his general point of view; but his discussion is of great value as the work of a thoroughly competent and deeply religious thinker, who knows his own mind and expresses it with unusual lucidity and force. In the new preface he is emphatic on the necessity of rejecting anti-mystical and anti-intellectualistic systems. "My contention was, and still is, that Platonism cannot be torn out of Christianity without destroying it."

BRIEF NOTICES.

The *Hundred and Twentieth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, for the year ending March, 1924, is a volume of more than 600 pages and issued in stiff covers at 1s. The popular report *Like unto Leaven* is issued at 6d. Both are prepared by Rev. Edwin W. Smith. The larger volume is more suitable for those who desire to follow the work in detail, either in its whole extent or in special fields. But the smaller volume extracts the essence and presents it in attractive form. It is admirably written and not at all dry as reports are apt to be. It brings out with great force the new movements which are revolutionising thought and life over large areas of the world. And those in search of material for Bible Society addresses, or indeed for other addresses, will find suggestion here.—Another report is that published at 6d. by the Student Christian Movement under the title *A Fellowship of Students*. It is a wonderful story of the varied activities for which the movement is responsible; and the weaknesses of which the leaders are conscious are not disguised.—Under the title *Authority in Religion* (Swarthmore Press, 3s. 6d. net) Mr. Edward Grubb has published a new study of

an ever-urgent problem. His position as a leader in the Society of Friends has naturally given him a special interest in it, and in an earlier book *Authority and Light Within* (1908) he discussed it with special reference to the Quaker position. The present work is based on the earlier one and a pamphlet *The Problem of Authority in Religion* (1911). We have previously dealt with his position, which remains the same. He does not stake his all on the inner light. There is no infallible external authority; the inward authority is adequate, but it is an authority which cannot dispense with Church, Bible or Christ legitimately used. The book will be helpful to young people whether members of the Society of Friends or not.—A volume of essays in religious restatement has been issued by Rev. A. D. Belden under the title *The Greater Christ* (Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 3s. 6d. net). It falls into two parts, "New Knowledge and the Faith," and "A Miscellany of Application." The former deals with the problems raised by the Copernican theory of the universe, the theory of evolution and the new view of Scripture; and, in the light of these, discusses the Fall, the Divinity of Christ, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the return of Jesus, the Future Life. The second part contains short papers on various subjects, including Conversion, The Intercession of Christ, the Redemption of Labour, The Silence of God. The book is a fresh presentation of Christian truth in a liberal but substantially orthodox form. It should be helpful to local preachers and Sunday School teachers.—For those who have the means to procure and the time to read them, the twelve volumes of Copec Reports will be of great value, but for others *The Message of Copec* (Student Christian Movement, 1s. 6d. net) by H. A. Mess. should be a serviceable substitute. The author is well qualified for his task and the condensation has been skilfully made. The volume should serve well for Study Circles for which questions are suggested. Others might find it helpful to read one of the potted reports before studying the Report itself.—Dr. William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, has published a striking religious autobiography under the title *Fifty Years* (S.C.M., 3s. 6d. net). He shows how the older orthodoxy gave way to a liberal orthodoxy which he could hold and yet remain without intellectual dishonesty within the Anglican Church. As the author is now seventy-four, he cannot be dismissed as a rash and headstrong youth! The newly-appointed Bishop of Birmingham has contributed an interesting introduction.—Miss Edith Cowell has translated *Gnostic Fragments* (Williams & Norgate, 3s. 6d.), a work by Professor Buonaiuti. The book has wide learning behind it, so far as least as German literature is concerned. Of English discussions the author is almost entirely ignorant. And we wish that at some points he had given us more than he actually provides. The discussion of Basilides rests mainly on the quotations in Clement of Alexandria; but something ought to have been said on the account given by Hippolytus. It is interesting that the author should regard *The Odes of Solomon* as a genuine work of Valentinus. The theory of Gnostic origin has not so far found much favour. The book is a useful collection of material. The translator might with advantage have added a bibliography of the English literature on the subject.—Sir Oliver Lodge has published a characteristic little volume entitled *The Making of Man*

(Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d. net). Accepting the fact of development, he insists that the pain and effort involved in it produce valuable results not otherwise to be attained; and that within the terms of the problems no better result could have been anticipated. So far as man is concerned we are still at a very early stage and there is a career of infinite progress before our race. His views on the survival of death and the possibility of communication are prominent, and there are interesting references to possible pre-existence. The discussion of the Incarnation is not such as would satisfy a theologian.—In the useful People's Library, Mr. W. Watkin Davies has published *How to Read History* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2s. 6d. net). To cover the whole field from the dim dawn of history till the close of the nineteenth century is a formidable enterprise but, so far as it can be done, Mr. Davies has achieved a striking success. It is not, of course, a sketch of the history itself, though a good deal of historical narrative is contained in it. But it is an excellent guide to the student over the whole field and especially strong in bibliography. The section on Early Christianity is not on a level with the rest of the book.—Some years ago we called attention to an excellent work by Mr. H. Jeffs, *Practical Lay Preaching and Speaking to Men*. This has gone out of print, and the author has replaced it by *Progressive Lay Preaching* (James Clarke & Co., 4s. 6d. net). He has wise things to say on personality and its development, on Bible study, on the preparation of the sermon, the conduct of the service, on the enrichment of language and the cultivation of style, on delivery, on open-air preaching and personal evangelism, on various modern preachers from Spurgeon onwards. This book is the latest of a lengthening series in which Mr. Jeffs has placed the fruits of long editorial and journalistic experience, combined with expert knowledge of the subject, at the service of preachers, and not simply of lay preachers.—To the very attractive "Golden Series of Colour Books" (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d. net each), of which we gave an account a year ago, the publishers have added two volumes of fairy tales, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*, illustrated by Kay Nielsen and *Edmund Dulac's Fairy Book*. The former consists of stories reprinted from Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, together with *The Three Princesses in the Blue Mountains*, and *Prince Lindworm*. The latter contains a collection of English, French, Russian and other European stories, together with a Chinese and a Japanese story. It is illustrated by Edmund Dulac. A third volume *Where the Rainbow Ends* by Clifford Mills, illustrated by Leo Bates, is a story of a wicked uncle and aunt, a magic carpet on which the children escaped from them, a dragon, a witch, and St. George to the rescue. All three volumes are well produced and richly adorned with illustrations. They are amazingly cheap and would form most delightful and acceptable presents.—Under the title *Question Time in Hyde Park* (S.P.C.K., 6s. net), Professor C. F. Rogers has put together five series of questions received and answers given on matters of Christian evidence. These are enriched by a series of illustrations consisting mainly of well-chosen quotations from various authorities. The book is valuable for its replies to unbelievers; much that is said on points of difference between Christians is also good though we should naturally dissent from some of the opinions expressed.

Pamphlets.—The Anglo-Catholics and the Liberal Evangelicals have been issuing a series of pamphlets. We welcome a new series by Modern Churchmen edited by the Rev. C. F. Russell, and entitled *Modern Papers in Modern Churchmanship* (Longmans, 3d. each). We have four issues before us, *Liberalism in Religion*, by the Dean of St. Pauls; *The Nature of Punishment and Forgiveness*, by Dr. Douglas White; *What is the Church?* by Dr. Rashdall; and *Criticism and the Old Testament*, by Professor Kennett. Dr. Inge sharply distinguishes between the Liberal and the Modernist, whether Roman or Anglican. "Modernism is Catholic, profoundly institutional, anti-rationalistic and pragmatic." "The Modernist calls his opponents 'Intellectualists'; the Liberal calls his opponents 'Traditionalists.' In these two names the wide difference between the two progressive schools is apparent." Dr. White rejects the traditional theories of the Atonement. There is no obstruction that needs to be removed on God's side. The mission of Jesus has for its object not a transaction with God but a revelation to men. Dr. Rashdall writes with discrimination on the problem of the Church. Dr. Kennett's pamphlet clears the way for a more reasonable view of the Old Testament and for a truer recognition of the nature and need of Biblical criticism.—Professor A. E. Brooke prints a sermon preached before the University of Cambridge under the title *The Bible To-day and To-morrow* (Cambridge University Press, 1s.). He desires to emphasise the authority of the Bible in full view of modern knowledge. He would begin with the earliest Gospel and pass on to Matthew and Luke, then to the Pauline Epistles and the Fourth Gospel, and only then proceed to the Old Testament. If the Bible thus studied makes the right impression upon him he will be assured of its authority.—Some time ago we called attention to Professor C. H. Turner's Inaugural Lecture *The Study of the New Testament*. He has now published a second edition which contains six pages of additional notes in small type. The longest of the notes deals with Dr. Charles' Commentary on the Apocalypse of which he speaks with appreciation, but which, he says, occasionally contains an element of arbitrary interpretation. He selects the treatment of the references to the Parthians in the book to illustrate this. Curiously he expresses no opinion on Dr. Charles' theory of the editor and the rearrangement of the closing chapters. We are glad that Dr. Turner now recognises that he over-estimated the effect of Harnack's view of Luke and Acts on the critical position in Germany. It was, in fact, rather surprising that the original mistake should have been made as the Acts literature of Germany since its publication should have made the position quite clear. But Eduard Meyer's emphatic acceptance of the Lucan authorship is a most encouraging event. Some valuable suggestions are added on the textual criticism of Mark and Hebrews. Simultaneously and from the same publishers we have received a lecture by him *The Early Printed Editions of the Greek Testament* (1s. 6d. net). It is an interesting sketch of the subject down to the publication of the Stephanus folio edition of 1550.—Mr. John Newton has issued *Dont's for Choirmasters* (Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1s. net), a companion to his *Dont's for Church Organists*, which has gone into a second enlarged edition, and has been very well received. It is brightly written and embodies the lesson of experience; it is speci-

ally addressed to Anglican choirmasters, but contains much that will be useful to others.

EDITOR.

Those who have enjoyed Eden Phillpotts' stories of the "Human Boy," etc., will probably turn with pleasant expectations to a small volume of his other writings, *Thoughts in Prose and Verse* (Watts & Co., 5s. net). They will probably be disappointed. These poems and sketches, dealing with Man, Reason, the Fall, etc., are not the happiest expressions of their author's talents. The prevailing note is one of a defiant but rather weary optimism. "We wait for the sun to rise, in whose beam Reason will find her place." The pleasantest thing in the book and the best written is a note on John Ford, the 17th century poet, set in the background of the Dartmoor Phillpotts knows so well.—The Ingersoll Lecture on Immortality for 1923 is by Dr. G. E. Horr,—*The Christian Faith and Eternal Life* (the Oxford University Press, 4s. 6d. net). This is an argument for Immortality, based on the fact of spiritual communion between God and man. This conception is briefly traced through the Old Testament and the later literature up to Jesus and then related to our own experiences of fellowship with Christ. There are no brilliant novelties, but the lecture is a careful and valuable review, clearly and concisely written.—The Bishop of Ripon has recently published *Religion, Philosophy and History*, the lectures given at the University at Leeds in the early part of the year (Oxford University Press). These are not "popular" lectures in the ordinary sense; but those who are looking for a reasoned defence of Christianity that takes account of the best modern work will find it here. That the Christian faith "restores proportion and order to our idea of the world," and is the "ideal form in which the deep-seated impulse of man to seek God is expressed and satisfied," is the theme of the book. We heartily commend it to all who are interested in the deeper bases of their faith.

F. C. TAYLOR.

In *Wisps of Wildfire* (The Epworth Press, 5s. net), F. W. Boreham maintains his wonderfully high level of interest and variety. Here, too, we have the same verbal legerdemain, the same mastery of material, the same element of surprise that won our admiration in "The Luggage of Life," and its successors. And still the wonder grows how the author continues his wealth of illustration, especially now that we know he keeps no notebooks. And it is all done so naturally and so deftly. It is a marvel that such simple things can be invested with so much dignity, and made the vehicle of such wise teaching.—From *The River of a Hundred Ways*, by Joice M. Nankivell and Sydney Loch (George Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d. net) the reader will obtain a vivid and terrible impression of the state of Poland after the war. This glimpse of the work of the Society of Friends' Relief Mission furnishes at once an appalling vision of a country devastated by war, and ravaged by famine and typhus. To help build houses, lend horses and ploughs, provide food for those in abject need only, and minister to a plague-stricken people in their foul and verminous dug-outs, travelling the while over impassable roads amid the stifling heat of summer and the bitter cold of winter, demanded courage and self-sacrifice of no

common order. Fly-proof doors and vermin-proof suits are suggestive, but tell little of the horrors to be encountered. Most loathsome and terrifying was the ubiquitous typhus louse carrying death wherever it came. And yet humour and cheerfulness constantly brighten these sombre pages.—Warm commendation must be given to *Human Relations in the Light of Christ*, by H. C. Carter, M.A. (Cambridge, Heffer & Sons, 3s. 6d. net). It is timely, able and wise. Delivered as addresses to a Sunday evening congregation in Cambridge, made up often of students and with not seldom a sprinkling of foreigners, they must have made a deep impression by their breadth, their sanity and their Christian spirit. Ministers would do well to study them so as to get a grip of the teaching here so admirably expressed. The relations between rich and poor, employers and employed, believer and unbeliever, man and maid, husband and wife, parent and child, old and young, as set forth in the teaching of Christ, must lie at the foundation of any sane and radical reconstruction of society.—In *The Men whom Jesus Made* (Hodder and Stoughton, 6s.). Dr. Mackintosh Mackay has given us a volume which will be read with pleasure and profit on both sides of the Atlantic. He is specially deft in the delineation of character, and these sketches of the disciples, if smacking occasionally of the popular lecture, are fresh and readable, homely and direct in their style. It must have required some temerity to venture a new volume on a subject where masters like Dr. A. B. Bruce have trodden with assured step; but Dr. Mackintosh Mackay's essay will have a place of its own.—A. T. S. James, B.A., M.Sc., in *The Sceptre of Faith* (James Clarke & Co., 4s. 6d. net) now stands revealed as A.T.S.J., whose articles in "The Christian World" presents such a fine blend of science and religion, where the Christian and the Master of Science alike move with such assurance. These constructive papers on religion and life evidence a firm belief in the future because of the growing revelation which is in Christ Jesus. Their grasp of essential truth, their mastery of expression and their scientific flavour, give them unusual distinction and value, especially in these days of intellectual flux and change.—*Imitators of Christ*, by Ernest C. Tanton (The Epworth Press, 3s. 6d. net) aims at helping those who deem the life of our Lord too high above ours to allow of any reproduction of it. Hence, "Learn of Me," "Just as Jesus Did," "He left us an Example," are some of the section headings of the book. In spite of the fact that the style is sometimes a little obscure, the devout will find the book well worth reading, and it is for them the author has written.—In *Inward Experience of God*, J. A. Clapperton, M.A., has produced a fresh and helpful book of devotion which, while of distinct value to the private Christian may help preachers to get away from too familiar phrases in public prayer. These "forty acts of faith," should not only exercise the soul but deepen and strengthen its spiritual life, freshening the outlook and giving that variety which, even in the spiritual realm, is the salt of life.—That the art of letter-writing is not quite lost even in this age of hurry and postcards is shewn by the *Intimate Letters of a Quaker Magistrate*, edited by Helton A. Baynes (Swarthmore Press, 3s. 6d. net). Ranging over a great variety of topics, but always coming home by the land of books, they are the expression of a sane, thoughtful

mind, a truly religious spirit, wise, devout and broad-minded in the best sense of that much-abused term. Some of our readers may recall a book by John James Cooper on "Some Reading Worthies," reviewed in these pages. Now the author has joined the ranks of past worthies, but leaves behind him this little volume of Quakerism at its best. A wide and discriminating reader, he was mentally alert to the last.—To essay a *Modern Lilliput* (The C. W. Daniel Co., 7s. 6d. net) demands no little courage, but Davil Alec Wilson is justified by this clever volume. Necessarily these modern Lilliputians are up-to-date in motor cars and other modern inventions. The author tells us how he learned the language and many other curious things. The people are all alike poor. While showing us how things may be done in Topsy-turvydom, the book affords instruction and amusement, sound wisdom and philosophy.

J. RITSON.

A selection from the sermons and devotional addresses of the late Archdeacon of Berkshire is given in *Tests of Vocation and Other Addresses*, by the late W. M. G. Ducat (Longmans, Green & Co., 3s. 6d. net). The author had large experience in training candidates for ordination and the contents of this volume centre upon ministerial life and work. The fruits of the Tractarian movement are displayed at their best. There is evidence of fervent devotion to the sacramental interpretation of religion—a devotion which many will respect although they cannot share it. Canon Whitham, who worked with him at Cuddesdon, contributes a brief memoir, and the Bishop of Oxford a foreword.—Browning's phrase, "I have gone the whole round of Creation: I report as a man may of God's work—all's love, yet all's law," describes the new book of President E. Y. Mullins, D.D., LL.D., *Christianity at the Cross Roads* (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 7s. 6d. net). He exalts the love above the law. His purpose is to vindicate the evangelical tradition of Christianity. The attempts of science, philosophy, historical criticism, and comparative religion to reduce the religious value of Christianity are surveyed and found wanting. There is some diffuseness, and dogmatism emerges in this crusade against dogmatism; in a book which is devoted to a definite topic constant reference to other of the author's books for necessary facts is irritating; perhaps it is only symptomatic that the many quotations are reduced to the American spelling, although in the case of Omar Khayyam this is startling; but the reader will gain some knowledge of the methods by which the Christian tradition is being challenged and tested. The author is certain of his own solution. Yet he leaves many problems unsolved. The Christian facts cannot claim exemption from examination in the light of other facts of world history.—Complaints are made about the worthless character of religious teaching in Confirmation classes in Public Schools. At Charterhouse matters have been managed differently. A series of addresses, *The Creed*, by E. E. Bryant (Longmans, Green & Co., 3s. 6d. net), embody the experience gained during thirteen years. They are based on the creed called the Apostles', and contain a sane, strong, and non-sectarian presentation of the Christian attitude to life. This is a book that will help teachers, and that can profitably be put into the hands of thoughtful young people.—In *Will Men be like Gods?* by Owen Francis Dudley (Longmans, Green & Co., 2s. paper, 3s. 6d. cloth), the plea

that Catholicism is the only alternative of Humanitarianism is pursued exuberantly. The battle is set, and Father Dudley runs atilt against the enemy: it would not be unfair to say he runs amok. In an Introduction, Mr. Chesterton joins the adventure with glittering paradoxes. Protestantism is a spent force. It "scarcely counts to-day in the world of thought." Protestants will take their dismissal with what grace they can. They will have sympathy with the contention that Comte, Morison and Wells cannot lead humanity to the goal even if they are not convinced that "Catholicism" as it is offers the only alternative.—Another aspect of the religious problem is presented in *Down and Out: Studies in the Problem of Vagrancy*, by Mary Higgs (S.C.M., 1s. 6d. net, paper). This is a revised re-issue of *My Brother the Tramp*, published on the eve of the war. It is a plea for understanding and action, in which it is taken for granted that the Kingdom of God has real meaning for humanity. Vagrancy as a system is bad for men, and worse for women and children. The present system of dealing with it is a national extravagance, to say the least. Prison life is made more attractive than treatment in the casual ward. The information presented here by one who is an enthusiast for reform is intended for use in Study Circles. It is penetrated with the Christian spirit and based on sound economic principles. Copec gives reason for hope that this problem will be tackled and solved.—*The Conquest of Fear*, by Basil King (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 5s. net), is a cheaper reprint of one of the many books of this American writer. It combats "our Caucasian habit of mind" towards religion. The viewpoint is something very like theosophy. It is stated to be the exposition of an experience that works. There is a curious duplication of matter on p. 83.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

MAGAZINES.

The Hibbert Journal for October, 1924, opens with an article on Jesus by Professor Lake. He emphatically rejects the Catholic Christology and hotly resents Dr. Inge's account of his position. Dr. Richard Roberts affirms the transcendence as well as the immanence of God, who is personal and indeed super-personal. Dr. Rufus Jones writes on George Fox, Prophet and Reformer, a companion to his article in our Tercentenary number. The Editor's article on "The Ethic of Workmanship," insists that the main stress must be put on the quality of the work done, and that to produce a wrong thing, though under the best conditions, is wrong. Professor J. W. Scott carries forward the argument of his April article on the remedy for unemployment, his solution being Homecrofting. Professor Hübener of Königsberg has an illuminating paper on "The Present Mind of German Universities." It is a return to mediaevalism from capitalism, industrialism and militarism. Mr. Edmond Holmes deals with the philosophy of the Upanishads and Buddha, and our debt to it. Dr. Robert Mackintosh contributes a brilliant and trenchant criticism of the Copec Report on the Nature of God and His Purpose for the World. Mrs. W. K. Clifford has a brief appreciation of Lady Welby. Professor J. S. Mackenzie, under the title "Time

and Eternity," publishes in dialogue form a sequel to his paper, "The Idea of Creation" (January, 1923). Viscountess Grey of Fallodon discusses the meaning of some ancient symbols. Mr. G. D. H. Cole describes the educational ideals of Robert Owen. A striking article on Joseph Conrad is contributed by the late Mr. H. T. Burt. Sir Reginald Hart discusses the possibility of another great war, deprecating an aggressive spirit, but insisting that there must be war for ages to come and we must be ready for it. Dr. James Ward has a very severe review of Professor Kemp Smith's *Prolegomena to an Idealist Theory of Knowledge*.

The London Quarterly Review for October, 1924, opens with a very sympathetic study by Dr. W. T. Davison, of Dr. Moffatt's Commentary on Hebrews. He also writes a lengthy note on Professor Lock's *Pastoral Epistles*. St. Nihal Singh describes the present social upheaval in India, especially in connexion with caste. Mr. Reinheimer, the biologist, continues his criticism of Darwinism with an article on "Spiritual Law in Nature." Mr. Leslie Weatherhead discusses "The Idea of Immortality in Wordsworth," with special reference to the idea of pre-existence. Mr. A. W. Harrison has an interesting paper on Vorstius, the Dutch Arminian who was so violently opposed by James I. Mr. Henry Bett has a timely discussion of the relation between theology and progress. The Editor reviews Mrs. Wyndham's *Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century*, which contains an account of the Lytteltons of Hagley. It is interesting that an article on laughter is contributed by Dr. E. Lyttelton to the present number. Mr. Marwood Sanderson enquires whether the supernatural is essential in religion.

The Congregational Quarterly for October, 1924, is full of interest. Professor E. Armitage contributes a brief but graceful and sympathetic appreciation of his old friend Arnold Thomas. There is one definitely theological article, that on "Divine Personality," by Dr. Tennant. It is to be completed by a paper on "The Present Position of the Doctrine of the Trinity" Dr. Grenfell gives a fascinating account of preaching in Labrador. Mr. H. A. Mess is on ground he has made his own when he deals with "The Elements of a Christian Sociology." A long and important article on "The Chinese Mind and the Christian Message" is contributed by Mr. Baxter of the Canton Christian College. Mr. J. B. Murphy discusses the psychology of gambling. He thinks it is a reversion to primitive conditions, it is the pleasure in risk and escape. Mr. Moses Williams writes on George Macdonald, and in the course of his sympathetic character sketch commits himself to an extravagant estimate of Mark Rutherford, whom he describes as "the keenest intellect and greatest stylist of that or of our age," and indeed "one of the most acute minds of all ages." Mr. Hugh Martin gives an admirable account, resting on intimate knowledge, of the Student Christian Movement.

The International Review of Missions for October, 1924, has four articles dealing specially with China. Rev. J. S. Kunkle writes on "The Regrouping of Missionary Forces in Canton," and Rev. T. F. Carter on "The Three Dimensions of a Christian Civilisation in

China," that is the criteria of geography, history and science. Two women contribute the other papers—Mrs. Mei on "The Modern Chinese Woman: Her Work and Problems," while Mrs. Buck relates her impressions on China after her return from a visit to the West. A ten years' survey of Africa provides reason for searchings of heart as to the future. Mr. J. H. Oldham contributes the first of a series of articles on "Religious Education in the Mission Field." Rev. E. W. Smith has an important paper, urging on missionaries the vital importance of a study of social anthropology, with some very telling illustrations. Dr. Schlunk discusses the place to be assigned to culture in mission work. Rev. E. Shillito writes on "Copec and the Missionary." An important article by Mr. Frank Oldrieve shows how it is now possible with the new treatment, to rid the world of leprosy. The reviews and bibliography are valuable.

The Christian Union Quarterly has two articles of special interest to ourselves on the unification of American Methodism, both by Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, one by Bishop Canon, advocating, the other by Bishop Denny, opposing, the plan of union with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. R. P. Mackay gives an account of the scheme for union of Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians in Canada. The Rev. C. S. Macfarland sketches fifteen years of progress towards the federal unity of the churches. Dr. Kershner describes the syllabus for the course on Christian Union in Drake University. In addition to the other articles there are also carefully selected extracts from other journals and important editorial notes.

One of the most interesting articles in *The Baptist Quarterly* for 1924 is on "A Minister's Library," by Principal Wheeler Robinson. His list of books will be scanned with curiosity. Rev. Thomas Hayward prints "A Presidential Address on The Church and the Kingdom," which does not neglect the practical side. Mr. P. H. Wang gives an inside view of the present situation in China. Mr. Novotny describes Russia as it appears to a Czech. He pays a glowing tribute to the Russian Baptists. M. Jean Allut writes of "The French Prophets of 1711," conveying a salutary warning of the danger in unbalanced Pentecostal movements.

The Quest for October, 1924, opens with an article by the late Professor Boutrox on "Religion and the Scientific Mind." The charming account of the new anchorites, who have given up their property and live in buildings and use food and clothing entirely produced by themselves is completed in this number. The editor has a long article on the difficult problem of the Buddhist view of existence, its three distinguishing marks. Mr. Joseph Wicksteed, well known for his work on Blake's illustrations of Job, writes with enthusiasm of Mr. Damon's volume *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*. For the first time, he says, a reader of moderate persistence can, with Mr. Damon's help, understand any of Blake's works. Mrs. Elizabeth Hall describes some aspects of the life of Coleridge. Mr. Levertoff selects for consideration some reflections of Kierkegaard. We specially welcome Mrs. Drowser's article on the Mandaeans based on her own personal knowledge.

The Pilgrim for October, 1924 is, apart from reviews and editorial notes, entirely devoted to the Copec Reports; and, even so, several Reports have to be left over for future consideration. Canon Quick deals with that on God and His Purpose, Professor Bompas Smith with Education, Mary Piercy with *The Relation of the Sexes*, Dr. G. P. Gooch with International Relations and the Editor with God and the State. Two articles are devoted to the difficult subject of Industry and Property, the former by Mr. Max Muspratt, the latter by Mr. R. H. Tawney. These interested in the great conference and the movements which are flowing out of it ought not to miss these papers.

The Edinburgh Review for October, 1924, has for its opening article a history of the House of Longman by Mr. Harold Cox, of which the publishers have sent us an offprint. It is a fascinating story, as the great publishing firm, which has now celebrated its bicentenary, has had a highly distinguished and often romantic history. The article enumerates many famous authors whose books have been published by the firm. Samuel Johnson, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Macaulay, Scott, Moore, Richard Burton, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, Buckle, Max Müller, Newman, Disraeli, Lecky, Andrew Lang, Pusey, Liddon, are among the writers who pass before us. The information given as to the prices paid is of special interest. Moore received £3,000 for *Lalla Rookh*; Macaulay got £20,000 as his share of the profits on the third and fourth volumes of his history. Disraeli sold the copyright of *Endymion* for £10,000. Those who share the popular conviction that Barabbas was a publisher will find reason here for modifying their prejudice. We hope that the article may be published as a booklet.

The Christmas number of *The Bookman* for 1924 (6/- net) is a very sumptuous production, and weighs nearly four pounds. It is gorgeously illustrated. There are fine coloured portraits of Bernard Shaw and Joseph Conrad, a large number of other full-page portraits and many smaller ones, a special portfolio containing coloured illustrations of the Arabian Nights by Mr. Detmold, and a multitude of other illustrations. The letterpress is particularly good. We call special attention to the articles (five of them) on Bernard Shaw; to Mr. Noyes' discussion of the origin of Shakespeare's Sonnets; and Dr. Rendel Harris's estimate of Dr. Moffatt's translation of the Old Testament. The supplement, which is bound up with the regular number, itself runs to over two hundred pages. The advertisements by publishers are a very prominent feature of this number, and they are very welcome because they bring together most of the publications of the season.

The Princeton Theological Review for October 1924 is a good specimen of this magazine. Prof. C. W. Hodge's article "The Person of Christ in Recent Religious Philosophy," criticises Otto's *Das Heilige* and Karl Heim's discussion of Otto. Prof. Hodge also writes a long review of Otto's book. Prof. Machen examines Dr. McGiffert's *The God of the Early Christians*, entirely rejecting his position but recognising the brilliance of the book. Part I. of an interesting discussion entitled, "Modern Philosophical Views

of Space in Relation to Omnipresence," is contributed by Mr. F. D. Jenkins. Other articles are: "Secular and Regular Canons during the Middle Ages," by Loren C. MacKinney, and "The General Assemblies of Scotland," by Mr. Sylvester W. Beach.

The Expositor for October, November and December, 1924, maintains its variety and interest. In the Ten Best Books Series, the Philosophy of Religion is undertaken by the Rev. W. D. Niven, the Life of Jesus by Prof. H. T. Andrews, and Miracles by Prof. H. R. Mackintosh. The Rev. H. H. Rowley completes his discussion of the Belshazzar of Daniel and of history. The Rev. H. J. Flowers resumes his article on the Decalogue, dealing in two papers with the second commandment. In the December number there is an important article by Prof. H. J. Cadbury on the "Ancient Physiological Notions underlying John i. 13 and Hebrews xi. 11," and Dr. Rendel Harris returns to a subject which he has made his own in an article, "The Diatessaron and the Testimony Book." The editor's own contributions are always welcome, and there are excellent reviews. We hope the second year of Dr. Moffatt's editorship will be even more successful than the first.

The October *Bookman* for 1924 is a special number sumptuously produced. Among the articles we note especially Some of our Humorists by Gerald Gould, and The Real Stevenson by St. John Adcock. There is a symposium (continued in November), "Has the New Writer any Chance?" There are cruel caricatures of Mr. Chesterton and Mr. Wells by Kapp, and a large number of interesting and welcome portraits. In the number for November there are two articles on Anatole France, Mr. F. S. Marvin has an excellent review of Mr. Noyes' *Aspects of Modern Poetry*. Those who are fortunate enough to know *Melmoth the Wanderer* will read Mr. Anthony Clyne's article on Maturin with interest. There are two articles on Mr. J. C. Squire, that on his prose by Mr. R. Ellis Roberts, that on his poetry by Mr. John Freeman.

Discovery for October 1924 has a very interesting article by Mr. J. C. Chaston, "Why a Cat Falls on its Feet," illustrated by human photographs analysing the whole series of movements. Mr. J. Riley gives a general view of recent developments in science. The alleged transmutation of mercury into gold by Prof. Miethe and Dr. Stammreich is discussed. Mr. Leonard Woolley gives an account of the excavations at Ur. A most instructive article by Prof. R. S. Conway, our greatest authority on Livy, is entitled, "If Livy's Books had been Found." In the November number Dr. T. F. Wall explains his experiment designed to break down the structure of the atom. Mr. Hugh Pollard describes the expert examination of bullets for cases in medical jurisprudence. Mr. Norman Davy discusses the problem of utilising tidal power. An article in the December number by Mr. J. Riley describing the vitamin experiments on chickens should be studied by all poultry-keepers. Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, gives an account of discoveries in India of objects hitherto associated with Babylonian civilisation of 3,000 B.C. Mr. Ainsworth Mitchell, the eminent scientific expert, describes how scorched or charred

documents are deciphered. The discovery of a new asteroid by Dr. Baade gives occasion for an account of asteroid hunting.

EDITOR.

The International Labour Review for August 1924 contains articles on "The Interpretation and Administration of Labour Laws in England," by Prof. Gutteridge; on "Methods of Calculating Index Numbers," by Dr. Felix Klezl; and on "Co-operation in Russia during the War," by Prof. Borodaewsky. The same number also gives a summary on the question of "Housing as a post-war problem in Europe"—a summary which is continued in the September number. This also contains a discussion of "Wage Problems in Poland during and after the War;" an article on "Labour Legislation in Bulgaria;" and one upon "Co-operation in Russia," by Prof. Prokopovitch. The October number has a survey of "The Sixth Session of the International Labour Conference;" an article on "Financial Systems in Social Insurance;" one upon "State Wage Regulation in Australia and New Zealand;" another upon "A Comparison of the Level of Real Wages in certain Capital Cities;" and an account of "Recent Efforts for the Prevention of Unemployment, especially in Great Britain."

A. LEE.

THE HOLBORN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1925.

Sir Henry Jones.*

By the REV. JOHN MORRISON.

“I HAD two mastering ambitions, both of them at once strong and steady. One was to become a first-rate shoemaker, and the other was to be made an elder in the little Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, when I was a man.”

It was characteristic of the unity of a personality compounded of diverse elements that Henry Jones realised both aspirations, and that although he soared far beyond them in his ultimate attainments, he never forgot his early struggles, nor “scorned the base degrees by which he did ascend.” At an unruly political meeting in Wales, when he had reached to fame, he became again the eager boy who had warmed his feet in a basket of leather chips during cold nights of study, offered to make a pair of shoes with any man in the audience, and captured by his mischievous humour the enthralled attention of working men who had planned a hostile demonstration. And he was still an elder in the little chapel when he was appointed to his Glasgow chair.

No man has more effectually belied the popular conception of the dweller on the cloud-capped mountain of philosophy. From beginning to end he expounded a working faith. The facts of his outer and inner life corresponded. He had his feet amongst the littered actualities while his spirit soared

**Sir Henry Jones, C.H.* By H. W. HETHERINGTON (Hodder & Stoughton, 12s. 6d. net.)

beyond them. One who sat in his Moral Philosophy classroom in Glasgow recalls the tense, exalted, self-forgetful expression, the far-flung flights of metaphysical speculation, the sudden and prolonged pause that would succeed the mention of the name of Socrates—a pause of unaffected abstraction during which the soul of the lecturer went back through twice a thousand years “to walk the ways of ancient Greece;” but mingled with such things is the recollection of quick sallies of fun, abundant evidences of alert observation, amazingly practical applications of high theory to hard fact, and the picture of a teacher of the vast implications of common things who nevertheless kept his feet on the floor.

His career is an epic of upward strivings against the early handicaps of humble surroundings which could have no better culmination than in the chair of a Scottish University, where these things are so well understood. The alternative to the sleeping accommodation in the shoemaker’s shop was what Jones would have called in his later philosophical language a mutually exclusive one. While the one brother slept in the only bed, the other burned the oil of scholarship. John’s health gave way under the strain, but Henry went on to Bangor at the head of the scholarship list, although not until he also had paid the penalty of a serious illness due to his zeal in the two professions of shoemaking and of learning.

At the end of his course there followed days of teaching and preaching, like the tentative wheelings of a homing bird, until the way opened for him that led to Glasgow University and the powerful influence of Edward Caird which determined his course with certainty. The seven decisive years at Glasgow undoubtedly deprived Wales of one who would have been a prince of preachers, but Edward Caird’s leading gave a philosophical teacher to a wider world. After a brief assistantship to Caird, Jones, at the age of thirty-one, was appointed to be lecturer in philosophy in Aberystwyth, but owing to differences with a rather tactless Principal, he moved to the new college at Bangor, where seven happy years were spent. His masterly treatise on the philosophical

content of Browning's Poetry appeared at the end of his term at Bangor. It established his reputation, and has never been superseded as an exhaustive philosophical commentary upon Browning.

In 1891 he was appointed to St. Andrew's, where, during his short tenure of office, he produced his work upon the philosophy of Lotze, and by June, 1894, he had begun his great task as successor to Caird in Glasgow.

Here the rest of his work was done, until after almost twenty years of painstaking labour and at the end of a very gallant fight against the ravages of a painful and incurable disease, he had rest. The imprint of his virile personality has gone deep into the life of the present generation of philosophical scholars not only of Scotland but wherever Idealism is attempted as a practical creed. Few writers upon abstruse subjects have been able so to wield a literary style breathing out such warmth of enthusiasm and intensity of conviction. Jones was never a scholar in the exact sense. It was typical of the bent of his mind that he cared little for the meticulous exactitudes of formal logic. In response to Carlyle's laconic "Who am I?" he might have answered in the sage's own words, "A voice, a motion, an appearance, an embodied, visualised idea in the Eternal mind."

It is as a personality that he will be remembered in Glasgow; almost as a prophet. His classroom was like no other. Through the mists of a November morning his students to the number of three hundred or so filed in at eight o'clock in the morning, and listened for an hour in silence to one who spoke as did no other man on the university staff. The sibilant cadences of his Welsh tongue struck strangely but most gratefully on the Scottish ear.

As his theme developed, the platform became too small for him. His lectures were sometimes soliloquies from which at intervals during the hour he would emerge as some practical point gripped him and clamoured for fuller utterance. It was then that he would leave the rostrum, wander up and down the steep side-passages of the class-room, stooping occasionally to glance at the note-book of a student and

sustaining throughout his wanderings an uninterrupted flow of pure eloquence. Again and again a fleeting reference to his early days, a hint of the shoemaker "who never let a slack bit of work go from his hands," an affectionate hand upon the shoulder of a poor lad scribbling for dear life upon a cheap notebook, would thirl him to his class with a bond of genuine regard that still holds many to his memory. He had tact. He had a deep appreciation of the needs and difficulties of his men, and he will be remembered as one of the teachers who gave out of the riches of his nature not only learning but inspiration.

The main principles of his teaching which were expounded in his lectures and his books can be but briefly summarised here. The work has been admirably done by Professor Hetherington in the book which has commended itself already to thousands as a model of critical biography, and all that can be attempted now is to summarise his summary.

Jones had nothing to do with the apologetics of Idealism. In accordance with his view of the nature of truth there is neither the need for proof as proof is ordinarily conceived, nor the possibility of it. Truth is equipoised and self-contained like the solar system. Things fit in to the movement of the mind's content or they do not. Proof must be negative. He will not say, "It must be so" by the necessary sequence of syllogistic premise and conclusion, but "Deny this if you dare." Dante's saying that "truth shall, in the vengeance it dispenseth, find a faithful witness" is borne out by the contention that a truth denied will bring the world of rationality clattering in ruins to the ground. The proof of a true thing lies in its poise and balance in the world of truth. Jones was content to leave Idealism in the category of working hypotheses. Therefore he did not defend. He expounded.

Idealism maintains the reality evident from observation that the world is one and many at the same time, a unity in which differences are held together, and which is made possible by difference alone. Likewise Idealism asserts the reality and the validity of the continual commerce between thought

and reality, the truth that reality not only is, but is to be understood. The only insoluble problems confronting us are those into which we have ourselves introduced irrationality. The real is the rational. Philosophical systems have died upon the threshold of their enquiries by forgetting the mutual implication of reality and thought.

Reality revealing itself in thought, and thought dealing with real things, the mind can be satisfied ultimately only with reality as a whole: hence follows the need for a conception of the Absolute, as the final One in the unity of which the Many are held together. And mind being the highest expression of reality, the Absolute must be conceived of as Spirit.

Idealism, or indeed any philosophical system must not be content merely to lay down general propositions of this kind. The work of philosophy lies in the correlation and articulation of all the aspects of reality which these general principles suggest; and from beginning to end the philosopher must labour amidst real things in order at once to maintain a firm grasp of reality and to keep his hypothesis continually under test. The philosopher, like everyone else in whatever walk of life, must learn from experience.

There is no finality about any philosophical system. When we speak of its truth we should be referring to that in the theory which cannot be overturned by the other observable facts of life. A philosophy is and must be always on its trial. But although there is no finality about it, philosophy is not the wilful wandering of wayward minds. "Philosophy is no quaint quest of star-struck souls which have forgotten their finitude, and are doomed to range along the horizon of existence, peering into the darkness beyond and asking questions of its emptiness. It is the process whereby man, driven by the necessities of his rational nature, corrects the abstractions of his first sense-steeped experience and endeavours, little by little, to bring to light and power the real—that is, the spiritual—meaning of his structure, and of the world in which he lives."

It seemed to Jones that current conceptions of idealistic

philosophy did less than justice to what he was fond of calling the friendly world. He made it his work to balance the emphasis equally between the otherness of reality and the expression thereof in spiritual, subjective media. And this he did throughout a long and painstaking examination and critique of contemporary philosophy. With perfect consistency of aim he sought to steer a middle course between Subjective Idealism on the one hand and a matter-of-fact Realism on the other. "There are minds and there are things," he says. "They interact. During their interaction there is knowing." Thus the old dualism between mind and matter is bridged by means of the conception that knowing is reality becoming aware of itself.

It is fundamental to his thinking that if this conception holds good for philosophy it must also be applicable to art, to morality and to religion. In all these, the real world is coming more and more to itself, the greater the apprehension of it by human spirits.

It is here that he puts power into his philosophy. He will have nothing to do with the intuitions or subconscious leadings in a valid search for truth in any department of thought. He will have us use reason. "Give truth her head," he says in *A Faith that Enquires*, "and let her guide where she will." There is nothing rational that fears the light of rigorous enquiry or the most scrupulous scrutiny of reason.

It is also here that he reaches the conclusion of the absolute value of moral effort. The Whole is in each act, realising itself, establishing the truth that a right thing done is right absolutely in that particular case. The whole of the moral law is not revealed in every act, yet the law in every act of good is perfect for the individual circumstance; and throughout the whole process of morality man is in touch with the Absolute, definitely and directly. In doing good we are co-workers with God, and elements in God's expression of Himself.

Jones will make no distinction between God and the Absolute. It is one of his last contributions to philosophy that

he identified the God of religion with the Absolute of metaphysics. He can describe the Absolute only in terms of Personality. Man's desire for wholeness is just his yearning for life in God. God, being Absolute, is *ipso facto* perfect. He has given to man the freedom to choose the good or to reject it. Man's choice affects His perfection not at all, nor does the plain fact of the existence of evil. There must be choice if moral life is to be possible at all, and without the existence of evil there could be no moral life.

God co-operates with man in his attainment of the good life, for the universe is on the side of good and not of evil. By experience and the logic of his own mind man is led from evil itself to good. Good and ill alike are within the purpose of God. The "friendly world" will not see the final worsting of the good. Each moral conquest of man's is an added good in the world. Through his faithfulness God moves to ever higher perfections of Himself.

The conception of a perfection which progresses is strange, but Jones could see no static perfection anywhere. He conceives of God as moving from perfection to perfection, just as does man himself in his moral life as he realises from stage to stage the perfect law of each individual act. An Absolute that is changeless is by its nature outside of the shiftings of the moral forces which men know. God is realising Himself as man progresses, progressing Himself, drawing from good to good nearer to higher and higher perfections.

God is the ruler of the friendly world, who helps mankind nearer and nearer to Himself. In the end He cannot by His nature frustrate the efforts men have made when they come to the place where all that is mortal must lay down its glory in the dust. Jones cannot conceive of the accumulated resources of an enlightened spirit being cast away as rubbish to the void, as dying and remaining dead. The moral world demands the continuance of the moral life though all men die; and in the case of the individual, immortality is of the nature of the reality of a continuous world. "To me," he says, "that supreme good involves every good."

That is the meagre outline, hardly sufficiently articulated to be called a skeleton, of the thought-system elaborated by Henry Jones throughout a singularly useful life. He found it as a faith, sufficient for himself. He was carried through grave troubles that come to few, and kept serene and calm. He was not an academic philosopher but a very lovable and very active man. His interests were wide-spread, his political convictions strong, his activity ceaseless on behalf of educational and civic causes that would make for the fuller enlightenment of the people.

Those who took a newspaper interest in him may have debated as to his religious convictions. It is said that such a topic was always good copy in Welsh journalism. But those who knew him had no doubt at all that they were in the presence of a God-fearing and unselfish man. His manner of expressing the truth that was in him may not ring gratefully in the ears of the orthodox at all times; but properly estimated, he has rendered religion an untold service in the world. It does one nothing but good to see philosophy thus coming forward as the handmaid of religion, and no one so far in philosophy has made such direct contribution to the cause of the truth once delivered to the saints.

It is worth while to mark the end of such a man. When all is said, we wish to know what such theorising will do for a man. Jones himself never tired of insisting that a thing is what it does. In accordance with that principle, Idealism was for him an exalted and an exalting faith. Days of anxiety came to him during the war, when his two sons were fighting, and concerning one of them for a long time he knew nothing excepting that he had been admitted as insane to a Turkish asylum. His faith held him then. And there have been few more noble efforts to overcome human ill than his, in the days when, knowing that his time was short, he calmly went forward to the completion of his Gifford lectures, and stood on his familiar platform until he had said his say.

Henry Jones meant what he said, and he lived up to his creed. No better tribute can be paid to any man.

The Theologian and Classical Scholarship.*

BY THE EDITOR.

PART I.

WHEN I accepted the warm and unanimous invitation of the Committee and members of this Branch of the Classical Association to become its President I did so with much diffidence. I was deeply sensible of the honour of such an invitation and, in a measure, of the responsibility which acceptance brought with it. Each of my predecessors, Prof. Wilkins, Canon Hicks, and Sir Edward Donner had conferred distinction on the office, and I was all too conscious how unequal I was to follow in their steps. Nearly a third of a century had passed since I left the Classics for Theology and I had found the Queen of the Sciences a jealous and exacting mistress. But when a man has overcome his shrinking from taking a position to which he has but a dubious right, it is natural that he should diligently seek for opiates with which to drug his conscience. I am reminded of a man on his deathbed who, like Mr. Auberon Herbert's politician, was in trouble about his soul. He felt

* This is the Presidential Address to the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association which was delivered on Nov. 1st, 1918. I had been elected President in the previous March. I may add that the Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Knox) took the chair at the meeting and that the present Bishop of Manchester succeeded me in 1924, and delivered an admirable Presidential address on "The Modernity of Plato." I have thought it best to leave the address in its original form, but since so long an interval has elapsed it has seemed desirable to add foot-notes calling attention to more recent developments.

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that he had no basis on which he could begin to put things right, till he received great encouragement from the recollection that he had once contributed five shillings to foreign missions. The one positive contribution which I could plead, was the article on the New Testament which I had sent for several years to "The Year's Work in Classical Studies." To this I might add that I was quite sound in the humanistic faith. At a time when education is in process of radical transformation it is for societies like our own, placed in centres of such strategic importance, to use their influence in defending the position of the Classics in education. Education is not primarily designed to initiate a boy into the technique of the calling which he will follow as a man. We ought not to wish him to get forward with the technical preparation for his trade or profession, but that he should be so trained as readily to learn it when the time comes and know how to use his leisure hours aright. Even if we limit ourselves to standards of utility it is clear that equipment for a specific vocation is the least part of his training. To make the mind itself strong and supple, the memory more tenacious, the perceptions more rapid and accurate, the logical faculty less at the mercy of fallacies, to give width of view, concentration of attention, a balanced judgment, foresight, the power of rapid and sound decision—the education which fulfils these requirements will do far more to prepare for the vocation than any training narrowly concentrated upon it. But no State ought to be satisfied with any education which does not fit those who receive it to be useful and happy members of their social group and loyal and useful servants of their country. It is my conviction that no effective substitute for the Classics has yet been discovered. Finally, in accepting the office I consoled myself with the thought that the weight of responsibility and of labour rested on stronger and more capable shoulders. I was proud that the direction of our activities was mainly in the hands of scholars eminent for their learning and equipped at all points to do battle for our cause.

And now I may turn to the subject of my address. I will

effect the transition by recounting a bit of personal experience. Some thirty years ago I went into a second-hand book shop near Clapham Junction. The stock was being sold and I ransacked it with some thoroughness. I was rewarded by a subscription copy of Elizabeth Carter's *Epictetus* which turned out to be her own copy presented as a dying gift to a friend and containing her autograph. But I recall the incident for another purpose. I found a copy of Porson's *Euripides*. My headmaster had lent me his copy when I was at school, and I thought I should like to have one of my own. Opening the book I asked the woman in charge the price. She said, "Is it Greek?" The answer was, to use the House of Commons jargon, in the affirmative. She replied, "Oh, then, it's twopence." In this estimate of Greek, Clapham Junction does not stand alone. My task is to make some small contribution to the revision of the "Oh, then, it's twopence" valuation. And since if I have any right to speak at all, it can only be with reference to my particular field, I have selected as my subject "The Theologian and Classical Scholarship." It is not my intention to dwell on the debt which Classical scholarship owes to theology, but I might in passing refer to the preservation in early Christian literature of precious fragments of Classical works which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost. Anyone who glances, for example, through Bywater's edition of the *Remains of Heraclitus*, will be struck with the constant references to Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Eusebius. And quite apart from actual quotations which abound in Philo and the Fathers, the positive information which they supply is invaluable to the student of history and philosophy. I am concerned, however, with the other side of the account and desire to emphasize the debt of the theologian to Classical scholarship. I wish at the outset to acknowledge in a word the contributions made by Classical scholars to the study of the N. T., mentioning in this connexion the names of Blass, Reitzenstein, Norden, and among ourselves of Ramsay, Kenyon, P. Gardner, and Souter.

I use the term Classical Scholarship in no restricted sense.

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I set no limits whether of date or quality. The masterpieces of Greek or Roman literature need not mean more to us in this connexion than papyri or ostraca written by the illiterate; Hellenistic Greek may, for some purposes, be more valuable to us than the literature from Homer to Demosthenes.

I begin with the Old Testament. It might seem as if here there was little to be said. That, however, is not the case. There is first the problem of Greek influence on Old Testament writers. I am very far from sharing the tendency to bring down large sections of the prophetic and poetical literature into the second century B.C. a tendency specially associated with the names of Duhm and Marti and, among ourselves, of Prof. Kennett. But the Maccabean date of Daniel is generally accepted by critics. It is commonly held that there are some Maccabean Psalms. Esther seems to be best dated in the later Maccabean period, Ecclesiastes somewhere about 200 B.C. And the theory of Greek influence has found eminent defenders. For Job and the Psalms, as for the prophets, I believe this to be improbable. For Ecclesiastes a plausible case was stated by Tyler, whose results were made accessible to a wider circle by Plumptre. But while the author may have felt the Greek atmosphere, I am not convinced that Greek philosophy can be definitely traced in the book. On the other hand I confess that I feel it difficult to account for so speculative a description of the Divine Wisdom as we find in Prov. viii. without postulating Greek influence.

But while Greece may have contributed little, if indeed anything, to the Hebrew Bible, the student finds the Greek translation of the greatest importance. For one thing it is indispensable for the reconstruction of the Hebrew text. In many instances the Septuagint has preserved the more original reading, and frequently, even where this is not the case, it gives the critic the clue to the right restoration. It has been the subject of extravagant depreciation and of equally indiscriminating confidence. In the majority of instances the Hebrew text probably deserves the preference; but the cases

in which the Septuagint should be preferred are numerous. But the use of the Septuagint in Textual Criticism requires great judgment and skill in order to decide first whether a variation is real or apparent; secondly, if real, what text stood in the translator's Hebrew MS; and thirdly which of the rival Hebrew readings is to be preferred. I especially wish to protest against the prejudiced and unscientific use of the Septuagint to discredit the argument for the documentary theory of the Pentateuch based on textual uncertainties as to the transmission of the Divine names. But the Septuagint is of value for much more than Textual Criticism. The translation of a sacred book is as a rule not quite disinterested. We must not look for that pure scientific detachment which aims simply at reproducing the exact sense of the original. Hence such a translation gives us an insight into its author's own point of view, his preferences and his prejudices. The Septuagint thus throws light on Alexandrian Judaism. Nor is this all. It wielded enormous influence as the Bible of non-Palestinian Jews and as the Old Testament of the Gentile Christian Church. It has left its mark deep on the New Testament. Even Paul who could go back to the Hebrew constantly uses it, while the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was entirely dependent upon it. For several centuries it was the chief form in which the Hebrew Scriptures were read by the great majority of Christian writers. Moreover the Deutero-canonical books are mainly known to us in their Greek dress, and Greek is also important for the student of Pseudepigrapha. Nor can the philologist who is interested in the language of the New Testament neglect so important a monument of Biblical Greek as the Septuagint.

Before leaving the Old Testament there is one point that deserves to be mentioned. When Hans Breitmann and his friend got into a theological discussion the poet tells us that they argued "Like Deutschen vree from fear." This fearless attitude to sacred subjects does not come so easily to many English people. It is a real misfortune that so many theological students never learn anything of critical method except through practice on the classical documents of their

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own religion. Hence their judgment is liable to be deflected by the uneasy feeling that their most sacred instincts and beliefs may be involved in the investigation. It is accordingly very much better if they can have some previous training in the criticism of literature towards which their attitude is quite detached and cool. I am grateful that I had some training in Homeric criticism before I began the criticism of the Old Testament.

Classical scholarship is of course far more indispensable for the study of the New Testament than for that of the Old. And it is important for every part of the field, philology, lower criticism, higher criticism, exegesis, history, and theology. On the philological side it might be argued that the superior equipment of the great New Testament scholars in the last generation had unfortunate results. The attacks on the Revised Version, both on its renderings and on the text which it implied, contained much that in my judgment was prejudiced and unsound. It is nevertheless true that in certain respects the more accurate knowledge of Classical Greek led the Revisers wrong where their predecessors had been right. The great extension of our material, which has come with the discovery of the papyri, has rescued New Testament Greek from its isolation. Deissmann was able to match many New Testament words from the non-literary papyri. And we are proud to remember that one of our own number, Professor Moulton, whose too early death was an irreparable loss to scholarship, did for the grammar what Deissmann had done for the vocabulary. In collaboration with Professor Milligan he was compiling a comprehensive work on the vocabulary. The general result of these investigations has been to relax the rigidity with which classical usage was imposed on New Testament Greek and to emancipate the interpretation of the New Testament from such grammatical terrorism as Philippi once charged Meyer with exercising. I might also point out that the advance of Comparative Philology has been of great advantage in the study of the language of the New Testament.

In Textual Criticism it is, I believe, the case that the

work done on the New Testament has been of value for the restoration of Classical texts. This is not unnatural when we remember the complexity of the problems which confront the student of the New Testament text and the enormous, unparalleled, mass of material with which he has to deal. Moreover, this science has been especially fortunate in enlisting the service of scholars in the foremost rank. Only let it be remembered that the work they did for the New Testament would not have been possible had they not come to it as accomplished Classical scholars. Not only is the text Greek, but the patristic evidence is predominantly Greek or Latin, and of the Versions the Old Latin and the Vulgate are of primary importance. Of course I do not forget that Greek and Latin by no means cover the ground and that critics of the highest eminence have in important parts of the field been obliged to take their material at second-hand. Yet I think it may be fairly said that while Greek is indisputably the most important for the Textual critic, Latin is second only to it. It must not be forgotten that the influence of the Vulgate on Western Theology was for many centuries profound.

So far as Higher Criticism is concerned it might be argued that here Classical equipment is less essential. And it is true that the criteria for determining date and authorship are in large measure such as can be understood and weighed by those who have neither Latin nor Greek. Yet scholarship has generally its contribution to make and sometimes its verdict is very weighty. The argument from language and style would by itself be sufficient to disprove the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, though the same conclusion is reached along three or four other lines of evidence any one of which would by itself be adequate. Similarly the linguistic tests justify us in making a distinction between the author of the Revelation and the author of the Fourth Gospel, and in refusing to assign the Second Epistle of Peter to the author of the First. No doubt Latin and Greek do not cover the whole linguistic case. We have to reckon with the high probability that one

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of the two main Synoptic sources existed originally in Aramaic and with the possibility that this was true also of the other. And quite recently Prof. Torrey has argued very forcibly for the theory that almost the whole of Acts 1-15 was translated by Luke from an Aramaic source.* On the other hand the linguistic tests applied to the Greek text have done much to rehabilitate the unity of Acts, though this question is still keenly debated.

When we pass from criticism to history, the contribution of classical scholarship is of no less importance. So long as it is limited to Palestine, it might seem as if the record stood in little need of such illumination. But Josephus is our chief authority for the contemporary Jewish history and his works are in Greek. Moreover Palestine was fitted into the imperial system and our knowledge of that is drawn from classical sources. And when the Gospel went out from the land of its nativity and found a home in Antioch and Ephesus, in Corinth and Athens, in Alexandria and Rome, it came into contact with the whole Graeco-Roman civilisation, its government, its social order, its religion, its ethic. There is no doubt a large timeless element in the New Testament, and where that is not the case the matters dealt with are often of domestic concern. But contact with paganism raised several religious and moral problems, and in particular the relations of the Church to the State quickly became a matter of life and death. The attitude of the New Testament writers to the Roman Empire is an interesting study.† We see how Paul and Peter exerted themselves to

* Since this was written Prof. Burney has argued that the Fourth Gospel was translated from an Aramaic original. The general feeling of experts has not been favourable; but it has been widely recognised that Dr. Burney has made it highly probable that the writer thought in Aramaic. Prof. Torrey independently reached the same view as Prof. Burney, but differs considerably in the examples on which he relies to prove his case.

† I have written at length on this in my Hartley Lecture *The Book of Revelation*, chapter vi., and given pretty full reference to the relevant literature. Quite recently Prof. E. T. Merrill, of Chicago, has discussed the problems in his *Essays in Early Christian History* (1924). The

keep the Church free from entanglement with insurrectionary movements, how all the Gospels, notably the third and fourth, emphasize the reluctance of Pilate to condemn Jesus and throw the guilt of the Crucifixion on the Jews, how Luke and John in particular make it clear that in Pilate's judgement Jesus was guilty of no political offence, and how carefully the Acts of the Apostles exhibits the favourable impression repeatedly made by Paul on the Roman authorities and how they shielded him from the fanaticism and hatred of the Jews. On the other hand the Revelation of John, which in its present form dates from the reign of Domitian, expresses the most virulent hatred for Rome and exults in the prospect of her approaching doom. The ferocity of its language is explicable only on the theory that Rome had given the writer and his readers abundant cause for resentment. The horrible atrocities of the Neronian persecution naturally suggest themselves; but if these passages belong to a Jewish source which has been incorporated in the book, the Rome which was drunk with the blood of the saints may have been in the first instance the Rome which had stamped out the Jewish revolt with an appalling severity. But in any case the book can be understood only in the light of the history of the first century. Some features may indeed reflect conditions under Caligula rather than Nero or the Flavians; and it is not inconceivable that Pompey's capture of Jerusalem may have left traces on the book. In any case it will be clear that criticism may find a criterion of date in the attitude of the New Testament documents to the Roman Empire. Unhappily the authorities are not agreed as to when and by what stages Christianity was definitely recognised by the Empire as distinct from Judaism and an illicit religion.

author, who is Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago, writes as a classicist rather than an ecclesiastic and in a spirit of rather determined historical scepticism. I reviewed the book in the *HOLBORN REVIEW* for October, 1924.

A Religious Pilgrimage.

By REV. J. C. MANTRIPP.

Memoirs of a Positivist. By MALCOLM QUIN. Formerly Head of the Positivist Community, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Pp. 252. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

COMTISM, both as a philosophy and a religion, was launched upon the world with great expectations. Comte's declaration of 1851 runs:

In the name of the Past and the Future, the Servants of Humanity—both its philosophical and its practical servants—come forward to claim as their due the general direction of the world. Their object is to constitute at length a real Providence in all departments,—moral, intellectual, and material. Consequently they exclude once for all from political supremacy all the different servants of God—Catholic, Protestant, or Deist—as being at once behindhand and a cause of disturbance.

This flourish of trumpets was not without effect. The revolt against the supernatural in the name of science was already making itself felt, and many leaders in various departments of life gave their adherence to the new religion whose god was Humanity. In France and Germany the movement rallied its forces behind the banners of science and philosophy. The subsequent ritualistic developments—"utilitarianism crowned by a fantastic decoration," as Viscount Morley, himself in sympathy with Positivism, describes these—received scant consideration. In England the religious developments found a warmer welcome; although here also opposition was forthcoming from the forces of agnosticism, phenomenalism, rationalism, and materialism.

In the struggle religion has most often suffered. The Church of Humanity still exists, but it does not count among its adherents outstanding personalities such as those who were attracted in the earlier days of the movement.

The founder of English Positivism was Dr. Richard Congreve, one of Comte's original disciples, whose services in Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, London, were a cautious approach to the forms of Christian worship. He had been in Anglican orders and retained the instincts of a priest. His congregation had no coherence, thus he was disposed to give them less than they were prepared to receive rather than more. He waited twenty years before he adopted the practice of prayer, which Comte had declared to be "indispensable to any worship whatever." The evolution of "Catholic" ritual in a Positive congregation owed most to Malcolm Quin, who was ordained to the Positivist priesthood in 1885. It must be added that this evolution scattered his congregation. This, however, anticipates the story told with such captivating frankness in his *Memoirs*. This record is significant. Of not the least significance is the fact that he discovered, or thought he had discovered, what he sought in the religion of Humanity, and then, towards the close of his pilgrimage, found himself, as did another voyager in perilous seas, alone—compelled by circumstance to make himself a party of one. The endeavour to comprehend humanity as a unity in and for itself ends in individualism that offers no hope of accommodation or fellowship in which opinions are shared and thus made the means of discovering truth.

Malcolm Quin was born in Norfolk in 1854. His father was Irish; his mother half-English and half-Scotch. His early years were spent in various places, determined by his father's employment in the Inland Revenue service. Evangelical Anglicanism was the atmosphere of his home life. Coming to Leicester his mother was attracted to a ritualistic Church, and he accepted this new type of worship gladly. Soon other influences were at work. Leicester was a centre of Secularist propaganda. Through friendship with a

bookseller, one of the old Chartists, the young High Churchman was brought into contact with this movement and captured for its ideals. This reaction had in it nothing of the nature of revolt. It will be necessary to let Mr. Quin speak for himself on this matter.

"I have met men, and read of others who associated nothing but gloom and horror with the faith of their childhood. It appears to have bred in them only a sense of fear and awful restraint. It was a burden which they bore with aversion, and threw off with gladness. With me it was not so. Ours . . . was a household of easy-going Anglicanism. We had no black Calvinism to frighten us. Hell and damnation were not thrust at our young souls. We had no marked sense of sin. Bible-reading was not made a punishment to us. We were not afflicted with pious talk. Our religion consisted principally of church-going, and church-going—for me at least—was never unpleasant. It was, in fact, agreeable—and this most of all when I became a youthful 'High Churchman,' and worship was transformed into a poem of Heaven . . . If, therefore, I left the life of Belief behind me and passed into 'Unbelief,' this was not at all because Belief was a dismal tyranny and Unbelief the joy of freedom."

The tragedy of Edmund Gosse's *Father and Son* or of Geoffrey Dennis's *Mary Lee* plays no part here. It was not possible, however, for Secularism to retain a convert whose interest was still in religion; who, while working with Bradlaugh, Holyoake, and other leaders, was attracted to worship in a Dominican church and felt that life in a monastery was "interesting and appealing."

Circumstances led Malcolm Quin to Newcastle-on-Tyne. Here the Secularist meetings were of another type. "What especially impressed me was the red-hot earnestness of the rival orators, and their unsparing denunciation of one another. It was almost like being present at a prize-ring combat." Comtism as the Religion of Humanity was attracting him. In 1880, after correspondence with Dr. Congreve, in which he gained the assurance that his personality would not be submerged by such an act, he was received into the Positivist fellowship. He and his wife

gathered young men around them, some of whom, such as Ernest Rhys, Editor of *Everyman's Library*, afterwards made their mark in life. Quin was working as a journalist on the staff of the *Newcastle Daily Leader*. Such a convert was bound to advance as an apostle. Lectures on Positivism were started in a hired building, and soon, in connexion with these, a form of service was commenced. Quin wrote hymns and gathered others from various sources. Lessons were taken from the *Imitation*, from Moncure Conway's *Sacred Anthology*, and from other books of devotion. An American organ was hired, on which Mrs. Quin played. This was the beginning of a series of experiments in Positivist worship, and also the beginning of what was doomed to end in failure. Too much was attempted on too slender a foundation. Lectures are one thing. Worship is another. When a man "makes himself, or tries to make himself, the instrument of public worship and the organ of a religious community . . . he gives hostages to the future. It is a fatal step—all the more fatal when he stands alone, and has himself to create the form of worship and the community." Yet the work was entered upon with high hopes and with heart elate.

The possession of a new building led to new developments. The "plunge" into prayer was made, soon after this was opened, by Henry Crompton, one of Dr Congreve's disciples. Prayers now became a regular feature in the services, and with them secessions began. The great problem of transforming "the religion of supernatural faith into a religion of positive demonstration" was revealing its immensity. Positivism, however, was basking in its period of popularity, and Quin determined to seek admission to its priesthood. This led on to the cessation of his journalistic work and the dedication of all his energies to the Church of Humanity. By this time a larger building had been procured. This was an iron structure which previously had been an Anglican church. Benches, pulpit, lectern, stalls, altar, font, bell, and various other furnishings were included in the purchase. Everything was ready for a further advance in

ritual. Comte had anticipated the disuse of all Christian churches and their reversion to Positivists. This first instance of such disuse was not inspiring. A permanent church had replaced the temporary structure. The Positivist possession was merely the reversion of cast-off clothes. The evolution of worship proceeded steadily. The bell was sold. The font was not used. A small pipe-organ replaced the American organ, and ecclesiastical music came into fuller use. A series of hymns was composed for the thirteen months of the Positivist calender. There were "only a few singers—amateurs, and ill-trained." But the standard was high. "My canon in music was and is—I do not know what musicians would say to it—that it is better to do the best in music ill than to do the worst well," There can be no doubt concerning what the masters would say to the first part of this canon. Then came an "Office of Public Worship," with Acts of Commemoration, Communion, and Dedication. This Office was enriched by "Catholic" excerpts. The altar was given a definitely Comtist character, but the Catholic elements were not forgotten. Behind it was a painting of the Sistine Madonna—later a copy of Holman Hunt's "Light of the World" was added—with a red lamp beneath it, and lower down six lighted candles ranged in successive groups. These lights represented the seven abstract sciences—mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology, and morals. Their arrangement indicated, in ascending order, the sciences of Space, Earth, and Humanity. Side altars were dedicated, one to Comte, the other to his "Three Angels"—his mother, his adopted daughter, and Clotilde Vaux. The latter was the presiding figure on it. A crucifix above the bust of Paul; a statuette of the Virgin above that of Charlemagne; Moses and the Ten Commandments; and a picture of Humanity bringing light and comfort to a poor and solitary household completed the decorations. Vestments were used and ritual was profuse.

Here were all the symbols which placarded the intention to form a Church. Mr. Quin says:

"I am by nature, as by principle, a symbolist, or ritualist ;

but I own, all the same, that the thing symbolized has always seemed to me of more importance than the symbol."

There can be no suspicion concerning the sincerity of this statement. Yet as these symbolic developments proceeded his adherents diminished, and, "as a consequence, I never, to the end, was able to form a Church." Another building was ventured upon. The site of the iron structure had increased in value and the sale of this financed the new enterprise. The symbolism became more elaborate, including the celebration of the Christian festivals. "It is impossible to honour Catholicism while dishonouring Christ." A Christmas service meant further secessions. Then the celebration of Mass was decided upon. This was the beginning of the end. The congregation departed. The Church was closed and sold.

"It was an unspoken farewell. No one knew about it till it was over. It was a farewell of the mind only. Its only outward symbol was locking the door for the last time."

Mr. Quin has since worshipped with Roman Catholics while retaining his Positive faith. Huxley defined Comtism as Catholicism *minus* Christianity. Congreve retorted that it was Catholicism *plus* Science. Viscount Morley says that "Comte's Utopia has pleased the followers of the Catholic, just as little as those of the scientific, spirit." One man, however, has faith that the task of positivizing Catholicism is not impossible. He says:

"I still hold, however, that the movement of religious progress—in so far as there is one—is in this direction, and that in proportion as the various Churches, Catholic and Protestant, fail to enter into it, they will eventually perish, with only this difference that the Catholic Church will perish last."

This story of a life is a challenge to much that passes current as correct religious belief. The record must speak for itself concerning most of these matters. There are two points, however, that demand fuller notice.

Mr. Quin's religious evolution starts from a position where knowledge and ignorance exist side by side. There is no

evidence that he has made any endeavour to remedy the ignorance which asserts itself again and again as sheer prejudice. It is true that he says :

"I have, at one time or another, been present at the services of Jews, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, the Catholic Apostolic Church, the Salvation Army, the Plymouth Brethren, the Mormons, the Christian Scientists, and the Unitarians."

But the man who can write : "Protestantism is Bibliolatry. 'The religion of Protestants,' said Chillingworth, 'is the Bible, and the Bible only,'" and regard this as telling all about the Free Churches that is worth telling, rules himself out of court as one who understands the trend of religion to-day.

Mr. Quin holds the faith that humanity will be best served by penetrating Catholicism with Positivist ideals. It is true that Christianity has been careless of human needs—so careless that it is no wonder the enemy blasphemes. The greater wonder is that the fact of Christ as the perfect man is taken by those who acknowledge Him as such with their lips as not worth investigation in its practical relation to humanity—as if faith needed no enquiry, and was the incentive to no quest in this direction. The sense of humanity as multitude makes for fear with many. Luc Durtain gives utterance to this :

"There is man wherever you go . . .

But here, good Lord ! what a lot of man there is !

How much man there is in the world, how much man !"

This problem of the multitude of man cannot be evaded by Christianity. In its doctrine of Incarnation it possesses the only solution of the human problem. Mr. Quin has the will to believe in Positivism as the solution. He has succumbed to the most fascinating type of Christianity. Yet he is not happy "as I had been in my own little church—in spite of my scanty congregation of critics, always on the point of dissent and secession." But failure is written not only over his individual adventure, but upon the system for which he

stands. Dr. Otto reminds us that "the attempt to construct a Religion within the limits of pure reason or 'of humanity'" will be found fatal when the existence of God whose meaning extends beyond where reason runs current is realized. Religion, in the light of psychological enquiry, asks not what it is within these limits, but

"what it is in its own essential nature. And for that matter this proceeding of constructing a 'humanity' prior to and apart from the most central and potent of human capacities is like nothing so much as the attempt to frame a sufficient idea of the human body after having previously cut off the head."

The religion of Humanity may satisfy a cold nature such as that of Mill. This could not satisfy Malcolm Quin. He ought to know what he means when he claims himself as still a Comtist. The story unfolded in these *Memoirs* raises the question whether he is not nearer to Christianity, as this is presented by its predominant type, at the close of his pilgrimage than when he was an evangelical Anglican. His may be a God unknown, but He is a God who cannot be dismissed by calling Him Humanity. With "a natural pessimism" he too holds "a supernatural hope." Otherwise this story has no meaning.

The Personalism of Jesus.

By T. W. H. HUNT, M.A.

WHAT do we mean by a sinless Christ? Surely that, whatever His disappointments, He left them all to a heavenly Father and transformed every experience into finer wealth. And few laments did He ever waste over a struggler's passing lapses.

True, there is something to be said for the candour of a Francis, who, when he felt "an impulse of self-complacency" on giving an indigent woman a cloak, "immediately confessed before all the bystanders that he had been moved by vainglory." Present-day psychology brings home the peril of repression, or rather disharmony. But all motives are intermingled; and often a man's very scorn for seeming what he is not, stereotypes what he is.

Which is simply a negative form of Emerson's maxim that "the less we have to do with our sins the better." In Max Beerbohm's *Happy Hypocrite*, the mask of a saint worn to win a woman's love, at length transformed into its own likeness the once evil face beneath.

To find out what we cannot be,
And then to go and be it;
There lies the golden rule.

And so the fuller truth which harmonizes both the penances of the monk and the directness of the optimist is voiced by Frederic Myers:

Forge and transform my passion into power.

Love's vision of all things co-operant for good neither parades nor ignores our worsser parts. It transmutes them.

From realm to realm runs a similar though not always

parallel threefold attitude. Thus in literature we have realism, which in its super-Zolaite forms treats baseness as more natural than beauty; "purpose" novels like Winston Churchill's, which engulf art in propaganda; and full-orbed reality, the true "art for art's sake," which, facing and transfusing all facts, can see Love climbing the crumbling garrets of Angel Court. Not that earnestness (as distinct from gauging popular currents) is ever lost; but there is a still more excellent way than controversial coercion—the heuristic path of the Teacher who shows us life's greater clues, and leaves to every personality the joy of discovering their application.

For the greatest discoveries are always made *by the way*. Too biased is our vision to plan vast objectives aright. We keep making up our world as we go along. Concrete experiment reaches the secrets of matter, and concrete knowledge reaches the hearts of men. Thus is science, as Earl Balfour has remarked, all the more powerful for social change "because its object is not change but knowledge;" and any vision is all the better propaganda for not aiming at dominance. Tradition relates that, in his early days, Penn consulted George Fox about continuing the custom of wearing a sword.

"Wear it as long as thou canst."

But when they next met, the sword was gone. . . .

While George Eliot professed herself neither pessimist nor optimist but meliorist, her hues are generally on the sombre side. The fullest meliorism is both pessimist and optimist, for it faces the worst in the light of the best. Such was Christ—now rejoicing with the seventy, now weeping over the nation. Despised and rejected, He yet asserted world sway; and, moreover, He insisted that so far from being merely a regrettable stage or passing preparation, the first is the lifelong condition, the inseparable obverse, of the second; that continual peril and power are the twin faces of Personality. All the great temptations His ministry transformed into might were temptations to eclipse the bare and common beauty of personality.

Just as any change of lead into gold would be far less valuable than the energy such transmutation would liberate, so we recognize dogma as less than *κῆρυγμα*, flower than fragrance, works than personality. And, just as it would thus pay to transmute gold into baser metal, so Christianity sublimates ambition to rule into ambition to serve. When we thus merge censorious selves in the mass of humanity, then we rise beyond its crime and narrowness. For in the world's whirlpool nothing uplifts like submergence. It was Fox's stricken "sense of all conditions" that enabled him to "speak to all conditions." It was Woolman's self-identity with misery that prepared an emancipation movement which would not, like the heritage of Lincoln's arms, have loosed the slave and cursed "the Nigger." It was Dickens' and Dostoevski's love of the suffering dregs of society that made them masters of letters. And it is Christ's fellowship with traitors and common sinners that makes Him the Master of all.

And so Calvary is no reversal but a very climax of God's supremacy, and man's; a day's summation of all the ages. "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing," to enwrap His might in unconscious depths of feeling, and therewith manifold its variety and heighten its sway. From the self-centred immortality of germ-plasm, evolution has turned and wrought death as a means of larger life; and from germ-plasm's institutional analogues—caste and land entail and hoarded wealth—crucifixion turns to choose portionless ministry and slave-death for five-dimensional life. In hysterical contrast to the calm of eastern transcendence, our anti-militarists like Sassoon commonly complain as if wounds were the real futility of war, as if death were the final curtain Shakespeare generally makes it, instead of a gateway back to our proper immensity whereof this life is but an incident. Far nearer the truth are the pictures of ex-Gunner Mears, for these portray war's dwarfing of personality. Shall not world vision's "bright shoots of everlastingness" wrought of world intercourse and a world Christ remove the shadow of war by transforming instead of

deploring the lesser shadow, the sunlit passage, of death?
L'église est née crucifiée.

The truth is that our crucifix misses the very essence of Calvary—that not only was it consummated beyond a city wall, but in the midst of mob hatred. It is just because God is so utterly within that we find Him so transcendently beyond; and this universality of immanence needs the *three crosses* to bring home. The pacifist has no difficulty in praying for his persecutors—if, indeed, he call them persecutors—for not only have they braced his sinews and given him red-letter seasons of solitude; they have thrown him into such heart-to-heart intercourse with the most diverse of his soldier comrades as seldom privileges the civilian. When we find the world our parish, we find it also our harvest. Thus the voice of the people becomes the authentic voice of God. Thus does the future rest with neither wealth nor work nor even “being,” but in the bare bosom of the Beggar, helpless and therefore importunate, empty and therefore openhanded.

There is always both liberty and coercion, both love and judgement, both the centre cross of the Saviour and the outer cross for the malefactor. We cannot walk the street without crushing the insect or rousing the motor horn. We are constantly separating sheep and goats, even as the magnet attracts chromium and repels gold, or as each person's unconscious atmosphere or aura attracts the aura of one and repels the aura of another personality. It is just such polarity that reduces chaos to system, heightens the diversity involved in unity, and thus, preventing one part from being indiscriminately devastated by another, enables each to find its fitting pasture. For, indeed, whether on the rocks or around the wells or in the fold, the sheep and the goats are no less constantly separating themselves.

Thus, on the one hand, Christ's cleansing of the Temple sublimates tribunaldom's fetters and class prerogative into the personal sway that upraises a lost multitude; and war's hurly-burly into the precision of personal morality. And so, on the other hand, it typifies heaven's purgation, which is both catastrophic and outward (Matthew xxv.), and

continuous and inward (John iii. 18-20) ; for, unless His sway had "reached the witness" in the profiteers' own conscience, they would never have acquiesced. In our ever-moving complex of self and universe it would be a sadly truncated character which failed to complement feminine devotion with masculine assertion ; but, just as devotion transcends promiscuity, so the very directness of assertion transcends the blind subjection of battle.

It was a great advance when, to prophets like Isaiah, the very plight of their country showed not that Yahweh was merely a territorial deity worsted by Assur, but that, as world ruler, He was using Assyria to punish Israel's sins. Greater was the advance when the world's Messiah turned from the prophets' God of vengeance to an impartial Father, ministering His sun to all. And still greater is the advance when, in the light of all-pervasive spirit, the very judgement of evil shows us that, so far from a territorial lord and judge, He is, in the Son of man, so intimately flesh of our flesh that His all-feeling Judgement is Love itself. It is such harmony of philosophy's dualisms that is consummated in the Apocalyptic Reason : "In so far as ye have done it unto one of the very least. . . ."

For such realization of world-unity solves, by simply dissolving, the problem of evil. Our miseries are the miseries of partness, in contrast instead of unity with wholeness. The more we feel the universe one vast organism, the more meaningless becomes the whole controversy of evil and determinism. How then shall we find the Kingdom by shattering its most vital members ? *In so far as ye have slain one of the least, have ye not slain Me ?*

When we are tempted to hold that, while we ought not to avenge injuries directly personal to ourselves, yet we are justified in punishing all others, and thus that what is wrong for us may be right for the State, are we not lingering in that blood feud stage which regarded crime as a clan pollution ? Such a conception our progress both expands and contracts. Our responsibility is world-wide ; our activity, however "corporate," is always personal. The farther we transcend

frontiers, the deeper we penetrate within them. The whole mission of Christianity is to bring home the truth that I personally suffer with the sweated Jap or the plundered African. "Who is offended, and I burn not?" And if there is a more excellent way than physical resistance to him who would shatter my body, the same way is no less excellent with him who afflicts my brother. When Antipas beheaded Christ's kinsman, Christ breathed no vengeance. When James and John would have called down fire on the unfriendly Samaritan village, He turned and rebuked them. When Pilate massacred Christ's countrymen, so far from suggesting revolt, to be carried to victory by the miraculous interventions of Yahweh, He sublimated the outrage into a warning that all who failed to repent would shatter themselves in the mills of God. No parable tells how the good Samaritan chased the brigands of the Jericho road. No disciple plunged a dagger into the heart of Caiaphas. For, in Kantian phrase, breadth of vision treats every personality "as an end, never as a means." The greater and tenser the quest, the more minute and unselfconscious its manifestations. Hence the astonishment of the faithful at finding that their service to the least is service to the Highest. Their utter spontaneity has ministered to the most disesteemed as an end in himself.

In the issue for January 1922, the Editor, while recognizing their inseparability, emphasized the centrality of Christ rather than the cross. This is the foundation of the whole pacifist position. Preach the cross, with the Forsyth temperament, and you are likely to preach war. Preach Christ, and a natural outcome is the exquisitely titled *Prisoners of Hope*, which did so much to rekindle men's hope of the churches and reached a directness of insight into the pacifist's attitude which many of his own cell meditations had sought in vain.

And so *personalism* is a more expressive name than *pacifism*. All life centres in the Personality whom it is questionable whether the roughest soldier would even wish to imagine running a bayonet into a foe.

Accordingly, the personalist's charter has three main clauses.

I. INITIATIVE. *He that hath none, let him sell his cloke, and buy a sword.* Jesus was now departing, and His disciples, if they lacked resourceful courage, must acquire it—strip off the defences which clothe yet cramp the soul, and go forth in the strength of personality, unsheltered by a visible Master and therefore still more unconquerable by visible weapons than before. "It is better for you that I go away;" for then we exchange the shield of flesh for the sword of Spirit.

So far from a negligent passivism, any follower of Him who came not to send peace but a sword is nothing if not a fighter—but his stand is always for the weak, and thus means always endurance rather than mastery; otherwise, the very quietism of an Emerson may lend itself to war instead of the gaol that rewarded his friend Thoreau. Would the healer of Malchus's ear have suggested, even for a distraught moment, that His sheep should go to war with the wolves? Here, as elsewhere, they still showed their humanness. In wild-beast regions, weapons are a more staple commodity than in London and Paris. But, so far from continuing to take this and the other injunctions of Luke xxii. 35-8 in their individualist literalness, Peter was presently at the Temple with a mere gift of healing instead of silver and gold, and the early Christians pooled their possessions and rejected arms with a horror of bloodshed which lingered even into the paganism of the feudal bishop's club instead of sword, and Smithfield's fires instead of axe and gallows.

Watching some boys bathing, Spencer and Huxley remarked on the marvel that so frail a frame as man's can dominate all other creatures. Nakedness is the path of progress. Foregoing hoofs and shell and hide, man has developed, in poverty and peril, mental diversities which can supply all such wants without continual, fossilized encumbrance; and thus, dispensing with tiger claws, he

has evolved a thumb so uniquely opposable to his fingers that its manifold grasp handicaps all rivals.

Only the man who is ready to face risks attracts the typical woman. Only when Zechariah's new Jerusalem is builded without a wall, can it sway the world. The power of daring love with *individuals* finds classic illustration in Leonard Fell, one of George Fox's frequent companions, who, after readily giving up both money and horse to a highwayman, "solemnly warned him of the evil of his ways," and whose reply to a passionate threat to blow out his brains, "Though I would not give my life for my money or my horse, I would give it to save thy soul," "so struck the astonished robber, that he declared, if he was such a man as that he would take neither his money nor his horse from him." And the power of such self-devotion with *nations* is far more certain; for, whereas a criminal is abnormal, a nation's acts embody average opinion open to finer feelings. Thus the more a nation sought unarmed martyrdom, the less likely would it be to suffer it. Only when we view the League of Nations as a Society of Personalities can it sway the world for lasting fellowship.

The less rigorous the organization, the more stalwart and spiritual the Christianity. Lack of state protection might broaden even the profiteer's outlook. And our brutality of punishment keeps alive the brutality of crime. Every day brings fresh evidence to make the warder into a nurse, the judge into a doctor. All this is so much a matter of self-interest rather than sacrifice, that often the objector hardly welcomes the epithet "conscientious." Since the Master incarnates the principles of life, it is no inscrutable idealism but the veriest common sense that the mightiest weapons are unseen. Sell the self-righteous "conscience," the hide-bound past, and buy the all-healing because all-broken sword.

II. ADAPTATION. *Then give back to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's; a precept whose application is exemplified in Paul's injunction to submit to the secular powers. It was natural that both*

Jesus and Paul should become victims of the very Cæsars they thus recognized. So far from blind submission to every ordinance, it is because the mature believer, as Dora Greenwell puts it, depends only upon One, that he acquiesces in all things; and this very breadth of concentration brings against him the narrowness of temporal powers.

Pharisees and Herodians—in various respects, the Nationalists and Ulstermen of their day—had come together in common enmity to Jesus, and sought to embroil Him with either Rome or the multitude. Although the Pharisees naturally recognized the Talmud rule that he is king whose coin is current in the land, and although Palestine circulated both Roman and Jewish coinage, and, indeed, only *Jewish* coins were allowed to be offered in the Temple, yet the Pharisees themselves were countenancing Cæsar's coins. In such light let us paraphrase Christ's reply:

Many of you are conscientious objectors to Cæsar's dominion; yet you are yourselves taking advantage of Cæsar's benefits. Give them back. Suffer the inconvenience such scruples demand. Live in the poverty which dispenses with both Pharisaic parade and Herodian time-serving. See, and thus call forth, the best in every man. Do your utmost to requite it, and you shall find his worser parts transformed. To find and fulfil every personality enriches your own no less than his.

Only the poverty of Jesus and Paul and Francis and Wesley and pioneers still nearer home—penury independent of patronage and thus continually dependent on the Father—enables us to give back to the community what belongs to it—all we are. Once we realize that *Giving is happier than getting*, then not only could the state no longer collect taxes adequate for war. The motive would be gone.

But even in the infant church, the Pharisee's separatism threatened to precipitate itself afresh. There were some who desired a Christian imperium, independent of the general community, collecting its own taxes, electing its own rulers, to wield both ecclesiastical and secular prerogative. Such self-insistence would not merely have called down destruction. It was alien to the whole genius of the Nazarene. Hence

Paul's warning (Romans xiii. 1). Privilege, tradition, and conflict are the stereotyped trinity which a later paganism was to focus in its age-long clash of papacy and empire.

"You know," observed an escort to his charge, "it's written, 'There shall be wars and rumours of wars.'"

"No. 'Ye shall *hear* of wars.' . . . And it isn't written anywhere that I shall take part in them."

Doubtless there is a place for the sword—are there not museums?—but nowhere does the New Testament record that that place is the Christian church or its members.

And still the idea of Christian imperium persists, calling itself, now nationalism, now democracy. And yet, instead of raising the populace for even a theocratic nationalism, Jesus explicitly recognizes the alien power which had subjugated nation after nation, including His own. So far from insisting on "democracy" as the indispensable condition for righteousness and peace, He Himself could live His fullness and freedom in a subject territory. Have not small countries fostered many of our greatest internationalists? Like the Gentile ambitions He deprecated, the root of humanity's miseries is "self-determination" instead of mutual dependence. Because His vision surveys the world, it values and consummates every element. And so, instead of eclipsing the individual with creeds and constitutions, He freely leaves, and thus most freely inspires, every personality to decide what are Cæsar's and what are God's. *Where is one alone, there am I.*

Whatever Wesley's personal views, he published the military experiences of "the first Methodist conscientious objector," one of his earliest and greatest preachers, John Nelson, who, after expounding "to a well-behaved congregation" at Adwalton, found himself pressed for the army by order of alehouse-keepers and *the clergyman*; and whose *Journal*, including those dungeon and detention records, is still sold by the Epworth Press, and treasured in Methodist homes. And when Wesley revised for Methodists the Thirty-nine Articles, the passage sanctioning weapons and war (Article XXXVII.) was among the many that disappeared. While appreciating

the conscience clauses of the Military Service Acts as a testimony to the rightness of his attitude, many a pacifist, instead of feeling much personal gratitude for them, would have welcomed death for the cause, but Calvary and Smithfield have at last made such penalty impossible; and Wormwood Scrubs and Pentonville mark another stage in the toil of personality. Indeed, the very wealth of argument brought against him does but deepen his conviction that the nation already feels in its heart of heart that even the most defensive war is wrong; else why proffer absolute exemption to the ministry, or spare the life of the "absolutist"? Does not the home which embraces the prodigal envisage a Schmidt no less than a Scott Duckers?

III. CONSUMMATION. *And greater works than these shall he do that believeth on me; because I go unto the Father.* This both harmonizes and fulfils the other two; for it assures visible fruits because of a Presence too pervasive for sight; an expanding self because of an expanding world. It thus concentrates the whole paradox of Christianity that only as we lose the outward can we find the inward.

Thus does Christ explicitly free us from all outward standards—even His own; looses us into His limitless Personality, ever opening up fresh vistas; into an ever-widening world greater than either egoism or altruism. Transmuting both self-will and servility, progress is efficiency-in-environment, freedom-in-necessity, the whole complex of character and circumstance which centres in personality. Relativity, indeed, as the interpretative fulfilment of the absolute, is the personalist's bulwark, ensuring his continual initiative-in-adaptation. Instead of the abstractly absolutist logic of the militarist who would have us render to Cæsar the things that are God's and slay our fellow-man as a phagocyte slaughters the cholera microbe, he adapts his spontaneity to infinite circumstance in the light of an infinite whole. So exceeding wide is the field of duty that the path must needs be narrow. Norman Macleod's last speech desired "to be as broad as the charity of Almighty God, and as narrow as His righteousness which divides the slightest shades of right and wrong;" and the

true relativist is he who, realizing that every activity demands highest discernment, lives dangerously, and therefore safely. Hence his wholehearted agreement with his bellipacifist friend "that no war shall ever be regarded as necessary until everything possible has been done to avoid it;"* for *everything possible* means Calvary.

And so he is as little enamoured of "objector" as of "conscientious." It is the militarist who is the real objector. Neither to destroy nor condemn came Christ. Thus, while no less wholeheartedly welcoming the "No More War" declaration, whose concluding affirmation, added after its first inception, appreciates the truth that no heroism can rest in negatives, yet, on the principle of sublimation rather than abrogation, and organism rather than organization—take care of the first, and both the second will take care of themselves—the personalist, viewing war as the issue of all issues, looks forward to the spread of an affirmation at once more comprehensive and intimate, such as tribunal memories recall:

Since personality, being larger than death, is more effective than visible weapons, and every personality, being one with the Highest, is no less sacred than 'my own,' I am prepared not only to undergo anything whatever rather than take any part, direct or indirect, in the shattering of any personality, but to do and be everything possible to heighten and fulfil all personality.

Before an empire's deputies the Galilean stood dumb. Are not psychology and religion, doctor and saint, joining in homage to imagination and wish, prayer and love, as the mightiest of world powers? . . .

. . . "William, where is thy sword?"

"Oh, I have taken thy advice: I wore it as long as I could."

Spiritual Healing.

By THE REV. L. W. GRENSTED M.A., B.D.

WHAT is the relation between religion, psychotherapy, and medicine? What is the link between the healing of mind and body, and the saving of the soul? Where does the work of the doctor and the psychologist end and the work of the Christian minister begin? The whole subject has led to so much interest, and to so much confusion of thought, during recent years that there is urgent need for sane and comprehensive investigation from the side of the Churches, lest we be led astray by an uncritical and hasty emotionalism, or, worse still, be debarred by our scepticism from entering in by a door that is open and effectual in the Lord.

The first point that demands attention is historical. In one form or another faith-healing has existed in every period of human history of which we have any record. If the Vincentian canon, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, were a sufficient test the place of faith-healing would be secure indeed. In effect, however, the argument from history is, as usual, ambiguous. It is just as easy to argue that a simple belief in faith-healing is a mere survival of ancient superstition, not yet completely dispelled by modern science, as that it is fully attested by this age-long consent of humanity.

Only the briefest sketch of the history is here possible. Everywhere in the ancient world we find the belief that sickness is something unnatural. It was regarded as due to demons or gods, and indeed it was one of the characteristic features of a god that the breaking of his ritual "tabu," or the violation of his "holiness," as we find it even in the Old

Testament, involved sickness or even death. In some cases the god who caused the disease would himself be invoked for its cure, as in the narrative of the brazen serpent, and this primitive form of homœopathic magic has developed into really religious conceptions on the one hand, and on the other into such elementary superstitions as the belief that the bite of a mad dog can be cured by one of the dog's own hairs. Thus in Greece we find that the "divine sickness," or epilepsy, is both caused and cured by Bacchus. In other cases, and perhaps more commonly, god is invoked against god, and so arises the whole enormous system of charms and amulets, intended either to ward off disease or to drive it away when it had appeared. Sometimes the disease is addressed directly, as in the Egyptian recipe for a cold, which is driven out by the words, "Get out on the floor, stink, stink, stink." Sometimes the charm is simply the name of some god or gods, often distorted or even twisted into a shapeless jumble, as in the Gnostic amulets, to make it more awe-inspiring and so more effective. At the time of the rise of Christianity it seems to be the case that all gods who claimed any widespread authority were "Saviour-Gods," and though this title involved, in some cases at least, other attributes, that of protection against disease was certainly included. There can be little doubt that the Name of Jesus had associations of this kind. The converts were baptised into the Name, and we find clear traces of their perplexity when sickness and death took toll of their number (1 Thess. iv. 13). And when St. Paul bids the Corinthians excommunicate one of the brethren, he clearly believes that the offender will thereby be exposed to the physical risk of sickness (1 Cor. v. 5).

A more elaborate and more scientific application of this general principle is illustrated by the temple-inscriptions of Epidaurus in the fourth century B.C., which reveal a state of affairs which was doubtless paralleled at many other famous shrines. Here the power of the god was invoked. The patient slept in the temple precincts, and in some cases, at least, he dreamed that he was treated, sometimes surgically, by the god and his assistant priests. And the votive tablets bear

witness to the resultant cures. Here we have real mental treatment. There is at least powerful suggestion, and possibly even surgical treatment under hypnosis.

The ancient world thus found nothing to surprise them in the miracles of our Lord. Nevertheless the Gospels provide the first clear piece of insight into the meaning of what was going on everywhere. Doubtless the seven sons of Sceva could quote their cures as against their Christian rivals. But it was Jesus who isolated faith as the essential condition and factor, and thereby made possible a new approach to the whole subject. The lack of faith made miracles difficult or impossible (Matt. xiii. 58. Mark vi. 5). Weakness of faith might delay the result (Matt. xvii. 20). But where faith existed, either in the sufferer (*e.g.*, Matt. ix. 22, 29, and often), or in some friend (*e.g.*, Matt. viii. 13, ix. 2, xv. 28) "all things are possible to him that believeth." "Thy faith hath saved thee," is the text of all the New Testament healings.

Healings have never ceased in the Christian Church. The first disciples believed themselves commissioned to heal the sick (Matt. x. 8, etc.), and regarded their power over sickness as a special gift of the Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, *cf.* especially Acts iii. 6). The elders of the Church are instructed to pray over the sick and anoint them with oil (James v. 14, 15). This "unction" is hardly recognisable in the mediæval practice of Extreme Unction, which has ceased to have any connexion with the hope of recovery, and, indeed healing soon ceased to be regarded as a general function of the Christian ministry. It continued, however, to flourish in the unofficial ministry of the saints. The legends of hagiology bear testimony to the widespread belief in healings wrought not only by the saints themselves but also by their relics and tombs. In one case, indeed, it is recorded that a body substituted for that of a saint proved just as effective as the original with pilgrims who did not know of the substitution. And the tradition of the Middle Ages is carried on still at Lourdes, and at Holywell, with complete sincerity, and some success.

In all this record, however, it should be noted that faith must be distinguished from the content of faith. Other

religions besides Christianity can shew a similar record in this respect, and within Christianity itself healings have often been associated with a very low level of superstitious belief.

It was doubtless this fact that led Protestantism in the main to discredit faith-healing. Its association with the cults of the saints was, at the least, unfortunate. And the practice was forced further into the background by the Calvinistic insistence upon the supremacy and finality of the Divine Will, which led to the tacit conclusion that sickness, rather than its cure, was God's will, and, as such, to be received with meek resignation (not always altogether void of satisfaction) rather than with a good courage and an active determination to get well. There was, however, positive gain, in that where belief in faith healing survived, as with Luther himself, the Moravians, and the early Wesleyans, it was freed, in the main, from superstition and magic* and based directly upon prayer.

On the whole, however, the characteristically gloomy view of God's will has prevailed in Protestantism. It has become almost a fixed convention that prayer should not be offered for the sick until all other means have been tried for their recovery. And such prayer is usually regarded rather as a testimony to the danger in which the patient lies, than as a confident appeal to the God of love. And thus it is small wonder that a series of movements, some more and some less Christian, have arisen during the past sixty years to correct the balance, claiming for the body its rightful share, and sometimes a good deal more than its share, in the deliverance that Christ has wrought.

The earlier movements were mainly in the United States, and varied greatly in type. Some amounted to little more than systematic cheerfulness, as with the folk who resolutely smiled for a fixed time every morning. Some, as with the

* This aspect, of course, survived locally. The most notable example was the Royal touching for "the King's evil," or scrofula. Charles II. practised this on a large scale, but subsequent kings met with little success, and the custom died a natural death at the end of the seventeenth century.

Quakers, the Baptists, and the Mormons, were in close touch with ordinary Protestantism, but had broken loose from the rigour of its theology, and thus were free to believe once more in the efficacy of prayer, and to put their faith into practice. The most important movement of all, Christian Science, has a theology and a philosophy of its own, both extremely inadequate, but nevertheless sufficient to give it the coherence and vitality of a Church.

The real originator of the teaching of Christian Science was Phineas P. Quimby, who cured and taught Mrs. Eddy, and to whom she owed all that was really valuable in her teaching, though Mrs. Eddy herself, and her loyal followers, have strenuously disowned the obligation. The essential features of that teaching are an insistence upon the love and goodness of God which was sorely lacking in much of the current Protestantism, and which has come to multitudes of sufferers as a revelation sufficient in itself to lift them to a new level of spiritual peace and bodily health. But with this positive (and entirely orthodox) conception Mrs. Eddy taught a philosophical theory of the non-reality of matter, sin, and evil, which is not merely self-destructive but even cruel in its implications. God, she said, being good, cannot be even aware of these things, and the real humanity in us cannot be aware of them either. Disease and sin are an illusion, the product of "mortal mind," and only affect a counterfeit of humanity. The real humanity is always and ever free, good, healthy, immortal.

Philosophically this makes no sense. The illusion remains unexplained, and the conception of God as a vague benevolence, ignorantly aloof, is very far below the Christian conception. Incidentally it drives Mrs. Eddy to a docetic view of the Incarnation, closely akin to that of Valentinianism, in which Christ becomes a mere appearance and His Cross loses all its meaning.

To a certain extent Theosophy and Spiritualism have developed upon parallel lines with Christian Science, adding, however, special dangers of their own. The lesser of these is diagnosis by clairvoyance, which has a certain psychological interest, and may even be correct in a certain number of cases

(though it will certainly be wrong in many more, since it is merely the working of a very imperfectly informed sub-conscious). A more serious danger is involved in diagnosis and prescription by "spirit-doctors," for which there is no good thing to be said at all.

There is now a strong re-action within the Protestant Churches in the direction of a restored ministry of healing. The work of Dr. Worcester and the Emmanuel Movement in America, the Guild of Health, the Guild of St. Raphael, and others, in this country, the healing missions of Mr. Hickson, are all part of a considerable movement which is endeavouring to realise within the life of the Church a truth of which the assertion should never have been left to the Christian Scientist. Not unnaturally this movement has attracted many cranks, and a good many unguarded claims are being made. But on the whole there is substantial progress, both in theory and practice.

This progress is largely due to the fact that there has been a parallel and not wholly disconnected movement in psychological circles, and the whole subject of the mental cure of physical symptoms is now a matter of serious scientific study. The vogue of psycho-analysis and auto-suggestion has, indeed, almost attained the dimensions of a religious revival, and hundreds of people who have never dreamed of confessing their sins or of saying their prayers have been solemnly examining their past lives for lapses adequate to explain their complexes, or repeating night by night, with knotted string in place of rosary, that "Every day in every way they are getting better and better." It is perhaps well that the first wave of this psychological excitement is now passing, and that the whole subject is now likely to be handled on more sober and scientific lines. And that this investigation will be of importance for the Churches, in their study and practice of spiritual healing, as well as for psychology proper there can be no doubt. The very similarity both in method and in result of the cures of psychotherapy and the cures wrought by faith is sufficient to shew their intimate connexion. The really serious

question for the Churches is whether there is anything in spiritual healing proper which cannot be explained as a simple application of psychological processes, now becoming increasingly well known and capable of scientific control.

The fundamental problem here is that of the relationship between body, mind, and spirit, and it is interesting that we seem likely to be driven back to a threefold division of human nature not unlike that adopted by St. Paul. For modern psychology is rapidly shewing that the mind is correlated with the body in many respects. The modern investigation of the mind has been made possible by applying to it the same scientific principles as those which underlie modern biology, the law of cause and effect, and the principle of biological continuity in all life, animal and human. But the life of the spirit, with which religion is primarily concerned, introduces factors of another kind, such as free-will, the purpose or end of life, and ultimate standards of value. And these all culminate in systems of personal relationship. Religion might indeed almost be defined as the right adjustment of personal relationships, if by that phrase is understood our relationship both to our fellow men and to God. Thus religion includes the physical, and it is one of its essential features that it enables us to face the physical facts of life without fear, but always in the light of the personal or spiritual. It is at least a fair hypothesis, and quite a scientific one, that this religious or spiritual factor may be the dominant force even in our physical life.

For we have to notice that despite this division of man into three, for analytical purposes, his life is yet one. It is a mere commonplace in the matter of healing that we cannot always treat the body by physical means, the mind by mental, and the spirit by spiritual. It is unscientific, and in the end irreligious, to assume that one kind of cure will cover all cases of disorder in man. It is just as bigoted to try to cure everything by drugs as to try to cure everything by faith. A man suffering from a hysterical paralysis does not require drugs or massage. What is more relevant is his relationship with himself, or with somebody else, or

with God. A man suffering from chronic grumpiness at breakfast is more likely to be cured by Epsom Salts than by sermons.

It is rarely that disease is purely and solely physical. When this is the case it might well have a special name, such as "injury" or "lesion," for it is not disease in the full sense. A man may have lost a leg, and yet be perfectly healthy without growing another. We might quite rightly speak of a healthy attack of measles, *i.e.*, an attack to which the patient responds with a normal and healthy reaction, thus throwing it off with the minimum delay and discomfort. And it should be remembered that death itself is a perfectly normal reaction to certain conditions. If a man falls upon his head from a great height it would be abnormal if he did not die. And thus it is no part of our message as religious people to deny the existence of physical disorders. It is with the reaction to them that we are concerned.

This reaction is never simply physical, even in cases where the physical factor seems predominant. And these cases are by no means all. We now know how closely the mental and the physical are linked together. Physical symptoms are constantly found to arise from mental causes, such as fear, or wrong suggestion. A great amount of sickness arises, for example, from the desire, often unconscious, to gain power or attention. Many find that they can command their own homes, and even a wider circle, by falling sick. The symptoms follows as a matter of course. Clearly in such cases as these the mental factor does not stand alone. There is a spiritual disorder, too, for personal relationships and the end or object of life are concerned. Some of the most serious, and, humanly speaking, hopeless forms of mental disorder, such as dementia præcox and the psychoses, have very marked physical symptoms, but their fundamental feature seems to be strictly spiritual. They are phenomena of introversion, where the self turns in upon itself, away from the life of personal relationship, seeking to "keep for its joys a world within the world." It saves its life only to lose it. It is significant that in these cases psychology and medicine

seem to be equally helpless. Perhaps only the Church will ever be able to deal with them. For here we are concerned with the fundamental spiritual attitude of the soul.

We may note in passing that it is easy to ignore in this connexion the extent to which plain ordinary religion, not in the least emotional or excitable, has kept people healthy. Many who would otherwise be ill are sound in body and mind because they are at peace with God and have found an object in life which satisfies the needs of their souls.

The main problem for the student of spiritual healing is the problem of the isolation and understanding of the spiritual factor alike in the disease and in its treatment. It may be true that mental and spiritual disorder are never wholly separate. But the resultant symptoms may be attacked either upon the mental or upon the spiritual level.

Mental disorder is usually caused by some kind of conflict in the patient's life. Sometimes the patient refuses the struggle of life and retires into some form of phantasy or infantilism. Sometimes the issue is hysteria, the division of life into compartments, separate from one another, on the surface at least. Sometimes the conflict remains unresolved, a perpetual and restless anxiety. In any of these cases physical symptoms are likely to supervene, and it is perfectly legitimate to meet these with physical remedies, while recognising that the real disorder must be met upon another level.

The systems of mental treatment are numerous, and it is important to note at the outset that they are purely scientific in character and must be judged simply by their results. The methods used fall into three main types, though many modern psychologists employ all three to some extent. There is, first, the Freudian system of mental analysis. Here, it is claimed, the cure is wrought partly by "abreaction," the release of repressed emotion, and partly by "transference," or the formation of new personal attachments which relieve the tension of the conflict. We can only say here that the danger of Freudianism is not in its treatment of sex questions, but in its treatment of personal values, since the de-

terminism upon which the system rests is a denial that such values exist. The second main school of psycho-therapy is that of Jung, which brings in the factor of re-education, but fails to give any clear account of the end to which that re-education is directed. Jung's system seems to be purely sceptical, and to have no ultimate standard of values. If re-enforced on this side by religion, it is probably the strongest of the three. The third, and by far the best known system, is that of cure by suggestion, popularised by M. Coué. Here it is especially necessary to observe that auto-suggestion is by no means identical with spiritual healing, though some forms of faith-healing are nothing more than the application of suggestion in one form or another. Suggestion is a well-known scientific process, not in itself concerned with spiritual values, but treating the mind by the laws of mind and thereby affecting the physical condition of the body. There is no reason to doubt the efficacy of this method. Its danger is two-fold. In people of little stability it leads to a quest for cures that are sudden, marvellous, cheap, and none too lasting. And even more serious is the danger of increasing the tendency to hysteria, since suggestion depends for its efficacy upon an isolation of attention in the patient, which is itself hysterical in character. Where these two dangers are recognised and fairly countered there is no doubt as to the enormous utility of this method.

But in none of these forms is psycho-therapy to be identified with spiritual healing proper. The spiritual factor is the most difficult to cure, but it is also the most important. And if the means used are simply those of psychology (and many a popular revivalist is little more than a successful if unconscious psychologist) the results attained, even though statistically considerable, are not necessarily upon any very high level. The one goal of spiritual treatment is the adjustment of the purpose of life. If the spiritual adviser happens to know psychology he may use his knowledge of suggestion or analysis. If he happen to have a medical training he may administer pills. But fundamentally he is concerned with the re-adjustment of the patient's

life, the breaking down of the old and bad dispositions which may be the actual cause of sickness and which are in many cases the greatest obstacle to its cure. The command, "Arise and walk," is often impotent unless it can be preceded by "Thy sins be forgiven thee."

The fact that so many cases do not yield to psycho-therapy proves that there is often something very radically wrong indeed, so wrong that mental treatment alone is impotent. And in one form or another the trouble is always the failure of the patient to meet the circumstances of his own life, his home, his work, his ambitions, his impulses of every kind. Many cases of so-called shell-shock could not be cured until after the Armistice. The men were not dishonest or malingering, but the alternative to their malady was a return to France. The cure of the neurosis meant a situation which, consciously or unconsciously, they were not prepared to face.

It is the task of religion to take men and women, in sickness and in health, and to fit them for the struggle of life, not in some fancied Garden of Eden, but in the world as it is, to free them from fear, and from self-importance, and to do this in the only way that is effective, by that true change of heart, that repentance, wherein man yields himself to God.

There is only space for a few words as to the duty of the Church in this matter. We must see that our theology of God's will is neither cruel nor shallow, and that we never so preach it as to deny His love. We must see that we do not confuse the mental with the spiritual. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." And at the same time we must be perfectly loyal to all human knowledge. There is nothing alien to Christianity in the skill of doctor and psychologist. We have no right to trust to prayer if we ignore the resources of science. The doctor and the Christian minister should be allies, for, indeed, their task is one, the task of raising broken and fallen humanity, body, mind, and spirit, to the full measure of perfect manhood, one in Christ.

The Church and the Child.

By REV. F. C. HOGGARTH, B.A.

1. **H**ISTORICALLY the Church has found considerable difficulty in placing the child. For ages it had strictly no place for the child. There was neither message nor recognition until such time as the boy or girl could be regarded as a miniature adult. Virtually the Church reversed the words of Christ and said, "Except ye become as grown men, ye cannot enter the Kingdom of God." Childhood was thus fore-shortened, and theology, like early industrialism, greatly sinned against the child. A century ago Lord Shaftsbury visited a city in the North of England, and in a few minutes in one of the crowded city areas, gathered around him some half hundred boys and girls of various ages. Without exception they were deformed. There was not a straight-limbed child among them, because Industrialism had put on their undeveloped limbs the burdens and toils of adult life. It was an unmeasurable cruelty, this maiming of the child by sending it at five, six, or seven years of age into mill and mine. Long ago we repented it. But there has been another cruelty, a spiritual cruelty to children, the story of which has never been fully told. Yet the more we learn about the mind and its growth, its susceptibility, its capacity for pain and torture, the more terrible appears this religious mishandling of children. There has never been a Society for the Prevention of Spiritual Cruelty to Children, though there has been ample need for one. All too many biographies reveal childhood marred and unhappy, because of torturing religious fears and disciplines. H. G. Wells has told of his own early sufferings, the

outrage upon his soul, by the picture of "God as the all-seeing and quite ungenerous Eye, as Bogey. He and His Hell were the nightmare of my childhood. I hated Him while I still believed in Him . . . I thought of Him as a fantastic Monster, perpetually spying, perpetually listening, perpetually waiting to condemn and to strike me dead . . . He was over me and about my feebleness and silliness and forgetfulness, as the sky and sea would be about a child drowning in Mid-Atlantic." Children were driven, tortured is hardly too strong a term, into the City of Destruction, for that was the only place from which some theologies could book them for the Celestial City. Until they came there, to the state of mind pictured by that city of Bunyan's, it was impossible to set them going. The sooner they came there, the better. So we find little Isaac Watts, at the age of eight, writing an acrostic on his own name, beginning:

"I'm but a vile, polluted lump of earth,
So I've continued ever since my birth."

2. It was against such cruelty and against the whole set of pre-suppositions behind the cruelty that Horace Bushnell protested, seventy years ago. His book, *Christian Nurture*, was a protest of the heart, and the heart, it has been said, not only makes theologians, it makes and unmakes theologies. It certainly unmade the old Calvinism. Any theological system guilty of cruelty to children is under sentence. It can not endure. Bushnell did not believe in this City of Destruction theory for children. He refused to accept the prevalent theory that a child must needs grow up in sin, and that the Church had no real recognition of or message for it until it found its burden rolled away at the Cross. He was not sure that there need be a burden at all in the Bunyan sense. His watchword was "that a child should grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise." To us, they seem simple, almost axiomatic words, but two generations ago, they served like beacon fires, calling men to battle. *Christian Nurture* would seem the last of all subjects under the sun about which men would quarrel, yet around it there

aged a most fierce theological struggle, in quite the bitterest style. It seems rather a beautiful thing that a child should grow up a Christian and never know the terrors of a far country, but there were those to whom even that lovely ideal was heresy. Bushnell's idea of Christian Nurture was based upon the great fact of corporate life, upon home and Church, and the mighty potency of Christian environment and influence. In that he found himself up against the individualism of Reformation theology. In emphasizing the rights and responsibilities of the individual, in setting each soul in splendid isolation before his God, that theology lost sight of man's corporate life. It treated men as though they were Crusoes on an island, without even a man Friday. Individualism was carried to an extreme, not only in religious, but in economic and political life. A later age has discovered the significance of the group. We are not island personalities, we are members one of another, bound together in one bundle of life. Some of the most fascinating and significant movements of modern thought centre in the group and the group mind. We are what we are through the influence and enrichings of the groups in which we live. It is the group that hands on to us the revenues of the ages. It is the group that makes progress possible.

Bushnell grasped this truth of the organic nature of Society. He saw, at least, something of its significance and its possibility from the point of view of religion. He saw too that the child, even more than the adult, was embedded in the group and that "character may be, to a great extent, only the free development of exercises wrought in us, or extended to us, when other wills had us in their sphere. The intention is that the Christian life and spirit of the parents, shall flow into the mind of the child, that they shall thus beget their own good within him—their thoughts, their faith and love, which are to become a little more, and yet a little more his own separate exercise."

3. The significance of infant baptism lies in its emphasis on group influence and group responsibility, though that seems to be frequently lost sight of. Infant baptism was practised

in Bushnell's day, rather inconsistently in view of the prevalent theology. Baptism was, however, necessary for citizenship in most colonies, so that infant baptism had at least some political use! The religious implications of baptism, however, were not thought out. The rite subsisted side by side with a theology and a "revivalism," with which it was quite inconsistent. Indeed, Bushnell's book grew out of this conflict. He, having grasped in his early ministry something of the significance and implications of such baptism, and seeking as pastor and teacher, to foster the religion of the child, found the revivalist breaking in on that work with a totally different set of presuppositions. The result was chaos.

He admits the genuine service of Revivalism, in redeeming the Church from formalism; but against that there was a very real disservice in regard to the child. Nor is the evil of playing upon a child's life, first by the method of Nurture, and then by the method of Revivalism, even yet, always recognised. For one teacher or preacher to assume that the child is in the Kingdom, and then for another to come along and assume that the child has yet to be brought into the Kingdom by way of Conversion, that it must be "born again" as though it were not already "born from above," leads to no little bewilderment and injury and discouragement. If the child is in, there is obviously no need to bring him in. The day will come, when he himself must choose to stay in, but that is another matter. It is certainly not "conversion," in the commonly accepted meaning of that word. One of our sources of weakness arises from the Church's lack of faith in, and its rather half-hearted practice of, Christian Nurture. There is a widespread assumption, that it needs "conversion" to supplement Nurture. Some, at least, seem to suspect the possibility of making Christians that way; they long to see the definite moment, the deep emotion, the tears. Sometimes, the children themselves sweetly rebuke our undue solicitude and lack of faith. "My dear, have you found Jesus!" asked a father, after praying with his little girl, dangerously ill. She radiantly looked up, and with some perplexity, inquired, "When did I lose Him, Daddy?"

4. The significance of infant baptism needs to be thought out, and its implications acted upon, more fully by the home and the Church than has yet been the case. In that service we set the child in the midst. We recognise it as part of the Christian community, we welcome it as a disciple. Its name ought not merely to be put on the Cradle Roll, its proper place is on the Church Roll. That is done in individual cases, but it has not become the habit of the Church. I know several Ministers who thus set down their little one's names as members of Christ's flock, when they were born. In one case, where they have grown up, they are all active workers, some of them whole-time workers in the Church.

The child should thus be regarded as a disciple from its earliest years. That should be the consistent and steadfast assumption underlying the Nurture, as home and Church seek to initiate it into the disciplines and discoveries of discipleship. As the corporate recognition of this fact, baptism ought to be set in the foreground. It ought to be amongst the most beautiful of all the services of the Church, as she takes her youngest members into her arms, and blesses them. Yet in many places that service has fallen into disrepair. Judged by the practice of some Churches, no one would imagine that they had two Sacraments, one of which was Baptism. It may be that the modern emphasis on the group may help to restore this Sacrament to us.

Nor does the Church very clearly or insistently teach those who bring their children the meaning of this great act of consecration and of welcome. It is more than a rite of good form, a decent way of giving a child its name. It is not a bit of magic though not a few seem so to regard it, and grow most concerned about Baptism if the child threatens to die.

The Christian community sorely needs education on this high matter, this solemn dedication by husband and wife together—not by the wife alone as though it was some triviality quite beneath the concern of the “head of the house”—publicly and unshamedly pledging themselves by the grace of God to initiate and train their child in the

Christian Life. And this involves the discipline of themselves in the same life, that behind all teaching of the lips there shall be the more potent teaching of example. "For some reason," says Bushnell, "we do not make a Christian atmosphere about us, we do not produce the conviction that we are living unto God. There is a marvellous want of savour in our piety."

This provision of a genuine Christian environment in the home is a supreme responsibility. It is one of the places where to-day we are weakest. On every hand children are robbed of this so priceless heritage.

5. Surrounding the home is the larger fellowship of the Church into which the little ones are admitted at Baptism. Yet how many Church members remember that simple fact?

It seems inconceivable that older members should have little or no interest in the younger ones, yet the charge of indifference is frequently made. It goes without saying that there ought to be positive sympathies between the older and younger generations in a Church. Christian love should be adequate to bridge that very real gulf which lies between two generations. That gulf was never more marked than it is to-day. "The generation of your sons and daughters," said a Christian thinker lately, "is the loneliest that the world has seen for centuries." Yet Christian nurture cannot begin until sympathy and understanding have bridged these gulfs. Such sympathy is one of our first responsibilities to the younger members of the fellowship. They need help in the ways of self-expression. They need our patience and especially our encouragement. We must be willing to make way for them, and be less ready to persuade ourselves that any particular young person, who offers to serve, is not the right kind of young person. There must be no sourness, no gloom, no touch of Pharisaism in our religion if we would win them. "X. met me to-day," once wrote Alfred Lyttelton, alluding to a master with a sad voice, "and asked me to dine with him in the same tone that he might have asked me to drink castor oil with him." Youth is not attracted to a wisdom or to a religion that adopts such

tones. It were better to remember Cowper's word, "I am merry," he said, "in order that I may decoy people into my company."

All this and much more will a Church remember, that seeks to keep this charge of Christian Nurture. Nor should the Pastor be the Shepherd of the adults only. In too many places is it quietly assumed that a minister's main strength must be given to those who are grown up. When their manifold claims have been met, any remaining strength and time may be given to the child. That, of course, is a most blind and selfish attitude. It would be infinitely wiser to put the child and its needs first, and let the adults take the rest. Mendelssohn, on the birth of a child, in a friend's family, wrote to the parents to congratulate them, and sent them a drawing in which he introduced every known musical instrument, with the remark, "The little stranger must not be kept waiting for his instruments to play with." A significant and suggestive word for the Church in its relation to the child!

Free Trade : Arguments For and Against.

BY THE REV. D. HENRY REES.

THE fiscal question has been raised afresh. Free Trade, as it may be affected by Imperial Preference, is once more a living issue. The pity is that the problem cannot be considered on its merits. It is largely a party question, and the party politician sees one side of the problem, and has no particular desire to see any other side. He stresses his own view-point and ignores or under-rates his opponent's standpoint. While a principle may be essentially sound, changed social and economic conditions may make desirable, if not absolutely necessary, certain modifications in its application. This may be the case with Free Trade. My aim in this article is to present, as succinctly and as fairly as possible, the arguments for and against Free Trade under modern conditions, and then endeavour to strike a balance.

The ground should be cleared by a preliminary statement of two or three historical facts usually overlooked or unknown. Before the days of Adam Smith the policy of Free Trade—as Sir William Ashley has pointed out—was associated with the Tory or country party; and the traditional policy of the Whig party from before the Revolution of 1688 down to the time of Fox, was an extreme form of Protectionism. Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, referred to it as the “mercantile policy.” There was then in vogue in this country and in France, a theory that the value of exports must always exceed that of imports if the commerce of the country was to be kept in a healthy state. Unless the “balance of trade” was generally, if not always, in our

favour, the country would become denuded of gold and so impoverished ; and, therefore, to guard against this danger, irksome regulations of trade and commerce were imposed by the State. David Hume, in his essay "Of the Balance of Trade," was the first to expose the essential unsoundness of such a doctrine ; but it was Smith who killed the theory by his full and masterly exposition of its absurdity.

Further, until the middle of the eighteenth century England was a corn-exporting country. From that time we began to import as well as export wheat ; but it was not until 1793 that there was a net balance of imported over exported corn. From that year the disparity steadily grew until the nation, ceasing to export wheat, came to depend more and more upon foreign supplies of food-stuffs. Between the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 and the 'thirties of the following century, a revolutionary change took place. No longer was it necessary to oppose the Protectionism of the mercantile and manufacturing classes. The shackles of State regulations were removed one after another until, by the repeal of the Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices in 1814, industry was practically set free from State control and regulation.

But, on the other hand, the difficulties of agriculture grew apace. For a time British farmers were able to hold their own in the face of foreign competition ; but as the facilities of transportation from abroad increased and the cost diminished, the agricultural interests demanded and obtained a high protective duty on all foreign corn imported. Thus the landed interests became the party of Protection, and the industrialists, in their turn, became opposed to it.

Another historical fact to be noted is that cheaper food was not the primary purpose of the Free Traders. The movement for repeal derived its originating force, its organisation, its leaders and its funds from the manufacturing classes, and especially from the textile capitalists of Lancashire ; and their main object was wider markets. Cobden and others saw that a high duty upon foreign corn had a depressing effect upon industry and trade generally.

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Unless we bought freely from foreigners, how could we expect to sell to them? and unless we could send abroad our manufactured goods and our surplus commodities, there would be a chronic depression in the textile and allied trades.

Cobden frankly admitted all this. In a speech in 1843 he said : " I am afraid if we confess the truth, that most of us entered upon this struggle with the belief that we had some distinct class interest in the question." In a letter written in 1857, eleven years after the repeal of the Corn Laws, he wrote : " The great capitalist class formed an excellent basis for the Anti-Corn Law movement, for they had inexhaustible purses, which they opened freely in a contest where not only their pecuniary interests but their pride as 'an order' was at stake." This was the popular view taken at the outset. The Chartists looked askance at the movement as a method to reduce wages. If the price of food went down would not the rate of wages go down also? A Chartist leader, Thomas Cooper, did not mince matters when he said : " The free traders want to get the Corn Laws repealed, not for your benefit, but for their own. 'Cheap bread,' they cry, but they mean low wages." To admit all this does not mean that the Free Trade leaders were wanting in humanitarian sentiments, or that they were insincere in their popular cries of the "Cheap loaf" and the "Big loaf;" or that the repeal of the obnoxious duties in 1846 was not a boon and a blessing to the manual labourer in the "hungry forties." But to the end the movement remained "eminently a middle-class agitation," as Cobden acknowledged when he "charged the great body of intelligent mechanics with standing aloof."

The way is now clear for the presentation of the salient arguments for and against Free Trade from the present-day standpoint.

1. The manufacturing interests, having got rid of State regulations of industry, and having greatly benefited by the mechanical inventions of the preceding years, had no longer any fear of foreign competition in relation to their own industries. They felt that they could hold their own against

the rest of the world, and so they clamoured for the removal of commercial regulations, and more particularly the high duties on foreign corn. They demanded a free field and no favour. But upon what grounds did they rest their arguments in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws? Cobden's main ground was the same as Smith's in 1776, although economic conditions had greatly changed in the interval. Smith held that free trade between nations was in accordance with natural law, and must, therefore, be economically sound and of universal validity. He held that every country possesses certain advantages over others with respect to certain industries. Let that country bend its energies to produce those commodities and then exchange them for the commodities of other nations that enjoy similar advantages in other directions. In that way the needs of nations could be met in the most natural, easy and economical manner. The very "fact that Protection is necessary for an industry means that the article cannot be produced at home as cheaply as abroad ; it means that the consumer pays more than he would if he were allowed to buy the foreign article ; therefore there is a waste of national labour which were better employed in some other way in which we have an advantage." That, briefly stated, is one of the basal arguments of Free Traders from the days of Adam Smith.

They also say that the adoption of this policy would gradually do away with international rivalries, create a feeling of brotherhood and a sense of universal solidarity, and so bring about a real federation of the world based upon mutual interests and universal goodwill.

As an abstract theory the doctrine is sound. There must be economic waste in many directions in the attempts made to produce commodities by a nation labouring under certain disadvantages in that particular industry, compared with other communities. Who can say that, amid the endless rivalries and competitions between nations, the world's commerce is carried on in the most economical and profitable manner?

But opponents of the doctrine urge that other aspects of

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the problem should receive due consideration. If at a given time the doctrine may be substantially true, it cannot be of universal validity and for all time. Social and economic conditions in the several countries are constantly changing; natural resources that gave one nation an advantage over other nations may become exhausted, and the advantage may pass to another country; certain communities, more especially young countries, may be at a disadvantage for the time, not from any lack of natural resources in the form of minerals or other raw materials, but of capital, machinery and the necessary organisation to enable them to compete upon even terms with the rest of the world. The doctrine would tend to stereotype matters indefinitely, in spite of these changing conditions, and enterprising and ambitious communities would not willingly submit themselves to the observance of this *status quo*.

Further, political considerations should be given due weight. Until the world has virtually become a "band of brothers," it would be a risky thing for one nation to be wholly or even mainly dependent upon another nation for things necessary to its own well-being. This truth was brought home to us at the outbreak of the late war. In the present state of the world it would be folly, and worse, for a nation to place itself at the mercy of other nations in the matter of "key industries." The aim of each community should be to be as self-sufficing as possible, so far at least as necessary commodities are concerned.

2. An argument which Cobden and other Free Traders have strongly stressed is this: If a couple of great industrial nations, like Great Britain and France, would but lead the way, other countries would follow their example in the matter of free trade. In a speech in 1846 Cobden predicted "that there will not be a tariff in Europe that will not be changed in less than five years to follow your example." The sequel has shown that it is just as risky to prophesy in fiscal matters as in any other. Fourteen years later, in 1860, Cobden was able to negotiate with Napoleon III. a commercial treaty that was the nearest approach in modern times towards genuine free

trade between the British and French peoples. But the French Emperor made concessions, not so much because he believed in the doctrine, as because he wished to gain the good will of the English for an ulterior purpose, while his subjects for the most part had little faith in Free Trade. Consequently the treaty was allowed to lapse. At this moment we are further away from the realisation of that vision which fired the imagination of Richard Cobden than we were sixty or eighty years ago. What passes with us for Free Trade to day is not the free exchange of commodities between nation and nation, which was the ideal in the minds of Adam Smith and later Free Traders, but free imports on our part and high protective tariffs on the part of other nations with whom we trade.

3. We come now to what the present writer has always regarded as the real crux of the Free Trade problem. Why do we cling to even the vestige of Free Trade in face of the many rebuffs we are constantly subjected to from countries that believe in and practise Protection? Because of our unique and very precarious position as a great industrial community. The Industrial Revolution which began in the second half of the eighteenth century transformed a population of some eight millions, that was predominantly agricultural, into one that was essentially industrial, and increased it by the middle of the nineteenth century to forty millions. By that time England had become the workshop of the world. The land could no longer produce sufficient food for the inhabitants. Three things had become vital to an industrialised community :—a plentiful supply of cheap food for the toiling millions ; an adequate supply of raw materials, at the lowest market cost, for the national industries ; and easy access to the world's markets for the surplus goods of its factories and workshops. A country that could no longer produce enough bread for its workers, and which was at the same time manufacturing commodities greatly in excess of its own needs, found it necessary to devise a policy best fitted to meet its changed and still changing social and economic conditions.

Free Traders maintained that the removal of all protective

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tariffs was essential, hence the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the fight that has been waged ever since in defence of Free Trade principles and policy. Have Tariff Reformers frankly and fully faced this issue? I do not say the Free Trade position is unassailable; but it is certainly very strong, and no attempt should be made to turn the position by plausible or sophistical arguments. It is desirable in the national interests that we should get down to bed-rock facts, and no far-reaching changes should be made in our present fiscal system until a clear case has been made out for the new departure.

What are some of the arguments on the other side? One is that Free Traders use exaggerated language as to "the effects of tariffs in making bread dear to the consumer, and they also over-rate the importance of cheap food as a stimulus to industrial prosperity." The Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, they say, had no marked effect in either direction. Figures are produced. A high duty on imported corn was imposed in 1815. During the ten years from 1810-1819 the price of corn reached its highest point, the average price being 90s. 6d. per quarter. During the next ten years, 1820-1829, the average price fell, in spite of the duty, to 59s. 10d. per quarter. It stood at 55s. 11d. between 1840-1849. During the next ten years 1850-1859, the average price was 53s. 2d. and for twenty years afterwards there was no appreciable difference in the price. The high price was due in the first instance, not to the duty imposed, but to the Napoleonic wars and Napoleon's attempts to isolate Britain and ruin her markets. So soon as peace was made, the price began to fall in spite of the stiff tariff.

Then as to the importance of cheap food as a stimulus to industrial prosperity, the Free Trader's case is by no means proven. The great increase in our foreign trade between, say, 1850 and 1872 was mainly due to "increased facilities for commerce, which reacted as a stimulus on industry," and not to the influence of the repeal of the duty on imported corn. We are told that "to lead the people to suppose that the tariff of 1815 was the main cause of the difference of

comfort in the 'forties and in the 'eighties, and that there is any reason to dread that the reintroduction of a very different tariff, under very different circumstances, must necessarily bring about a perceptible rise in price, is inexcusable exaggeration." To do the first Free Traders justice, cheapness was not their first consideration. In a speech in 1844, Cobden said: "We do not seek Free Trade in corn primarily for the purpose of purchasing it at a cheaper money rate; we require it at the natural price of the world's market, whether it becomes dearer with a Free Trade—as wool seems to be getting up now, after the abolition of the 1d. a pound—or whether it is cheaper, it matters not to us." As theorists as well as practical men of business, they desired to bring international commerce back from an artificial to natural condition.

Advocates of fiscal reform deny the truth of the Free Trade doctrine that a measure of Protection will necessarily render our manufacturers supine and careless—that an industry protected will in time become, because of that protection, something not worth protecting. The doctrine is not based on the experience of the last twenty or thirty years. Germany and America are two industrial countries that practise Protection; yet in the years immediately preceding the war they had become our chief trade rivals, and their rate of progress was much greater than our own. If a tariff were placed upon foreign manufactured articles the free play of competition within the nation would be sufficient to maintain a high degree of efficiency among the home manufacturers, while the home industries would be able to provide a large increase of employment.

Further, the Imperial Preference of to-day is something very different from the Protectionism of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. Under the old colonial system the colonies were regarded as milch cows for the Motherland. The old Navigation Laws were designed to further the interests of home industries with little or no regard to their bearing upon colonial trade. But Imperial Pre-

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ference is designed and well fitted to serve the mutual interests of the homeland and the great Dominions of the Crown, and at the same time strengthen the bonds of Empire. Within the bounds of Empire we should still enjoy free, enlarged and secure markets; and with regard to our food supplies, the vast corn-growing lands of Canada and Australia could be freely drawn upon. To say that Imperial Preference, of a moderate character, would materially increase the cost of living to the home population, is to indulge in exaggerated and unwarranted language.

There is another argument which fiscal reformers make use of which is rooted in economic facts. By the beginning of last century, home industries had been practically freed from State regulations which were felt to be restraints; but the same freedom for foreign trade was not secured until the close of the first half of the century. The policy of *laissez-faire* was vigorously pursued without let or hindrance until 1833, when Lord Ashley (a Tory in politics and later so widely known as the Earl of Shaftesbury), on humanitarian grounds, got a measure passed to regulate child labour in factories. From that date a new system of State regulation of industry set in. By the time Lord Morley wrote his "Life" of Cobden, this more complicated system of State control had made great progress, for he furnishes a long list of State "interferences" in many directions, and the process has gone much further since the "Life" was written in 1879. The great Trade Unions of to-day will see to it that what has been gained shall be maintained and even further advance be made to ameliorate the conditions of labour. So far as these State regulations are humane, reasonable and just all men of goodwill must approve of them. But the fact remains that while the policy of *laissez-faire* is being set aside in home industries, it is operating without restraint in foreign trade. What is the practical outcome? While manufacturers at home have to submit to "regulations" with respect to hours of work, conditions of work, wages, and so forth, they have to compete in this country with foreign goods produced under very different

conditions,—cheap and often sweated labour, longer hours, and depreciated currencies which give a distinct advantage to the foreign manufacturer. As to foreign markets, British commodities have to surmount tariff walls on every hand before they can reach those markets. This is a real difficulty, and constitutes a genuine ground of grievance. Have Free Traders frankly and honestly faced the facts? If Fiscal Reformers should take into account the nation's peculiar position as a great industrial community very largely dependent upon imports of food and raw materials, and upon corresponding exports of manufactured articles, should not Free Traders give due consideration to the post-war difficulties and inequalities under which the country's trade is being carried on?

To sum up: Can a case be made out for a form of Protection which a self-sufficing country like America, rich in all manner of resources, can adopt with impunity? No, I do not think it can. But I do think that a very strong case can be presented in favour of an open mind, and a reconsideration of the entire problem, so far as Imperial Preference is concerned. As a result of the war we have lost some of our best European markets. Some countries are too impoverished to buy our goods; in the case of others a depreciated currency makes trade difficult if not impossible; while political conditions in other directions, as in the case of Russia, are a great barrier to fruitful trade relations.

Our kith and kin in the great Dominions are becoming our best customers; and if we act wisely and with statesmanlike forethought, these markets should steadily improve. Last year Australia was our second-best customer. These young, virile and self-governing nations are genuinely anxious, by increased facilities for trade and in other ways, to strengthen the bonds that bind them to the Motherland. We should meet them half way if the price of Preference be not too great.

But I must confess that the high duties on most imports into the Dominions—particularly into Australia—make it increasingly difficult to convince the masses at home of either the justice or reasonableness of Imperial Preference.

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Much capital is made in certain quarters of the Preferences given to the Motherland. But what do they amount to? *The Australian Manufacturer*, a Sydney trade organ, has admitted that the Preference given by Australia to Great Britain is "quite a different thing" from the Preference which Great Britain is invited to give to her :

"It should be remembered that the Preference we give to Great Britain is largely nominal. We first of all put on a duty high enough to protect local industry—from British competition or any other. We then make the duty a percentage higher for foreign countries. We, therefore, do not give Great Britain a real Preference ; the real Preference is given, and rightly given, to our own manufacturers. And as soon as it is found that a certain duty on British goods is not high enough to protect Australian manufacturers, that duty is sure to be raised. The only way to give a Preference to British manufacturers would be to put a high duty on the goods of all countries outside the Empire, and let British goods come in free. But, that, of course, is out of the question."

Precisely. There's the rub. How can they expect our statesmen to tax the food-stuffs of the people in response to a policy of that sort? Most British goods have to pay duties ranging from 15 to 50 or 60 per cent. to enter Australia. In some cases the high tariff is imposed when there is no industry to protect. Australia now levies 35 per cent. on British shovels, under Preference, in order to protect a home industry employing a grand total of 15 hands! This statement was made by Mr. Prowse, a leading member of the Country Party, in the House of Representatives. Motor tractors and rock-drilling machines and various kinds of electrical appliances have to pay heavy duties in spite of the fact that they are not made in Australia at all. The Country Party bitterly complain that the agricultural interests—the most vital of all in a continent with vast tracts thinly populated and largely uncultivated—are penalised on every hand in order to enable urban manufacturers to make high profits and their employees to receive correspondingly high wages. Not only does this Protectionism run mad, greatly increase the cost of agricultural instruments of all kinds, but the artificially high

rate of wages in towns tends to create a scarcity of labour in country districts where it is most vitally needed. Limits of space forbid further details; but those who desire further information should read Sir Charles Mallet's very trenchant article on "The Value of Imperial Preference" in the *Contemporary Review* for February, and the article by Mr. F. A. W. Gisbourne, an Australian writer, on "Political Parties in Australia" in *The Imperial Review* for the same month. Is it too much to ask that the Dominions should cease to penalise British goods in this way before they urge the Motherland to make sacrifices that must affect, to some extent at least, the cost of living to the workers at home? But self-interest is not always to the fore in the politics and economics of the great Dominions of the Crown.

An episode in Canadian history in 1911 should furnish food for serious thought. In that year, under the premiership of Sir Wilfred Laurier, a Treaty of Reciprocity was negotiated with the U.S.A. Our Ambassador at Washington, Mr. James Bryce (later Lord Bryce) with the utmost goodwill did all in his power to facilitate the negotiations. But when it was completed and signed Canada declined to ratify the treaty. Why? For strong and to them sufficient reasons. Sir Edmund Walker, a life-long Canadian Liberal, and other Liberals took the lead in opposing its ratification. The document in which their reasons are set forth is one of the most cogent ever drawn up by an able body of business men. It is a blend of shrewd business acumen and of fine loyalty to the Mother-land and the Empire of which Canadians are equally proud. Limits of space will not permit me even to summarise it. Every sentence deserves to be carefully pondered by those who seem to hold that it does not much matter in what direction good business is done so long as it is effected. Mr. Champ Clark, the leader of the Democratic Party in the American House of Representatives, was in favour of the Treaty, and gave his reason with brutal frankness: "I am for it because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British American possessions, clear to the North Pole." Canadians had not the slightest desire

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to share in such a hope, and so Conservatives followed Liberals in their opposition to a measure of Reciprocity to which a Canadian Liberal Government was one of the signatories !

Finally, if we really believe in the Commonwealth of free nations known as the British Empire, in the service it has already rendered to the world, in its worth to the world in these difficult times, and its potential, moral and material value for ages yet unborn, then we should make it as easy as possible for its constituent elements to forge unbreakable links of Empire based on freedom and goodwill towards all mankind.

Population and the Standard of Living.

BY ARNOLD N. SHIMMIN, M.A.

Malthus and his Work. By JAMES BONAR, LL.D. Pp. vii., 438.

George Allen & Unwin, London. 1924. Price 12s. 6d. net.

Population and the Social Problem. By J. SWINBURNE, F.R.S.

Pp. 380. George Allen & Unwin, London. 1924. Price 15s. net.

A SHORT lived boom in trade immediately after the war has been followed by a depression of unusual severity.

Several of the largest industries in this country still record from twenty to thirty per cent. of total unemployment in their ranks. Over a million of the eleven and a half million insured operatives in industry are totally unemployed. Keen foreign competition and the complications springing from depreciated currencies add to the difficulty of re-establishing trade on a sound basis. Emigration and colonial settlement are once more the immediate concern of harassed governments. The feeling of revolt or unrest is widespread in several of the leading countries and large populations are uncertain in their choice between a narrow economic nationalism and an international basis for political and commercial relationships.

Prior to the war our chief concern was to explain the fluctuations in national prosperity in the terms of trade cycles. Detailed study had revealed a marked periodicity in the production of food stuffs and the materials of industry. It was quite natural to seek some method of controlling the observed fluctuations so that no community should experience wide extremes of prosperity and distress. Seldom was there any suggestion that our troubles were

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due to a surplus of population. The whole difficulty was deemed to be mechanical. We had made greater progress in the exploitation of natural resources than we had in the equitable distribution of the wealth secured. Private ownership, immoral competition, a capitalistic system of industry might serve in turn to explain the breakdown of our social machinery. Poverty and misery were viewed largely as the symptoms of the lack of bargaining power on the part of certain classes within the community. Efficient production, therefore, and equitable distribution were all that were needed to secure a satisfactory minimum in the standard of living of the "masses." There could be no question of the power of the economic resources of the world to maintain the population.

The post-war mixture of famine, bad trade and revolution has led many people to wonder whether the world can, after all, support so large a population in comfort. The war itself is claimed as evidence for the periodic upheavals by means of which the world rids itself of the surplus population. Behind all our minor reasonings, our trade cycles, our financial adjustments, our international agreements or restrictions there is the supreme economic law of "population pressure." Whether we admit it or not this is the force that determines our destinies. The sooner, therefore, we are aware of its workings the sooner we shall put our economic affairs on a sound footing and teach our peoples the ultimate truth. This is the burden of Mr. Swinburne's book. In a much less dogmatic and more scientific manner it is the burden of the writings of Malthus on the population question. The root problem is the ratio between the increase of population and the increase in the means of subsistence. If population is capable of outstripping its means of subsistence there is no point in elaborate schemes for the raising of the standard of living. Any "iron law" of this kind spells social doom, unless we seek deliberately to combat the law by restricting the population which threatens to press too heavily on the means of life. The publication of a second edition of Dr. Bonar's admirable essay on "Malthus and his

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Work" (which has held first place as a study of Malthus since its publication in 1885) affords an opportunity to discuss the present revival of interest in the population problem.

The beginnings of modern thought on the question may be found in the ideas of the Mercantilists.* A strong national state must be founded on a numerous people. Gold provides the "sinews of war" but there must be people to carry on the war. In production "people and plenty are the begetters the one of the other," and cheap and abundant labour is the basis of effective competition for overseas trade. This programme might fit quite well into a Mercantilist conception of a "favourable balance of trade" as the chief determinant of our national standard of living, but the workman of to-day refutes the argument. Employers of the less enlightened type still argue for "cheap and abundant" labour supplies. Their sole idea is reduction in the cost of the output. But the labourer replies that a vast sale of cheap commodities is no consolation to him. A higher standard of life is his primary aim, and he is not content to increase the fortunes of the few by the perpetuation of what he terms "wage slavery." But it should be noted that the modern workman does not conclude his argument by subscribing to the smaller population theory. He is still of the opinion that mal-adjustment in the distribution of rewards is the key to the trouble. A better paid population and a higher standard of living will come when we cease to produce "for profit" and so organise our industries as to produce only those things that are "of use" to the community.

The end of the eighteenth century was very different from the beginning in its economic activity. Thorold Rogers states that through scanty crops and high prices "the nation well nigh suffered the horrors of famine." The effect of the Industrial Revolution was not all to the good. Unemployment and distress emerged as the nation attempted to embrace an industrial system in place of its old agricultural economy. The problem of poverty became acute and a bad Poor Law

* See Haney's *History of Economic Thought*.

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inefficient in its administration helped to aggravate a very difficult situation. This atmosphere of distress was fruitful of suggestions that population was pressing too heavily on natural resources. It is not surprising that the Essay by Malthus attracted considerable attention and raised a violent controversy.

In reply to a contention by Godwin that government is to blame for the unhappiness and misfortunes of man, Malthus claimed that the source of these troubles is to be found in the weakness of human nature. The abolition of government, urged Malthus, is not the way to social prosperity. The real threat to prosperity is to be found in "the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment provided for it." Therefore if population develops "unchecked" it is bound to be driven to a lower standard of life and experience misery and distress. There are, however, decided checks to this unfortunate tendency. Wars, disease, famine and poverty all take toll of human life. A further check (incorporated in the later statements of Malthus) is "moral restraint," by which we are to understand the postponement of marriage and continence outside the marriage relationship.*

For his pains in formulating the first scientific treatise on the question of population, Malthus was roundly abused by many of his contemporaries, although he won a wide popular support for his views.† Karl Marx later denounced the "school-boy superficiality and clerical declamation" of Malthus, and the article on Malthus in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition) declares that "it remains a matter of some difficulty to discover what solid contribution he has made to our knowledge." There could be no more effective antidote to these criticisms than the dispassionate analysis contained in Dr. Bonar's work.

Mr. Swinburne's work is strongly reminiscent of the earlier Malthusian position. He is convinced that "population

* For a detailed statement of the development of the Essay see Bonar. Chapters i.-iii. in Book I.

† See Bonar, Book IV.

pressure " is the chief cause of all our woes, and most schemes of social amelioration by neglecting this dominant fact " cause great unhappiness by fomenting the discontent of the ill-off by persuading them they are the victims of injustice."

A reasoned development of this view might have contributed something useful to our knowledge of the population problem. But Mr. Swinburne prefers to rail against people and institutions in an irritatingly comprehensive manner. There is little that satisfies him in our knowledge or our social machinery.

" All the important points in our lives are settled by the fallow mind. We are brought up as children by people who have never thought about bringing up children. Our school training is settled by parents who know and care nothing about methods of education. Our governments are run by untrained men elected by people who have given no thought to the matter " (p. 51). Or again—" The politician has, as a rule, no knowledge of sociology, economics, history, science or anything else that fits him for his position " (p. 246). The Universities too come under the lash for " Economics is supposed to be taught at the Universities but the teaching is not alive and produces no perceptible results " (p. 232). Similarly our author succeeds in exposing the frailty of our efforts at social amelioration as manifested in such things as profit-sharing, trade unionism, doles, socialism and war preventing agencies. (" A League of Nations to secure peace is an absurdity"). We are in this plight because we have not Mr. Swinburne's grasp of the " population pressure " idea.

What then of his conclusion? " There appears to be no hope of people ever understanding what is really wrong with the world ; and until it is understood nothing is of any use. No alteration in government can be of any avail. No difference in capital and labour can have any effect. No developments of industry can do any real good " (p. 375). " The best course, perhaps, is to devote energy to such matters as art and music which have nothing directly to do with improving the condition of mankind " (p. 376). The final sentences of the book gives us the clue to Mr. Swinburne's pessimism.

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"The limitation of offspring and the means form the greatest discovery man has ever made. But no one knows the discoverer and such matters are mentioned only with bated breath" (p. 377). The final words are hardly true of the volume of public discussion which we have recently witnessed on the question of birth control as a means of improving the health and the prosperity of the nation. We are safer in Dr. Bonar's hands. There is dignity and there is a hopeful message in his assessment of the doctrines of Malthus on these same points.

"The doctrine of Malthus is, therefore, a strong appeal to personal responsibility. He would make men strong in will, to subdue their animal wants to their notion of personal good and personal goodness. . . . Believers in the omnipotence of outward circumstances and the powerlessness of human will may put Malthus beyond the pale of sympathy. But all can enter into the mind of Malthus and understand his work who know the hardness of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit, and yet believe in the power of ideas to change the lives of men, and have faith not only in the rigour of natural laws, but in man's power to conquer nature by obeying her." (p. 398).

Where, then, do we stand to-day in our view of the alleged pressure of population on natural resources? In one important respect we have moved away from a dangerous view popular with the wealthy of Malthus' time. The doctrine of population increase was claimed as an excuse for the rich in their responsibility to the less fortunate. Clearly what was "a law of Nature" could not be counterbalanced by human altruism. Occasionally one gets glimpses of this view to-day, but only occasionally. We have developed a remarkably strong belief in the value of a higher general standard of life.

In the industrial field the rapid advance of efficiency has made the elimination of the weakling a desire of both employer and employee. The strictly non-moral attitude is that inefficiency "doesn't pay." But we have built a moral superstructure on our economic findings, and we have established the truly social principle of the responsibility of the community for the misfortunes or disabilities of its weaker members.

Mr. Bernard Mallet's "British Budgets" is a convincing record of the change of view within two generations. Clinics, medical inspection, feeding of school children, health and unemployment insurance, educational developments, Poor Law changes, all betoken the growth of the idea that the "diffusion" of the good things of life must be made increasingly possible by the removal of the barriers to a self-sustaining economic activity on the part of each family.

Class antagonism is probably much more acute to-day than it was in the time of Malthus. Industry has developed a group consciousness. Labour has achieved greater powers of articulation. Political freedom has been greatly enlarged. International intercourse has led to a comparative study of economic conditions. These developments mean that it is less and less possible to disown the conception of "social welfare." The preaching of moral responsibility proves a wholesome check to unbridled competition. Some of the more obvious abuses, like child labour and "sweating," have been eliminated with the full approval of the community.

The new balance of economic forces finds us without an adequate economic idealism. Too frequently the standard of living is discussed merely in terms of wages and profits. The inference seems to be that the standard will inevitably rise if wages increase. The shorter working day seems to re-inforce the argument. But there is one danger point. Higher economic rewards cannot of themselves purchase the development of latent æsthetic faculties. The fruitful use of leisure cannot be compassed by economic incentives, although the view is very frequently met that economic justice will secure social harmony. Social harmony is the outcome of social service and is determined by an attitude of mind inspired by high ideals and sound moral teaching.

The fears of "diminishing returns" from land and "iron laws" of wages are less real than they were in pre-factory days. Scientific progress in agriculture and industry has given us the clue to an "evolutionary law of increasing returns" even from land. The progress of invention gives us a larger return per unit of effort applied in the exploitation

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of natural resources. We win our living with less toil than before. As the standard of living rises, the sense of responsibility to offspring is a more and more powerful check upon an indiscriminate increase of population. From the old prudery we are passing to a sane discussion of the factors that make for national well-being both physically and morally. Population pressure is not likely to thrust any new terror into our midst.

The greatest danger in modern thought seems to lie in the repeated identification of personal economic success and a high standard of living. No one hesitates to condemn the luxury of the wealthy, yet few will condemn the waste of talent by "the man in the street" as he wins his freedom from the factory system that makes our wealth. Art, music and literature are still Cinderellas. Acquisitiveness is stronger than Appreciation. The strong, well-developed personality is a rarity, for specialism displaces temperance in the development of our gifts. Population pressure *may* give us an economic order of society devoid of moral responsibility, ruled by an economic "balance of power." Poverty may be unknown in such a state, but it will not develop a true standard of living. Let us hope that the pursuit of economic schemes will not rob the nations of the idealism and the altruism which alone can ensure the transformation of economic activity into the development of human personality.

Ritschl's Doctrine of Sin.

BY THE REV. E. HARDEE MERCHANT, B.A., B.D.

IT is pretty generally recognised that sin can be possible only where there is some standard of right, whether the individual is conscious of it and at the same time accepts it, or not. Unconsciousness of the standard would lead to sins of ignorance. Now the doctrine of original sin is usually based upon the Biblical narrative of the beginning of the Book of Genesis. According to this account a definite command was given to Adam against which he rebelled. The narrative is simple and very little if anything is made of it in the rest of the Old Testament. But in the New Testament we find that St. Paul elaborates the narrative and brings out what he takes to be its spiritual significance. He teaches that in some sense the whole human race was involved in Adam's transgression, and brings in the parallel doctrine that as the race fell in Adam, so it may rise again in Christ. W. H. Moberly, in *Foundations*, says "No doubt the historical side of the belief is not of primary importance. Not the origin but the fact of mutual entanglement in evil is what is really asserted. That the individual does not start free; that he is hampered by a sinful 'nature' and sinful impulses even before his first voluntary sinful act; that he inherits a bias and predisposition to evil; that behind individual sin there is corporate sin and corporate liability to punishment; these assertions are the real nerve of the doctrine.*" "What is important is not an historical Fall, but the fact of 'fallenness.'"[†] We would to-day use such a

* *Foundations*, p. 282.

† *Foundations*, p. 283.

phrase as "original sin" to describe any tendencies to evil which we find in ourselves that are not accounted for by our own deliberate acts of evil choice. These tendencies would seem to speak of something innate and previous to the individual's separate acts of choice,—a basic nature of the soul which sin has corrupted. But Ritschl recognises no basic nature in the soul which is more fundamental than what appears in its actual deeds. The deeds are usually thought to be indicative of the nature, sometimes they are plainly contradictory to that nature, which is all the more brought home to us when some act is performed which is plainly out of tune with the general character. But of this "nature" Ritschl seems to know nothing, though Professor Orr argues that in his acknowledgement of "habit" Ritschl has conceded a "nature" in the soul which is not consistent with his theory of knowledge. With this contention that "habit" involves a "nature" we should not agree, though this is not the place to pursue the discussion.

Against the doctrine of original sin Ritschl does not stay to argue. He merely mentions it to show what it is that his positive theory revolts against. "The only way in which an idea of sin can be formed at all is by comparison with the idea of the good. The more or less complete the latter, the deeper or the shallower will be our conception of the worthlessness of sin. Now for the Christian faith it is certain that, as the compass and the obligatoriness of the good first come out into full cognisability in the task of the Kingdom of God, especially as that task was faultlessly discharged in the life-course of Jesus, so likewise sin can only be understood as the contrary of this, the highest moral good. Hence it is absurd to expect that we can reach the Christian estimate of sin, in general as well as in the individual, in practical self-judgment as well as in theory, before grasping and appreciating that moral ideal."* The standard then is the Kingdom of God which is being progressively realized in history. It follows that according

* *Justification and Reconciliation*, Vol. III., p. 329.

to Ritschl sin consists not in any rejection of a law once Divinely delivered to the human race, but in the refusal to rise to the ideal of life prescribed in the task of the Kingdom of God. The standard of the estimate of sin is not past and static, but is future and ideal. Ritschl conceives that when men see what the task of the Kingdom of God involves they will cease to revolt against it. The only sins to which he pays much attention are sins of ignorance. If men do not yet love the Kingdom it is because they have not yet understood it. When they do understand it, and cease to act in opposition to it, God forgives them. He seems to hold a position somewhat resembling the Hegelian triad. There is first the innocent soul, then sin in the form of rejection of the task of the Kingdom of God, and thirdly virtue as consisting of the acceptance of the task. This acceptance is brought about by fuller knowledge. The passage from innocence to virtue is an easy one. It is simply mediated by instruction. Here we see a radical change from the older views of sin with their somewhat morbid explication of what is deadly, their Aristotelian and Dantean catalogues, and their emphasis on the negative side of conduct. Whether, however, Ritschl's account rings so true to the facts of the human conscience is another matter.

Ritschl has ruled out the Church doctrine of original sin, and as, according to his theory of knowledge, he is not interested in the soul in itself, but only in its activities, it follows that he tends to limit the idea of sin to what are known as acts of sinning. At first it would seem plausible to ask what more could be said by Ritschl than that sin consists in acts of sinning. But a study of the facts of consciousness—and that not only the Christian consciousness—would show that a knowledge of sin is possible which lies far deeper than the mere consciousness of isolated acts of wrong-doing. Ritschl ignores sin as a tendency of our nature and regards it only as issuing in overt acts. Sin is to be looked for, according to him, not in the nature but in the will. And that will is sinful when it sets itself against the task of the Kingdom of God.

But in criticism it may be said that there are graver issues to the problem than can be accounted for by Ritschl's teaching. And into the more metaphysical meaning of evil he never deems it necessary to enter. While the question of the nature of ethics—its foundation *in* metaphysics on the one hand and its foundation *for* metaphysics on the other—is still an open question, yet the individual's consciousness of sin has been a more or less constant fact in human history. The consciousness of sin would, it is true, be more clearly articulated in the light of a satisfactory ethical theory, but as an empirical fact it remains, and we see, therefore, that the question of sin as expounded by Ritschl is somewhat narrower than the ultimate question of good and evil. Evil is less empirical than sin. Good is more eternal than piety. We know sin as an empirical fact (this is Ritschl's position), but of its eternal implications we either have no knowledge or, as ethical rather than metaphysical students, we are not concerned with them.

The strength and weakness of Ritschl's position both arise from his limiting of sin to the Will. At first sight he seems to be following Kant in emphasizing the Will as the source of the only true moral distinctions. But this resemblance is merely verbal. For Kant contrasts the Will with what it outwardly effects. Its results may not seem to reveal much good produced, yet if the Will has been good, the moral agent can be satisfied. On the other hand, Ritschl speaks of the Will only as it immediately issues in the good product. The Will is known in its effects. He takes no account of the nature which is the seat of the Will, whereas this "nature" would be an expression of what Kant means by Will, that which is behind the issuing act.

Ritschl entirely fails to see the subtle connexion between the hidden thought or tendency and the sin when it is brought to a head. Much of the impressive literature of conscience has dealt with this distinction. Many men have purposed to sin and have refrained only when the moment of actual commission was at hand. The "setting" of the sin enabled them to realize what they had purposed to do. On the other hand it is only when some men have allowed the evil thought

to issue in action that they fully realize what their purpose meant. The sinner in the *Scarlet Letter* entered into a heritage of spiritual understanding after the sin had been committed. It would seem here that the Hegelian triad is fulfilled and that the antithesis of sin is nearer to the synthesis of virtue than the original state of innocence. And there have been thinkers in the Christian Church who have urged that the state into which the sinner enters after his regeneration is more full of blessedness than his original state of sinlessness. With this extensive territory of conscience Ritschl seems to have nothing to do. He does not seem to know of the revolt from sin which sometimes follows the act, when the thought of sin may have been present for years as a premeditated thing. The act shows up what has been in the thought. The antithesis has been necessary for the consummation of the synthesis. In accordance with this there are many men whose life shows this paradox, that they need to become sinners the more rapidly to become saints. The revolt which leads to the synthesis of virtue waits upon the issuing of the harboured thought in the deed.

Ritschl does not seem to have taken account of the sins so gravely spoken of in the New Testament which never emerge in the overt act. At the same time he would of course agree with Hegel that there is a virtue which is not the synthesis of innocence and sin. The passage of innocence to virtue is not necessarily through sin, otherwise an originally sinless person could never be virtuous, that is, contrasting complete sinlessness with mere innocence. Men may accept the task of the Kingdom of God without first revolting against it. The synthesis of virtue does not result from the absorption of innocence by sin, but sometimes from the reaction of innocence against potential sin. And though to commit sin may bring us historically nearer virtue than we were before, we may not complete the passage. We may stay in sin.

Has Man an Absolute Value for the Universe?

BY THE REV. ROBERT CHRISTIE, M.A.

THE question whether man has an absolute value for the universe, is one of those familiar questions which seem likely to become more insistent as the world gets older. For, since "Man is a bridge and not a goal," to answer this question in the affirmative amounts to saying that there is, or that there may be for human personality a progress to perfection which is irreversible and final. But now, at the very time of its greatest influence in practice—in morals, in politics and in religion—this idea of historical progress has become more than ever liable to be challenged from the standpoint of reflection. Since our modern philosophies of history began to take shape, the world has travelled further than in any corresponding period; as a consequence there are certain disconcerting aspects of progress which are much clearer to us than they could have been, say, to Comte's teacher Saint Simon. Progress there is undoubtedly, but then, no human gain is sheer gain: every advance, such as the rise of intellectual freedom, or of our present industrial system, has what one might call the defects of its qualities. What is revealed in the late war is just this ambiguous character of progress. It may be argued, of course, that we are still far from the perfect day, and that the way to it lies right through this tragic discipline of civilisation. But what if these recurring discords have another meaning? what if they are, in the

language of Absolutist philosophers, simply the fruits of the original sin of our finitude? Thus the higher mankind rises, without attaining finality, the more urgent will the question become which lies behind all our ideas of progress. Is the perfection of humanity included in creation's aim? Or are man and this ideal of a perfect life commensurable only up to a certain point? In that case, while change there may be, and even progress, all our Utopias and Heaven itself are but illusions of the world's youth.

The opposite view can neither be established nor overthrown by reasoning alone. Till the ideal becomes reality, doubt will always be possible and faith will always be necessary. Meantime one service which reasoning may render to faith is the removal of inhibitions. It is against certain of these that I shall argue for the faith that man has an absolute value for the universe.

The most important demurrer to this doctrine, in our day comes from Absolutism which affirms that human personality has only a certain degree of value corresponding to its degree of reality. Absolutism, in short, essays to include and transcend the truth of Theism by combining it with whatever truth may be in other views to which Theism has hitherto been opposed. To do justice to this claim it is necessary to examine these other views themselves. For another reason also this is imperative. The Agnosticism of the nineteenth century, it is true, is hardly any longer extant, but the vital doubts which it made articulate go deeper than any mere technical philosophic doctrine; they are rooted in that poignant sense of the incongruence between our ideals and the world, which, on occasion, comes home to us all. Granted, it may be said, that reality is not inherently unknowable, and that whatever is must exist as Spirit, still how can we with any reason place ourselves at the standpoint of the All, and claim for ourselves an absolute value? Idealism does not annul the vastness of the universe; on the contrary, in a world where all is spirit, may there not be existences higher than man and of more importance? Evil, again, is what it is, whatever the nature of reality may be;

"immoralist" views of existence may not be the final truth, but they have sufficient power behind them to give us pause. Finally, we may be told that perfection and finitude are simply not compatible.

The principle which we shall try to establish against all these objections is briefly this. In any statement we venture regarding the universe we assume that its standpoint is our own and that it is so far intelligible. Now, Idealism may fairly claim to have shown that our sole criterion of rationality is our own personality, or some idea such as God or the Absolute which our personality suggests. A completely intelligible universe, therefore, is, in every way, the harmonious counterpart of the mind that knows it. Nor, as we shall try to show, can we transcend this position, as Absolutism seeks to do, by arguing that the Absolute must be super-personal and super-moral. For, in the first place, Pragmatism is surely right in insisting that the motive to argue thus is always some logical or ethical demand of our own personality. In the second place, if we hold that the Absolute is super-moral, this can only legitimately mean that something which we ourselves must approve of as higher than mere goodness is supreme; in such a world the claims of goodness are not abrogated but more than fulfilled. But how then can personality be treated otherwise than as an end in itself? Our conclusion, therefore, will have to be that there is something inherently contradictory in the procedure of a mind which first organises its experience into a universe, and then assigns itself a place of subordinate value in that universe.

In the first place, then, we have the objection that the standpoint of the universe is beyond us: it is possible only to omniscience.

On the contrary, we must urge, a reference to the standpoint of the universe is implied in the most ordinary judgments we make regarding the meaning of existence whether we say that Love is supreme or Fate. Such judgments may appear highly abstract but they determine everything else; in particular, they assign us our place in

the scale of being. From the necessity of making them there is assuredly no escape. The reason for this lies in the very nature of human personality. As self-conscious beings we have to unify our experience into some sort of whole which is for us the universe; indeed, as has been said, experience is this unifying, and we may add, rational self-conscious experience is this assumption of a universal point of view. The standpoint of the universe, therefore, is simply the standpoint of what is for us ultimate reality and truth. "Yes," we may hear it said, "but as Renan and many others have suggested, in the actual scheme of things our universe may occupy a position as eccentric as that of lichen." But now, any such objector is claiming for himself a universal point of view; that is why he is able to imagine humanity as occupying an eccentric one. This whole way of reasoning is a glaring instance of what Bain called the fallacy of suppressed correlative. To a self-conscious being nothing is, in principle, external. It is the adequate correlative of every world we can conceive of; it is potentially, if not actually, in Plato's familiar words, "This spectator of all time and of all existence."

Even if we can view ourselves from the standpoint of the universe, however, are we justified in affirming that we count for it as we count for ourselves? Certain objections to this are what we have now to consider.

The most familiar of these is the sense of our own littleness compared with the universe. The reply is that it is only through our own consciousness of the sublime, that the universe makes us feel this. The greatness which brings home to us our insignificance, regarded as merely natural beings, is not something alien to us; it is constitutive of human personality.

This is the essential truth in Pascal's well-known saying, that though man is but a reed, he is a thinking reed and therefore greater than the universe. The strict letter of this rejoinder is obviously not beyond criticism. We do estimate the spiritual greatness of a man and even of a religion by the extent and persistence of its influence. The truth is however

that Idealism has moved beyond Pascal's subjectivist standpoint. For there is a sense in which the universe is immanent in each of us, and those very aspects of it which seem to stand in harshest opposition to the self are factors in the higher development of that self. Thus in boundless space and time, in the titanic forces of nature, a rational and moral personality which knows no merely external limit in thought or desire, finds something not wholly alien to its own nature; on the contrary these things beget in us the consciousness of the sublime. Now certainly, as Kant showed, the consciousness of the sublime rests on a contradiction between man as natural and man as spiritual; but it is a contradiction which man's spiritual nature enables him to transcend. When set over against the universe, man's natural existence is as nothing, but man would never know this, were it not that he can in will, and in idea, identify himself with the supersensuous Infinite, compared with which, the merely sensuous greatness of solar systems and milky ways, in turn sinks to insignificance. Thus, sensuous greatness points beyond itself; but it is important to note that it could not thus elevate the spirit if it had itself no meaning or value. The contradiction inherent in the consciousness of the sublime is solved by realizing that "outside of Spirit is not and there cannot be any reality," and that sensuous greatness has value but only so far as the infinitude of Spirit finds in it its own self-expression. But that is just what human personality finds in it. If the history of art and religion teach anything it is that the more human personality is purified and deepened, the more truly does it find its counterpart in this "majestic world."

But what if there are existences higher than man, such as Fechner conceived the Spirit of the earth to be? We need not concern ourselves with the question whether there are really such existences or not. To some this idea appears to have little foothold on reality, to others it seems an inevitable consequence of Idealism or Panpsychism. We may permit it to stand as one of those possibilities with regard to which we have to define our position. Now it ought to be said that, in the main, the advocates of this extension of the law of

continuity do not regard it as hostile to the view that the perfection of human personality may be for the universe an absolute end. For if our doctrine be sound, man is potentially greater than he seems; "it doth not yet appear what we shall be." Again, it is the very essence of a moral order that it secures to the humblest its own absolute right. And this is the vital issue. The real sting of all these suggestions of humanity's insignificance lies in this; they raise the question whether it be not part of the economy of the universe that man and his interests are subordinate to some ulterior end.

Impressive as this immoralist view of existence may appear to us all at times, it is not borne out by the nature of evil itself, so far as we know it; and the attempt to apply it in practice, or to use it for the purpose of explaining the universe is self-destructive. To many this will appear obvious; what is not so clearly recognised is the final alternative to which it pins us down. In order to realize this, let us consider the question briefly from the point of view of nature and of history.

If we leave aside, for the moment, the consequences of our own misdoing, we may safely say that it is a conclusion which is increasingly established by science that all our physical evils are due either to agents immeasurably beneath us in the scale of being, or to nature as simply mechanical, *i.e.*, a concatenation of events governed by laws of co-existence and succession. Now, so far, what we have to deal with are simply finite evils, not any principle of evil; it is also a commonplace that the struggle with such evils has elevated mankind. Still it may be urged that the mechanical theory can no longer be regarded as an adequate presentation of reality. None the less, it remains as far-reaching a description as ever of nature's behaviour. Now, so far as it goes, it eliminates all superstitious fears and every sort of sinister teleology; it gives us a world which is highly congruent with our ideas and therefore with our ideals. It is just this inherent idealism of the mechanical view which has made even materialism itself a gospel of moral deliverance and peace to many people since the days of Epicurus and Lucretius. Our conclusion then must be this; we need not hold that the significance of nature

is exhausted in its relation to man as even German Idealism of a century ago might be accused of doing; but all our evidence goes to show that the development of human personality is one of the ends of nature.

But what of the subordination of human personality to ulterior ends which has played so large a part in history? Was it not slavery that made possible Greek science and civilisation, and may not the universe in turn subordinate humanity to "some far off end of its own?" The answer is, in the first place, that, in the moral world at least, exploitation or parasitism is self-destructive. Failure is inherent in such a proposal as that of Nietzsche that society shall not exist for its own sake but in order that "a select class of beings may be able to elevate themselves to their higher duties and in general to a higher existence."* Of this ancient slavery is a conspicuous illustration. For surely, they have a strong case who argue that slavery and the aristocratic contempt for labour and manual dexterity constituted one main obstacle to Greek science taking the fruitful path of experiment. But for this, industrialism might have come much earlier and humanity might never have had to make that long *détour* which we know as the Middle Ages. In the second place, when man's moral consciousness comes to itself, exploitation is felt and known to be a desecration of the personality not merely of the exploited, but of the exploiter. This is the rock on which all tyrannies, temporal or spiritual are shattered. Thus with the rise of Stoicism, and still more of Christianity, slavery began to press uneasily even on the conscience of paganism itself.† It follows therefore, in the third place, that if we extend the law of continuity upwards, as we are bound to do, our ideas of goodness are not trans-valued by the good which the universe has as its end, except in the sense that they are more than fulfilled. For "the universe" is not so much given fact; it is an ideal construction to explain the given. It is the world of experience unified and rationalised by the ideas

* Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, pp. 224, f.

† Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, p. 121.

and ideals which we derive from the advance of civilisation itself. An immoralist explanation of the universe, therefore, is a manifest self-contradiction.*

To the doctrine here advocated, then, there remains but one alternative. What if the dictates of reason itself forbid us to make absolute claims for human personality? This is the position which Absolutism essays to uphold.

It is not essential, says this view, to the rationality of the universe that it permit moral beings to reach perfection. Finitude is essential to moral personality, but perfection is not compatible with finitude, and the finite has no rightful claim to it. Only the one super-moral Individual, which is the All, has unconditional worth, and it alone is perfect. On the other hand, since we have no reality apart from the Absolute, its perfection is our perfection; in it our ideals are eternally realized. The position has been summed up thus; "On the one hand it is the entire reality alone which matters. On the other hand, every single thing so far as it matters is so far real, real in its own place and degree, and according as more or less it contains and carries out the indwelling character of the concrete whole."†

If, in these sentences, we had a description of a universe in which every member experienced a perfectly satisfying union with the whole, or of a universe on the way towards such perfection, then with the necessary explanations, we might all accept it. But what is here offered us is something very different. We are asked to accept as perfect a universe in which finite beings are eternally beset, in some degree with evil and pain. Now in order to maintain this, we have to put down the claims of the finite by saying that even for *us* it is the entire Reality alone which matters. But this is to admit the claims of the finite in the very act of denying them. So, to save ourselves, we have to hold, on the other hand, that all we have a right to is that degree of perfection which corresponds to our place in the scale of being. One may venture

* Cf. F. C. S. Schiller, *Humanism*, first edition, pp. 200, f.

† F. H. Bradley, *Truth and Reality*, p. 473.

to say that the development of modern Absolutism, under criticism, has shown that this dualism between absolutism and relativism in the sphere of valuation is in collision with itself. Let us simply note how it comes out with regard to the problems of pessimism, of practice and of religion.

In reply to the charge of pessimism, because it does not guarantee the perfection of the finite individual, Absolutism says that the claims of the finite individual are fully met by that measure of satisfaction which corresponds to its degree of reality. This cannot fail us; "every single thing so far as it matters, is so far real." But along this road there is no logical halting-place short of the dictum, "Whatever is, is right." Any such conclusion, however, would shatter the foundations of Absolutism; for, it is just the unsatisfactoriness of the actually given finite which leads to the Absolute in which all finite aspiration somehow reaches fruition. But then what becomes of the gospel of contentment and the admonition to till our gardens, and not to hanker after any "stupid Utopia or flaring new Jerusalem?"

We encounter the same dualism in the realm of practice. As the foundation of the moral order, the Absolute guarantees the soul an open way; on the other side, as the only perfect Reality it sets to all their limit. It is the ideal, whose partial realisation gives to human progress whatever meaning and value it possesses; but again, it is the unattainable perfection, the consciousness of which brings home to us all that fragmentariness of human existence which we can never transcend. Nor can we surmount this dualism by saying that we may bring more of the Absolute's perfect harmony within ourselves by widening our being. It does not as a rule follow, that we shall be the more satisfied the further we proceed with an impossible task. Now the task set the finite individual is this: "He strives within finite limits to construct a concordant whole, when the materials he is forced to use have no natural endings." Very well, the discordance which is incident to all finite existence may become more subtle, more refined, more complex the higher we ascend but all the more intolerable

on that account. We have here a disquieting explanation of the tragedies which fill the lives of the great, and a rather sinister proof of the suspicion which haunts the world to-day that the advance of civilisation is no guarantee against the most appalling catastrophes. The truth is that once we give up the idea of finality, there is really no meaning in progress. Little wonder that Absolutism, in certain forms of it at least, has always tended to view in a spirit of critical detachment the conception of personal immortality. A finite individual, immortal in an Absolutist universe, is in pretty much the same position as the Wandering Jew. From the unrest, the insecurity, of our finitude there is no final deliverance. If we ascend up into heaven it is there; if we make our bed in hell, behold it is there.

But may we not, in religion, through faith and love identify ourselves with the ineffable perfection which lies for ever beyond us? So far as we do this we have to assimilate the Absolute to ourselves. And here we have the old dilemma. If we make the Absolute a moral personality, we have the intolerable contradiction of a moral personality which counts itself as the one thing that matters as against all the failures and sufferings of the finite. It is supposed that we avoid this when we hold that the Absolute is super-moral. But if the Absolute is too remote to be subject to moral challenge, is it near enough to be an object of devotion? Again, if super-moral is not to mean anti-moral, what is the precise meaning of the negation implied in the prefix "super." Has goodness to be subordinated to some metaphysical necessity such as the impossibility of the part being the whole? But the necessity of bowing to any fate, however subtle, is surely the one thing from which Idealism claims to deliver us. We may be told that we simply do not know how goodness is negated and fulfilled in the Absolute. In that case, either we are worshipping the Unknowable, or we are coming dangerously near a position described by Lotze. "The unbearableness of an egoism which could use a world of sensitive creatures for its own refined amusement is, of course, softened when the egoist is so obscurely conceived

and so far removed from similarity to ourselves;" but, he adds, A human heart is more exalted than that Absolute.* It is not of course any such conclusion that Absolutism intends. If we are to avoid it, however, we must give a very positive meaning to the term super-moral. This we have in the Christian idea of a redeeming God and of an impeccable heaven of the spirit as the consummation of moral endeavour.

To this Absolutism objects that finitude and perfection are not compatible. Perfect harmony is possible only to an all-inclusive Individual; to be determined from without is to be distracted within. Now, there is one seemingly very conclusive form of this argument, which Absolutism, on occasion appears to use, which is not legitimate. It consists in saying that what we implicitly desire to be, is this all-inclusive individuality: our own nature therefore and the ideal we seek are not commensurable. But our desires are always relative to us; our ideals are projections from the actual itself. The idea of a perfect society in a perfect world may be incapable of realisation; but for us, who are social beings, it is, and it must be our ideal of Heaven. On the other hand, the desire to be an all-inclusive Individual is incompatible with our nature, both as social and as finite. The eternal inner discordance of the finite, therefore, is not a necessary consequence of any fundamental law of human psychology. The evidence for it must rest entirely on experience, and experience cannot establish any such negation; the balance of evidence is in the opposite direction. Take the formula, that to be determined from without is to be distracted within. It all depends on the kind of determination. Alexander Selkirk on his desert island was distracted within because he was determined from without by solitude; restored to his friends, he was if anything, still more determined from without, but in a way which made him feel at home with himself. A finite individual, as Absolutism has taught us, is essentially self-

* *Microsmus*, p. 163, 164. Vol. ii.

transcendent : to complete its life in the life of others is the law of its being. So far as history is the record of progress, history shows that it succeeds. Despite all finite failure and disaster, there is no *à priori* reason why, in the end, it should not succeed perfectly. And again, as history amply shows, we succeed or fail in proportion as we acknowledge the principle of Christ that the humblest moral being has a divine right to a perfect life. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Editorial Notes.

I regret that owing to illness it has not been possible for me to deal with some matters to which I intended to call attention and that I can do little more than print what I had already written for the January number about Dr. Jowett's Life. It was my intention to speak of Baron von Hügel, whose death is a serious blow to theology and philosophy and whose loss will be mourned by those of us who had the privilege of his friendship. This year we commemorate the centenary of Westcott's birth, but on this also I must reserve what I wish to say. I hope in our next number to say something on "The Price of Books" in connexion with Mr. Stanley Unwin's recent pamphlet on the subject.

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The Rev. Arthur Porritt deserves our grateful thanks for his biography of Dr. Jowett (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d. net). It is sufficiently full and yet not too long. It gives a clear record of Dr. Jowett's career, it analyses the secret of his power, it paints a vivid portrait of the personality. It preserves interesting reminiscences of Jowett's early life such as often elude a biographer's zealous search, especially if the hero himself has not troubled to record his own early memories. His college days at Airedale, Edinburgh and Oxford, his pastorates at Newcastle and Birmingham, his Chairmanship of the Congregational Union and Presidency of the Free Church Council, the part he played in public life during his earlier English ministry, his splendid work in New York, his return to England, and ministry at Westminster, the great peace campaign which finally shattered him—the whole story of these is clearly and effectively told. Of peculiar interest are the chapters devoted to his Gospel and his methods. The book will appeal specially to preachers because it will help them to understand what qualities and what labours went to the making of so mighty a ministry. Young ministers in particular will do well to read it, especially if they hug the

fond illusion that natural gifts will see them through without strenuous industry and rigorous self-discipline. Nor, great preacher though he was, did Jowett feel that he was exonerated from the duty of being a faithful pastor, and watching over the efficient administration of his Church.

I knew Jowett, but only rather slightly, in his Oxford days. He was an Airedale student, and like the Airedale men took his Arts course in Edinburgh. In his last year he came up to Mansfield College. It was a great misfortune that he had barely two years under Dr. Fairbairn out of the seven years of his total course. It was an acute disappointment to him that he enjoyed for so brief a period the training which Dr. Fairbairn was supremely competent to give. He was never, strictly speaking, a Mansfield student and he seems to have been rather isolated in Oxford. I specially remember two occasions of personal contact with him. As I was not myself a Mansfield student, I was not entitled to attend Dr. Fairbairn's Seminar, which he held at his own house on Friday evenings, I believe. But I was occasionally present, and one evening the Principal asked Jowett to pray at the close. He was barely known to me at the time, but across all the intervening years I remember the quiet beauty of his petition. I do not know whether the occasion was one on which I had been invited to read a paper on the "Development of Paulinism," owing to the fact that Vernon Bartlet had heard me read it at a Theological Society to which we both belonged. If it was, the coincidence is rather interesting that the other occasion which I recall was when Jowett and I were walking down the High to the rooms at 90 High Street where for three years lectures were given before Mansfield College itself was ready for occupation. Our conversation I remember happened to turn on Paulinism and Pfeleiderer's *Paulinism* in particular. We saw little of each other for a number of years after our Oxford days, but after he removed from Newcastle to Birmingham I met him more frequently. I chanced to be in Oxford once when he was preaching at Mansfield on the Sunday. His sermon was the famous sermon on "Christ died," which produced such an effect when it was preached at Carr's Lane. I do not think the impression that Sunday morning was at all comparable with the impression produced in his own pulpit; and, if I must be quite frank, on none of the occasions when I heard him did he move me at all powerfully. But I had the same experience on the only occasion when I heard Spurgeon. It is true that his subject did not

at all appeal to me. He was dealing with the difficulties of those who were troubled as to whether they were among the elect or not. On that score I had never felt any anxiety; my only concern was whether I should make my calling and election sure. Nor was my experience of Dr. Parker fortunate. I went to hear him at a Thursday morning service at the City Temple on an occasion made memorable by the presence of Henry Ward Beecher who had just arrived in England. He spoke a few graceful sentences in acknowledgment of Dr. Parker's welcome which I heard easily, though Dr. Parker's own sermon I had largely failed to catch owing to my unfortunate position. On the following Sunday morning I was fortunate enough to hear Beecher preach a really great sermon in the City Temple on 1 Cor. xii. 1. I was exceptionally well placed for hearing him but on the following Thursday I heard him only very imperfectly. I had an unusually favourable opportunity for hearing Dr. Parker on a later occasion. There was one very clever thing in the sermon; but I fully endorsed what a discerning lady, herself a Congregationalist, said to me about it, that he had the art of making a very little go a very long way. I discovered afterwards, to my surprise, from an experienced ministerial friend of my own that the discourse to which I had listened was a good sermon. Probably if I had been a preacher myself I should have been sufficiently trained in the art to recognise the qualities which had escaped me. My feeling about Jowett was never unfavourable, his sermons always seemed to my untutored instinct good, but I was not so susceptible to his influence either as the crowds on the one side or many of the expert preachers on the other. But a friend of mine told me how one of our really great preachers who had listened to Jowett, no doubt with an expert appreciation of the art in the sermon, contrasted "these dainty cutlets" with the great joints from which Dale used to carve. The contrast was, I think, just; but Mr. Porritt is probably correct in what he says on Jowett as Dale's successor. "Dr. Dale's pre-eminence blinded men's eyes to the truth that each generation produces the man needed for the continuance of the work. Jowett was not another Dale, and it may even be doubted whether another Dale would have met the new needs of the swiftly changing times." Jowett did meet them and met them magnificently.

It was at the Birmingham Conference of 1904 that I had to deliver my Hartley Lecture on "The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament." I had had a very strenuous time, as the new Faculty of

Theology at the University of Manchester had just been instituted. I had been appointed Professor and the first Dean of the Faculty. The work of getting the Faculty into shape, with the curriculum planned and the regulations laid down, had involved me in a great deal of work, as my duties at Hartley College were of course going on at the time; and the writing of the book, so that it might be ready for sale at the Conference, had brought me to the edge of breakdown. I had gone to Mundesley for a change of air and such holiday as I could take with the writing of my Commentary on Job heavily burdening me. The journey to Birmingham had greatly fatigued me and on the afternoon of the day on which the lecture was to be delivered I had imprudently gone down to the Conference. I was accordingly quite ill when the time for the lecture came and had the curious experience of lecturing with the sense that the ideas were hovering about me, but that I could not grip them firmly. The lecture was given in Carr's Lane Chapel and Jowett was there. I made further acquaintance with the building some time later when he asked me to preach three Sundays for him. I felt that this was more than I could undertake but I took two Sundays. It was a great pleasure to me to find with what enthusiasm and affection his people spoke of him and how they appreciated his ministry. It was not uncommon for them to say after a service, Well, he can never preach as well as that again, only to find the next Sunday that he seemed to them to be better still. When the new Primitive Methodist Church was opened at Southport a number of distinguished preachers took services in it, and Sir William Hartley used the opportunity to invite them to address the students at Hartley College. We greatly appreciated Jowett's visit and he gave an address of great practical utility to those who were in training for the ministry. I tried vainly year after year to secure him for our Students' Missionary Anniversary. He was interested and would, I think, have been glad to come, but there was always something in the way. I think I might have persuaded him to promise on the last occasion we met. I had mentioned it to him at the Federal Council, and we were just going to talk it over at lunch; but the powers that be took him away to talk to the Speaker of the House of Commons who was an old friend of his, and I lost my chance. It would have made no difference, for though his health had improved a great deal, he was about to launch the great peace campaign in which he was associated with the Archbishop of York, and this broke him down irretrievably. It was a noble climax to

a great career; but it is distressing to meditate that, when this supreme opportunity came to him, he had not the physical strength left to use it to the full, and passed away from us when the ripe experience and the quiet intensity of his spiritual power were so sorely needed.

* * * *

The British Council of the World Alliance for promoting International Friendship through the Churches has issued a Message on the question of the Geneva Protocol. It argues that the rejection of the Protocol involves a repudiation of the principles which are the very reason for the existence of the League of Nations and that the burden of interpreting the terms of the Covenant lies on those who are convinced that the Protocol is impracticable. It is urged that it marks a new stage in the development, in that it proposes to create such a complete system of arbitration, judicial consideration and conciliation that a final award shall be reached in every case of dispute. Moreover the nations in the League should invariably respect such awards nor attempt to settle their differences by recourse to war. War is branded as an international crime, the use of force is recognised only to restrain aggressors as international criminals. Arbitration, national security and disarmament are to be considered as one whole problem. This brings us face to face with difficult and complex questions but these are not created by the Protocol they already exist under the Covenant. The Message insists on the duty of the Churches to face the problem with courage and sincerity and apply to international questions without flinching the loftiest Christian principles.

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Among the new books which must be held over for review I may mention Sir Sidney Lee's *King Edward VII.*, Vol. I. (Macmillan, £1 11s. 6d.); *Christus Veritas*, by the Bishop of Manchester (Macmillan); *Hermetica*, Vol. I. by Walter Scott (Oxford University Press, 30s.); *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy*, by C. E. Vaughan (Longmans, for the University of Manchester, 42s. net).

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

Discussions and Notices.

The Transcendent God.

Readers of the *Hibbert Journal* will not have failed to notice the striking article which appeared there sometime ago, entitled, "Judaism and Europe." It was written by Dr. Claude G. Montefiore, a Liberal Jew, and is in several ways very significant. His main thesis is that Judaism is not merely an Oriental cult, destined to remain alien and aloof in the midst of a European life with which it can have nothing in common. He believes that Europe is profoundly influencing Jewish life and Jewish religion, while he claims that Judaism, on the other hand, is a religion of value for Europe.

With the main argument the present article is not concerned. The point to which we would call attention here occurs in the course of the writer's attempt to show *how* the faith of the Jewish people can be of value to modern European life. He finds that value firstly in the Jew's stern and austere witness to the unity of God; secondly, in his fundamental thought of God as transcendent; and finally, to the Jew's reverence for Law, through the gates of which, this Jewish writer declares, lies the approach to freedom.

We have to do with the second point,—the thought of God as transcendent; God as raised above the conditions of finite and transient existence; God as the "High and Lofty One, inhabiting eternity, whose Name is Holy." Any religion that can keep this great and profound thought before the world has still a part to play in the world's life and, we reverently believe, in the purpose of God for the race. The Old Testament has some great witnesses, and this is one of them. "Hast thou not known? Hast thou not heard? The everlasting God, Jehovah, the Creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not, neither is weary; there is no searching of his understanding." There it rings out in the evangel of the second Isaiah. "Lord thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever

thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God." Such is the cry of the Psalmist as he turns away from the contemplation of the frailty and brevity of human life to hymn the majesty, strength and glory of the eternal God.

Surely Dr. Montefiore is absolutely right in this matter. A conception of God, such as may be read on page after page of the Old Testament, is one that can never be abandoned without a grave, even a fatal, loss to religion and to the life of the world. And we may go a little farther still and affirm that this witness to the glory and greatness of God is one of the special needs of religion and of life to-day. A number of tendencies have combined to make many people undervalue God ; to hold Him too cheaply ; to think of Him too meanly, and, we say it with deliberation—to bring Him too near. It would be a blessing of high worth if it could be burned into the heart of men and peoples to-day that they cannot have God, the real God, on easy terms. A God who can be approached lightly is not GOD. He is an image created by our own thoughts, feelings and desires : a God no bigger than the human mould in which the image was cast.

It is not possible here to dwell at any length, or with any attempt at completeness, upon the tendencies that have gone to produce this state of things. Dr. Montefiore mentions what is called the Immanent Theology of Christianity. When we speak of the immanence of God, we mean His Presence with us and in us. God is thought of, not as far away in some distant Heaven, but omnipresent : no place in all the vast universe that He does not fill with His ceaseless activity. A mighty truth and a stupendous theme : one that has inspired much of the poetry of the ages. Nature is no longer alien, cold and dead. Nature is splendidly alive. And Nature is radiantly and terribly Divine. But then, carried away by the sense of God in Nature, poet after poet has lost his grip upon God as a Person. Nature, he feels, if he does not think, is God. And all is God. Tree and star and bird and beast and man are all God. There is one infinite Life, all-comprehending. Worship swoons away into ecstasy, and religion, as we know it, is at an end. Human personality is gone ; it is absorbed into God. The foam sparkles for a moment on the breast of the Infinite Sea, then bursts and mingles with the Tide that gave it birth.

Over against this pantheism we need the Old Testament witness

to the transcendence of God. God is above Nature as well as in it. He expresses Himself through Nature, but He Himself dwells in the Innermost. Clouds and darkness are round about Him but they are not He. Heaven is His throne, earth His footstool. They are not God. They are the symbols of One who reigneth; the insignia of a King, not the King Himself.

Then there is a spark of the undying Flame in every life; the Christian Evangel is built upon that fact. Our bodies, we are told, may become temples of the Eternal Spirit. But we are not God and never shall be God. Neither in time nor in eternity shall any human spirits be God. The sons will never become the Father, nor the created the Creator. Time is for worship, and in eternity too we shall worship. God is for ever God, and we who were made by Him must for ever worship Him.

But this witness of the Old Testament to the transcendent God, and this warning utterance of the modern Jew, attain their most impressive significance when they warn the Christian against the perils of an imperfect faith in Christ. A faith in Christ which in any way lessens the Christian's reverence for God is very gravely imperfect. The most besetting danger of Evangelical religion lies here. It is not always remembered that woven into all the fabric of the thought of Jesus about God is the Old Testament conception of God as transcendent. The sublimest Old Testament consciousness of the majesty, glory and holiness of God represents, more or less imperfectly, His habitual thought of God. This is the background of all His experience and teaching of the Divine Fatherhood. The Fatherhood of God in no way detracts from His majesty as the Lord of the Universe. It is the Eternal and the Supreme who loves men. It is the altogether Holy One who accepts their change of heart and forgives. There is nothing in the life and teaching of Jesus to countenance for one moment any vestige of irreverence for God. There is nothing in Paul. There is nothing in John, or in any of the New Testament writers. And nothing has happened since New Testament days to render obsolete that vision of one in Patmos who saw "a great white throne, and him that sat upon it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them."

It is when faith in Christ detracts nothing from the majesty and glory of God; when it adds nothing of self-assertion and self-glorying to us, but when it teaches us that

"This awful God is ours,
Our Father and our Friend,"

that fellowship with God becomes filled with a reverent joy, an awed and holy love which neither tongue nor pen can ever fully express.

HUGH HUNTER.

Ferdinand Lassalle.

11th April, 1825—31st August, 1864.

"The net result of Lassalle's life was to produce a European scandal, and to originate a socialistic movement in Germany." This succinct statement explains the shadow that has fallen upon the memory of a man endowed with a fascinating personality, a mind of great calibre, and genius in leadership. He had "an exceptional combination of gifts, philosophical power, eloquence, enthusiasm, practical energy, a dominating force of will." He had failings also, vanity, lack of self-restraint and common-sense. Yet he had ability to arouse enthusiasm for an ideal and keep it at white heat. This is why, a hundred years after his birth, his career calls for recognition. The antinomy between character and work—or perhaps it will be better described as between reputation and ideals—cannot be pursued. This emerges in other departments of life and presents one of its unsolved riddles. In his *History of the Reformation*, Professor Lindsay, referring to this problem, quotes most aptly from Maurenbrecher: "A man's deepest religious convictions can tolerate strange company in most ages, and the fact that we find Romanist champions in France plunging into the deepest profligacy the one week and then undergoing the agonies of repentance the next, or that Lutheran leaders combined occasional conjugal infidelities and drinking bouts with zeal for evangelical principles, demands deeper study in psychology than can find expression . . . in a few cheap sneers."

Lassalle, like Karl Marx, was of Jewish extraction. A commercial career had been determined for him, but he found his way to the University. His energies were at first devoted to literature. In Paris he met Heine, who describes him as "a young man of the most remarkable endowments, in whom the widest knowledge, the greatest acuteness, and the richest gifts of expression are combined with an energy and practical ability which excites his astonishment; but adds, in his half-mocking way, that he is a genuine son of the new era, without even the pretence of modesty or self-denial, who will assert and enjoy himself in the world of realities." He came to the public notice in the case of Countess Hatzfeldt, who had been

long separated from her husband and was contending with him concerning the custody of their children and matters of property. Lassalle studied law and fought the case through the courts. There were shady circumstances and some scandal, but he achieved success. During the years of litigation he had provided the Countess with funds from his father's allowance; afterwards he shared the spoils of victory and lived secure from financial embarrassment. In 1848 he declared his allegiance to "the social-democratic republic." His position in the movement, however, was only that of a subordinate. Political authorship made it clear that he had "both the insight and the foresight of a statesman." Bismarck afterwards acknowledged this. It was not until 1862, when less than three years of life remained for him, that he plunged into the work which gave him the career of leadership. Bismarck had initiated his policy of organizing the new Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Lassalle entered the lists against him. In a lecture on *The Working-men's Programme: On the special Connexion of the Present Epoch of History with the Idea of the Working Class*, he advocated his new theory of human development based on Hegelian principles. This led to a rally of those who shared his ideals and to the foundation of the Universal German Working Men's Association at Leipsic in 1863. He was elected President. The movement grew slowly; the apathy of the workers was difficult to break down. Lassalle, however, laboured with amazing energy. His progress from town to town became a progress of triumph. Then a sordid death ended his career. He had made the acquaintance of Fräulein von Dönniges, and they had determined to marry. He was so infatuated that he dreamed of himself as President of the German Republic, with her installed at his side. Her father, a Bavarian diplomatist, objected; and, by forcible means, another marriage was arranged. Lassalle sent challenges to both the father and the intended bridegroom. That to the latter was accepted. Lassalle was mortally wounded and died three days after.

Lassalle's scheme of social revolution was shaped in opposition to that of Schulze-Delitzsch, who advocated co-operative associations promoted by self-help. He demanded a centralized organization dominated by the workers and financed from public funds. His doctrine of three stages of labour—feudalism, with solidarity without freedom, which was ended in 1789; the reign of capital and the middle classes, destroying solidarity without giving freedom, which ended in 1848; and, now, association, which means solidarity

reconciled with freedom—necessitated this. While the working-man was only the receiver of wages no progress was possible. "The struggle of the working-man helping himself with his empty pockets against the capitalists he compared to a battle with teeth and hands against modern artillery." In order to secure capital the working-man must capture the State. Thus the only demand of the Association was for universal suffrage. All else would be futile unless political power sufficient to enforce the ideal was gained. In contrast with the International aims of Marx—the suppression of all Governments by the combination of working men—Lassalle confined his efforts to Germany. It is easy to discount his sincerity by dwelling upon his weaknesses. A lover of pleasure, both learned and luxurious, he revealed the best side of his complex personality in his social crusade. He says in referring to the enthusiasm of the last year: "I had the feeling that such scenes must have been witnessed at the founding of new religions." And, notwithstanding the folly of his death, he was looked upon as "a martyr, and by many of his adherents he has since been regarded with feelings almost of religious devotion." Kirkup says: "It would be easy to ridicule the enthusiasm for Lassalle entertained by those workmen on the Rhine, but it will be more profitable if we pause for a moment to realise the world-historic pathos of the scene. For the first time for many centuries we see the working men of Germany aroused from their hereditary degradation, apathy, and hopelessness. Change after change had passed in the higher sphere of politics. One conqueror after another had traversed these Rhine countries, but, whoever lost or won, it was the working man who had to pay with his sweat and toil and sorrow. He was the anvil on which the hammer of those iron times had fallen without mercy and without intermission. His doom it was to drudge, to be fleeced, to be drilled and marched off to fight battles in which he had no interest. Brief and fitful gleams of a wild and desperate hope had visited these poor people before, only to go out again in utter darkness; but now in a sky which had so long been black and dull with monotonous misery, the rays were discernible of approaching dawn, a shining light which would grow into a more perfect day. For in the process of history the time had come when the suffering which had so long been dumb should find a voice that would be heard over the world, should find an organisation that would compel the attention of rulers and all men."

It is not possible to enter into detail concerning Lassalle's theories,

nor to trace their influence in thought and action. Nor is it possible to assess his contribution to the progress of "one of the most remarkable forces of the age in which we live, a movement which has made its influence felt in almost every part of the civilized world." His influence in Germany was unique. After his death there was closer association of the movement he had initiated with the International Union of Working Men, founded by Marx in 1864. The progress of State socialism was, however, significant. This, as a matter of course, had a set-back during the world-war of 1914—1918; but there are already signs of resurrection and evidences of activities that, with wise direction, will carry the ideals aiming at human welfare further on the way towards triumph.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

Sunday Evening Wireless.

So unique is the modern medium of expression through wireless control that a new art is demanded. All vocal work has to be accomplished without the magnetic contact between artist and audience, and no accompanying item to aid the work of either speaker or singer can at present be introduced to bridge the difficulty. All but sound has to be sensed by the listener, and for any performance to be a real success a suitable atmosphere has to be generated somehow. And it is just here where the new art comes into operation.

Obviously then, the essential success of broadcasting will be found in the pure art of the programme itself. Matter which might "carry" fairly well when done personally before a company prepared to listen half-heartedly and in a genial mood while sensing many other things, will not stand the test of satisfying the person intent on getting results for which he has been prepared to give his fullest attention and best ability. This effort calls for compensation and it can be found only in the programme itself. And if the programme fails so to compensate, then the hearer has the privilege of at once tuning in another station. For he is not bound by any etiquette to keep his seat and listen till the performance is through—a privilege which hitherto has not been granted to any audience.

These few observations may be a help in considering the Sunday evening wireless programme.

In certain quarters there is some anxiety, which may yet exert itself into active opposition, over the fact of wireless concerts on Sunday

evenings. That whole services or special religious addresses are also given by no means changes the situation but rather accentuates it. The objection is that here again is a counter-attraction to Church-going, and that people will fall victims to another tempting habit of staying at home with their wireless sets when they ought to be at Public Worship. That some may do so is more than probable. But two or three points are here worthy of notice, points that should do much to calm fear and compensate for some minor disadvantages.

First, the constitution of society remains what it was before the war. Corporate society is a very real thing and potent in demanding company and fellowship. Isolation of the individual is never tolerated for long together. And the natural instinct for the companionship of larger society will never allow the individualistic element in wireless to go unchallenged. Men and women will still want to congregate. And providing the fellowship of the Church is kept a very real thing, Sunday night wireless will do very little to lessen the congregation.

Then, too, as a very real compensation for any losses, it must be remembered that thousands upon thousands of people who are unable to attend Church through sickness, infirmity, old age and distance have an opportunity of re-erecting the family altar. If these friends so desire they can be brought into very real touch with the Church, and have her ministry in many helpful forms dispensed to them—a by no means small compensation. Added to this list of home-worshippers is the large number of indifferent people who will most certainly listen in to both service and sermon in the secrecy of their own homes. The British people is a shy people and especially so in any matter relating to the soul. Perhaps taken together the Church may be just entering upon a larger ministry the fruits of which will be manifold and harvested in most unlikely fields.

And further, is not this strange miracle of the ether wavelet and electron, now before us as a preparatory lesson on the change always necessary through progress? Somehow we have to adapt ourselves to new conditions. For it is the law of life that we must correspond with our main environment, and we do not permanently enrich life by refusing to assimilate the valuable deposits of progress. Life is rapidly growing greater every way. And though transplanting ourselves is not easy work, it is absolutely necessary if we would grow worthily and keep ahead of our times.

So after all, the main thing to trouble over is not the fact of wireless but the programme which is to be broadcast on Sunday nights.

The art demanded by this new medium of expression should at once make and keep the programme free from anything detrimental to the finest spiritual experiences of the people. But are preachers, speakers and singers quite aware yet of the demands this new art makes upon them? To have broadcast a very beautiful service perfect in many ways and followed by a very poor and cheap talk on religion is sinful. Could preachers realise that here is a unique opportunity of reaching great companies of hearers and of getting pretty close to them on important subjects, we believe a new interest in the things of the faith might be kindled in many hearts. But to do this the art of broadcasting must be developed in every way. Too much trouble cannot be spent over the selection of subject matter, suitable sentence construction, diction, enunciation and the timing of every paragraph so that the entire discourse reaches its most powerful and most beautiful climax a good minute before the time for finishing. A hurry at the end will spoil the best of talks and utterly destroy any appeal. A good voice is essential, and one with a register between tenor "A" and an octave below will "come through" well and clearly if the modulations are graceful and harmonious.

In our land there are many ministers and laymen who have a very real message for their fellows just at this particular time, and if the medium of wireless could at once be secured and tenaciously held for giving to the peoples on Sunday nights only the very best of anything that might be attempted, the results would be beyond the highest expectations. It is for the Church to realise this great opportunity and embrace it at once.

A. GRAHAM ELDRIDGE.

The Study Circle.

SPIRITUAL HEALING.

Questions for Study.

1. To what extent can the cures ascribed to Spiritual Healing to-day be compared with the miracles of healing wrought by our Lord?
2. Can Christianity be distinguished from other religions in respect of Spiritual Healings?
3. Do "faith cures" differ in any essential respect from the cures of psycho-therapy (by abreaction, analysis and re-education, and suggestion?)
4. Estimate the value of healing missions. How far can the evidence as to their success be trusted?
5. What can we rightly declare to be the will of God in regard to sickness?
6. What is the duty of the ordinary Christian ministry in this connexion?

Bibliography.

The following are a few books which would be useful for a study circle. *Spiritual Healing* by H. Anson (University of London Press, 3s. 6d.) or *The Christian Doctrine of Health*, by Miss L. Dougall (Guild of Health, 1s. 6d.) might be taken as a basis. Reference might be made to the following:—

(a) On the general subject:

Dearmer. *Body and Soul*. (Pitman).

Worcester—McComb. *Religion and Medicine*.

Cobb. "Faith Healing," (article in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*).

Report of Archbishop's Commission on "The Ministry of Healing." (S.P.C.K.) 6d.

(b) On Our Lord's Teaching and Practice:

Miss Dougall. *Christus Futurus*.

A. G. Hogg. *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*.

E. R. Micklem. *Miracles and the New Psychology*.

(c) On Sacramental Healing:

Pakenham Walsh. *Divine Healing*.

(d) On psycho-therapy proper the literature is enormous. The

various writings of Baudouin and of Dr. William Brown are the most serviceable for the non-specialist. For systems of "mind culture" see :

Edwin Ash. *Mental Self-Help*.

McDougall King. *Nerves and Personal Power*.

The Guild of Health has published a considerable number of useful pamphlets, which may be obtained from the office (3, Bedford Square, W.C.1).

L. W. GRENSTED.

QUARTERLY REPORT.

Matter intended for insertion in the Quarterly Report should be sent to the Rev. W. E. Farndale, 10, North Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead.

"*Spiritual Healing*."—In the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 (published by the S.P.C.K. in the same year) special attention was given to the subject of Christian Science. Some six discriminating resolutions were passed, as will be seen on pages 42 and 43 of the report. In addition, a concise and careful summary of the Christian attitude to the true Ministry of Healing was set out in a valuable appendix on pages 122-5. Last year a committee of eminent medical men and of Anglican Church dignitaries issued, in accordance with the terms of the Lambeth Conference instructions, a booklet entitled *The Ministry of Healing* (published at sixpence by the S.P.C.K.) giving in more detail their findings.

By these documents, as well as by other literature to which they have given rise, the whole Church is indebted to the Anglican Communion for their wise and valuable lead.

The serious and dangerous fallacies underlying the cult of Eddyism will not be met by mere denunciation. Only a careful review in which doctor and theologian, psychologist and philosopher, must unite as enquirers, can supply the true standpoint.

We are, therefore, intensely pleased that it has been found possible to bring so live and vital a topic as this before the Study Circle members and all readers of the HOLBORN REVIEW in a special article contributed to this number by the Rev. L. W. Grensted, now Fellow of University College, Oxford, and formerly Principal of Egerton Hall, Manchester. Mr. Grensted has been closely associated with the Guild of Health, which has done much pioneer work on

this subject, and when in Manchester was president of the local branch of the Guild.

We heartily commend his article, with the bibliography appended, to the study of all concerned in the relation of the Christian faith to physical well-being and in the refutation of Christian Science.

Sheffield Circle.—The Rev. E. F. Jobling, the secretary of this Circle, reports that they have now a membership of twelve, and that their meetings are held bi-monthly. For the morning session at present Bradley's "Appearance and Reality" is being taken. It is proposed to give two years to the thorough discussion of the work, not more than two chapters being dealt with at a meeting. The afternoons are being devoted to a study of the Apostolic Fathers with the object of gaining light on Early Church Organisation, Discipline and Worship. At the last meeting three members dealt in brief papers with the Didache and the Epistles of Barnabas and Clement of Rome, and the discussion proved of very real interest as well as a change from the philosophical study of the morning.

Colchester.—This Circle met last on the 12th December. The secretary, the Rev. T. Thompson, reports that an interesting and profitable day was spent together. The subject for discussion was Dr. Simpson's "Pentateuchal Criticism." The discussion, opened by the Rev. J. Crawford, of Cambridge, centred on the immense value of the Pentateuch in the story of Old Testament development. For the 20th March, at Colchester, the Rev. P. M. Hoyle was appointed to introduce Dr. W. B. Selbie's "Psychology of Religion."

Glasgow.—The Rev. J. J. Cook, of Greenock, writes that for the last few meetings the Cope Reports have been engaging the attention of the members. Volume I. has been carefully gone through and the second volume is to be dealt with at their next meeting.

Merseyside Circle.—The meetings continue to be held monthly. At the gathering held on 20th February the Rev. W. Dawson dealt in a masterly way with the philosophy of Hegel, and a well-sustained discussion followed. The Rev. J. McLoughlin gave an interesting and helpful survey of the section of the Sermon on the Mount relating to Almsgiving and Fasting. An animated conversation mainly ranged round the methods of the culture of the devotional life in personal religious experience and in the service of the Church. On methods of church worship and work the Revs. P. J. Fisher and A. Lowe made stimulating contributions. The attendance was one of the best in the session.

W. E. FARNDALE.

Current Literature.

The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament. Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Literary Sources. By JAMES HOPE MOULTON, D.D., D. Theo., and GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D. Part V. by GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D. Pp. 285-472. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

It is unnecessary to describe the scope of this great enterprise initiated by Dr. Moulton and Dr. Milligan and carried forward after Dr. Moulton's death by his colleague with such aid, unfortunately all too little, as the famous philologist had left behind him. Prof. Milligan apologises for the delay in the appearance of the present instalment due to the pressure of other duties; but in view of the mass of matter to be handled, the delay does not appear to be excessive. The illustrative material in the papyri and other non-literary sources is so rich that it ought to be made available for New Testament scholars who are not in a position to work at the documents themselves. Its technical character precludes detailed reference here; but we ought all the more to emphasise its value and the care with which it has been brought together. We must limit ourselves to a few points of interest. In Luke xii. 29 the verb rendered in the Revised Version "be of doubtful mind" is said to mean "to be anxious or worried" rather than "to be exalted in mind or to seek high things." The study of the word "mystery" leads up to the conclusion, "So far then as this word is concerned we are not prepared to find any 'intimate' connexion between Paul and the 'mystery religions.'" In Matthew v. 22 the traditional rendering, "Thou fool," is accepted, the view that the term is Hebrew being set aside as quite unnecessary. In Luke ii. the translation, "in my father's house," is said to be confirmed by the papyri. It is pointed out that the formula, "into the name of" is often used in the papyri with reference to payments made to the account of anyone. The baptismal formula, Matthew xxviii. 19, is taken to mean "to be baptised into the possession of the Father etc." Gladstone's famous egg-flip seems to have been anticipated in antiquity, but used "that you may not be thirsty on a journey." There is no reference to Torrey's view that the Greek verb in Acts xiii. 8 means "euphemistically interpreted." We suppose that the papyri have not afforded any examples.

The Four Gospels. A Study of Origins. By BURNETT HILLMAN STREETER. Pp. xiv., 622. London: Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 21s. net.

THIS volume is described in its sub-title as "treating of the manuscript tradition, sources, authorship, and dates." Dr. Streeter is well-known not only as the editor of *Foundations* and the three volumes prepared by the Cumnor Group, but as one of our ablest investigators of the Synoptic Problem. His contributions to *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* were important and to the memory of Dr. Sanday, its editor, the present volume is fittingly dedicated. He also wrote the admirable article on the Synoptic Problem for *Peake's Commentary*. But his previous writings have not been concerned either with Textual Criticism or with the Fourth Gospel. That the Johannine problems should be comprehensively treated in a book with this title is to be expected. It will be a surprise to many that the volume should contain an elaborate and often rather technical discussion of the textual problems. But Dr. Streeter is firmly convinced that the findings of the Lower Criticism have more bearing than is commonly recognised on the problems of Higher Criticism, especially where the Synoptic Problem is concerned. More than 150 pages are devoted to Textual Criticism. Here Dr. Streeter insists that the most important task of the critic is to reconstruct, so far as he can, the texts current in different regions of the Church, in the great centres certainly, but also in the areas remote from these and therefore less affected by external influences. While he allows that the two manuscripts on which Westcott and Hort almost exclusively relied must still remain the primary authorities, he urges that the estimate placed upon them was altogether excessive and that other types of text, together with the older versions, must receive far fuller consideration. He entirely rejects Von Soden's textual theory. He gives great prominence to the Koridethi MS. which has only recently been made accessible to students. He identifies its text with that in use in Caesarea about 230. He accepts Prof. A. C. Clark's demonstration that the preference for the shorter reading is to be abandoned, especially as common experience shows that accidental omission is a fault of which copyists are constantly guilty.

The most important section of the book is that devoted to the Synoptic Problem. Dr. Streeter has in his earlier days defended the Two Document hypothesis. He now seeks to replace it by a Four Document theory. The change through which his opinions have passed will be rapidly grasped by anyone who compares the diagram in *Peake's Commentary* with that in the present work. We have previously called attention to his theory on the origin of the Third Gospel. The generally accepted view has been that Mark supplied the authors of the first and third Gospels with the framework in which (about A.D. 60) the non-Marcan material was inserted. Dr. Streeter now holds that Luke combined his own notes made in Palestine (designated by the symbol L, with Q in such a way as to

form a Gospel, called by him Proto-Luke. At least two decades later he expanded Proto-Luke into our third Gospel by prefixing the infancy narratives and inserting in the body of the work considerable extracts from Mark. The first Gospel is formed from a combination of Mark and Q and matter peculiar to Mathew, here designated M. In this way the four documents Mark, Q, L, M, are made up. In itself this conclusion is not very novel; but the theory as to the origin of Luke does alter the order of the process and has important bearings on the problem of proportion and on the extent and reconstruction of Q. If correct it would justify a fuller confidence in the historicity of the matter peculiar to Luke. The author of the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles is held to be John the Elder with whom the teacher of Polycarp is identified. The positive weakness of the evidence for the Apostle's martyrdom is held to be neutralised by the fact that there was so much temptation to suppress it. The Gospel is regarded as a unity, but in several cases the material has been preserved in the wrong order. The author knew very little of the history of Jesus at first hand, if he knew anything. But at certain points his information was better than that preserved in the Synoptists. He drew largely upon Mark and Luke, but in the sections peculiar to him he believed that he was recounting authentic history, his guarantee for this being mystical visions in which the scenes he describes were flashed upon his inward eye. It is strange that Canon Streeter should imagine that Harnack's influence had settled the question of Lucan authorship in Germany. The drift of critical opinion in Germany has been almost all the other way. In other respects the reader will frequently miss reference to the work of influential scholars on the Continent. On the other hand the book exhibits great freshness and independence and critical qualities of high order, especially in the handling of the textual criticism and the Synoptic Problem. It should be studied with care by every New Testament scholar.

Christian Beginnings. Three Lectures. By F. C. BURKITT, D.D.
Pp. 152. University of London Press. 1924. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THIS volume contains three lectures delivered before the University of London. It starts from Jackson and Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity*, but deals with a very large number of problems and makes several fresh suggestions. It is a rapid survey and frequently its interest lies not in the arguments for the views adopted but in the indication of the author's attitude on several controverted problems. We have space only to enumerate a number of points. John the Baptist was not specially concerned with eschatology. His teaching was almost wholly ethical. The title Son of God is more primitive than Messiah and the contemporary Messianic belief was extremely vague. Jesus connected the term Son of Man with suffering but this was not suggested by Isaiah liii. There is an interesting discussion of early Christianity in Palestine. James, the Lord's brother, did not eat meat and had no possessions hence he would not participate in

the sacrificial system or be required to pay tithes. The Epistle that goes under his name is a free Greek rendering of an Aramaic discourse uttered to a Jewish Christian community and preserved by the Gentile Christian Church which was formed on the site of Jerusalem. He suggests that the appearance of the risen Jesus to Peter did not take place in Galilee, but when Peter was on the way to Galilee and shortly after he had left Jerusalem. He emphasises the fact that we have no evidence in early times for a Galilean Church. The vision to 500 brethren he identifies, as von Dobschütz has done, with the experiences on the Day of Pentecost. The Apostolic Decree is concerned with food restrictions; the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Gal. ii. 1-10 is the famine visit (Acts xi. 30 and on this occasion Paul circumcised Titus. The Epistle to the Galatians is earlier than Acts xv. and Rom. i.-xiv. was a circular letter written at the same time and without the place name. Subsequently this was expanded into our present Epistle. 1 and 2 Thessalonians were drafted by Silvanus and approved by Paul. We have unfortunately no space in which to discuss these views; their interest lies in the fact primarily that they are the views of Professor Burkitt.

A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography. By ISRAEL EITAN. Le ès S., Ph.D. Pp. 68. New York: Columbia University Press. In the British Empire Humphrey Milford. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THE student of the Hebrew Bible when he comes to a word he does not know finds the meaning given in the Lexicon and there for him the matter ends. But really things are not so simple. In the vast majority of cases the meaning of the word is ascertained. But in a considerable number of cases the meaning is more or less conjectural. In other instances a commentator or critic may conclude that the meaning assigned yields no satisfactory sense and infer that the text is corrupt. Against this tendency Dr. Eitan sets his face. He says, "the general cause of very many misinterpretations as well as superfluous and misleading emendations lies in the customary state of mind of most exegetes." They proceed on the assumption that the whole Biblical vocabulary is already well known, whereas the truth is that we know it very incompletely and inexactly. The idea that the text is corrupt has some truth in it, but it is much exaggerated. If philology is invoked it will dissipate many perplexities by disclosing new linguistic evidence. Moreover when the versions, especially the LXX., appear to differ from the Hebrew, they may really preserve the correct meaning of it, knowledge of which has been lost through defective philology. Cognate languages have not been adequately used. Of these Arabic is much the most important though great attention should also be paid to Ethiopic. These principles are then applied in detail to a considerable number of passages, especially in the Book of Job. This learned discussion is intended for philologists.

Pistis Sophia. Literally Translated from the Coptic by GEORGE

HORNER. With an Introduction by F. LEGGE, F.S.A. Pp. xlviii.
205. London : S.P.C.K. 1924. Price 16s. net.

WE are glad to receive this rendering of the *Pistis Sophia*. We have called the attention of our readers to both editions of Mr. G. R. S. Mead's English translation. The first was made from Schwartz's Latin rendering checked by Amélineau's French Version. The French translation was very defective. But Mr. Legge's description of Mr. Mead's work is scarcely generous. And it is unfortunate that no reference is made to the second edition of Mr. Mead's translation (1922) which was completely revised so as to bring it into accordance with the authoritative rendering into German by Carl Schmidt. Mr. Horner, well known for his work on Coptic Versions of the New Testament, has given us a rendering made, like Schmidt's, direct from the Coptic. It is, as the title page indicates, a literal rendering, so literal indeed that the English is unidiomatic and uncouth. Since the student's main concern is to be brought as near as possible to the original work, unshrinking literalism is preferable to a free and flowing translation. It would be better still to have both; and Mr. Legge had, in fact, based a more literary rendering on Mr. Horner's work. But we cannot blame the publishers in these times for issuing only one rendering, and undoubtedly the literal version was the right one to select. Mr. Legge had also annotated his translation. His notes have not been printed; but as much of his Introduction has been included as would supply explanations required. His views were stated in his *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, a work which we reviewed on its appearance and which made a rather mixed impression on our mind. He believes that all the five documents belonged to the school of Valentinus, the first and the greater part of the second being derived from writings of Valentinus himself, the rest being by later members of his school. The whole problem is still in debate, but the best authorities have not been willing to accept so early a date. His theory as to the origin of our manuscript is that it was made for official or judicial use for a tribunal of inquisitors whose duty it was to suppress heresy. Whatever view be taken of Mr. Legge's theories, the introduction is a useful piece of work. But the special value of the book lies in the translation, which for the first time gives us a literal English rendering from the Coptic text.

The Church of England. By the Rt. Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, C.H., D.D. Pp. xiii., 296. London : John Murray. 1924. Price 12s. net.

Quo Tendimus? By H. H. HENSON, D.D. Pp. 173. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Anglican Church Principles. By F. J. FOAKES JACKSON. Pp. xii., 232. New York : The Macmillan Co. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THE first of these volumes contains the charge prepared by the Bishop of Gloucester for his Primary Visitation. We hope that

neither the circumstances of its origin nor its subject will suggest to Free Church readers that the book is no concern of theirs. The question of the relation of the Bishop to the Cathedral is, indeed, primarily a matter of domestic concern, though we have found this section of considerable interest. But the book is devoted for the most part to much larger questions, and while it is addressed to Anglicans, it is desirable, especially just now, that Free Churchmen should study it carefully. The author, while a thoroughly loyal Anglican, is exceptionally free from narrowness and the sectarian temper. He recognises the weakness of extreme positions, he is firmly opposed to all that is magical or mechanical in religion. The book could have been written only by a learned scholar and a fair-minded ecclesiastic. He loves the moderation of the typical Anglican position; but he tries to approach with freshness of mind and freedom from prejudice proposals made by those with whom he is not in general sympathy. He bases his more special exposition on an investigation into the origin of the Church and the true doctrine concerning it. He rapidly sketches the history of the Church of England that its present position may be understood. He expounds its doctrine, its worship, and its organisation, its policy on education, its relation to other churches and its peculiar mission. He repudiates any claim to infallibility, insists on the simplicity of the Christian creed, and while emphasising the importance of the sacraments deprecates undue sharpness of definition. He sets forth in detail what is permissible in its worship. A timely discussion is given to the burning problem of Prayer Book revision. He pleads for Episcopacy as the best type of organisation; but emphatically repudiates any mechanical idea of apostolic succession as guaranteeing the validity either of orders or of Sacraments. He recognises that the ministry is only representative; that the sacraments are not the work of the priest; that the real minister of the sacraments is Christ; that the priest is the minister of the Church in its priestly capacity, "that the Sacraments are given to us by Christ through His Holy Spirit in answer to the prayers of the Church." We greatly wish that the temper and attitude of Dr. Headlam, his moderation and freedom from extremes, could become characteristic of the Church of England. The problem of happier relations with other communions, and of reunion would become immeasurably easier.

The volume by the Bishop of Durham is also a Primary Charge. It will contain little to surprise those who have followed his recent utterances. A convinced defender of the Church of England, as Protestant and as Established, with a typical eighteenth century dislike and distrust of enthusiasm, emphatically disapproving of the Enabling Act and schemes of Prayer Book revision, his position on some of the new and burning problems can easily be anticipated. He strongly condemns reservation of the consecrated elements for worship, as involving such a localising of Christ's presence in the Consecrated Elements as cannot be justified by Scripture, has occasioned the grossest superstition and was categorically repudiated

by the Church of England at the Reformation. He fears that the Church of England is slipping into sectarian exclusiveness and that the parochial Councils are being manipulated by ecclesiastical wire-pullers. Drunkenness he believes to be declining, but he strongly deprecates any movement towards a demand for total abstinence. The largest space is devoted to Copec, with the fundamental principles of which he is out of sympathy. It is well to have so uncompromising a criticism not simply of details but of the central convictions implicit in the movement. We look on Copec with hope, but we are bound to confess that more than once in the course of the proceedings the conference was stampeded by some of its extremists into pronouncements which were questionable if not actually wrong. In a closing sermon on the Divine guidance he estimates the weight to be attached to ecclesiastical decisions. Final authority must rest with private judgment, exercised responsibly, reverently, and intelligently.

Dr. Foakes Jackson has written, primarily for American readers, a sketch of the story of the English Church. His intention has been to bring out its characteristic features and the principles which have controlled its development. Those who think of the author especially as joint-editor of the earlier volumes of *The Beginnings of Christianity*, and so a Modernist of Modernists, will be surprised at the generally moderate tone of the book. The sketch of the history traverses so much controversial ground that the author's statements will often excite criticism. There is an interesting but too brief chapter on the present situation. His attitude may perhaps be described in Dr. Henson's phrase as a chastened optimism.

Highways of the Spirit. Vol. I. Daily Readings. Pp. xvi., 397. Price 5s. net. Vol. II. Prayers. Pp. viii., 97. Price 2s. 6d. net. London: S.C.M. 1924.

Up to the Hills. Devotional Meditations and Poems. Edited by CAREY BONNER. Pp. 224. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 6s. net.

THE first volume of *Highways of the Spirit* consists of a series of Scripture readings for every day in the year. Its plan is to bring the main themes of Scripture before the reader in carefully selected extracts arranged in a sequence of subject. Its intention is to lead on from study of itself to study of the whole Bible. The extracts are for the most part given in the Authorised Version; but occasionally they have been corrected by the Revised Version, and in the Psalter the Genevan Version has been used as less fatally familiar, while the Vulgate has frequently been drawn upon for the Apocrypha. The book will undoubtedly be found valuable for devotion and instruction; and preachers will discover that the combination of passages is often illuminating and suggestive. There are useful preliminary notes to the different sections. The second volume is an anthology of Bible Prayers, following the same general sequence as the first.

It will be found to be most profitable if used in conjunction with the Daily Readings.

Mr. Carey Bonner's book is arranged in thirteen sections, each containing seven meditations and eight poems. Mr. Bonner has previously shown his gift for this class of work and the present volume seems admirably fitted to serve its purpose. Passages of Scripture are not printed but each meditation starts from a specified Scripture reading. This book will be found helpful by preachers and teachers as well as for private devotion.

The Religion of the Rigveda. By H. G. GRISWOLD, Ph.D., D.D. P. xxiv. 392. London: Humphrey Milford. 1923. Price 12s. 6d. net

THIS volume, which was printed at Bangalore, has reached us later than the date of publication would suggest. It is the most recent issue in "The Religious Quest of India" series of which the author and Prof. J. N. Farquhar are the editors. It is a very welcome addition to the literature of comparative religion. It falls into three sections. Part A is introductory, dealing with the antecedents of the Rigvedic age, the age itself, and the Book. Part B contains a very full exposition of the religious contents of the Rigveda, while part C exhibits its significance and value. The author leaves the primitive home of the Indo-Europeans uncertain. The dispersion he dates between 3000 and 2000 B.C. He sketches, on the basis of comparative philology, the customs that prevailed in the Indo-European clans while they were undivided. Many of these still exist in India as archaic survivals owing to the isolation of the country. The period, during which the Indo-Iranian tribes still lived together, he places at about 2500—1500. He accepts the date favoured by J. H. Moulton for Zoroaster—about 1000 B.C. He says that a movement in the direction of ethical monotheism preceded the Indo-Iranian dispersion which was later taken up by Zoroaster and carried to its logical conclusion in ethical monotheism. But the Vedic period had nothing corresponding to the Zoroastrian Reformation. The chapter on the Rigvedic age deals with geography and climate, with the distinction between the Aryans and the Dasyus or Aborigines, of whose antagonism the Rigveda is the strongest expression, with the conquest of the country and the organisation into castes. The third chapter deals with the Rigveda itself, its text, language, chronology and interpretation. The second part fills most of the volume. It opens with an account of the Vedic world of Gods and Demons, then deals successively with Varuna the Ethical God, Agni the Priestly God, Indra the Warrior God, Soma the Deified Sacrificial Drink, then with Usas the Dawn, and the twin deities known as the Asvins. A long chapter is devoted to the Minor Gods of the Vedic Pantheon, and this Part closes with a chapter on Eschatology. In the third Part the influence of the Rigveda on later developments is discussed; and the book draws to a close with a valuation of the Religion and the sense in which Christianity may be regarded as its fulfilment. We have not previously had in English a trustworthy account of the whole subject such as is given here. The translations add to its value,

and its usefulness is enhanced by the sympathetic attitude of the author and the Christian standpoint of the book.

The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead. By SIR J. G. FRAZER, F.R.S., F.B.A. Vol. iii. The Belief among the Micronesians. Pp. ix., 326. London: Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 18s. net.

THIS is the third volume of Sir James Frazer's great work on the belief in immortality and the worship of the dead. A fourth volume is to follow on the belief among the Indonesians; and we imagine that even with this the work will not be complete. We have previously given a general account of the scope and method of the work. In this volume the author is dealing with an archipelago more neglected and less known in Europe than any other in the Pacific; and this is the more regrettable that the clue to many obscurities in the mythology, folklore and culture of the Pacific is probably to be sought in the culture and ruins of Micronesia. In particular the megalithic monuments raise problems of exceptional interest and difficulty. While the author's main concern is correctly indicated by his title, he has not envisaged his subject in any narrow way. He recognises that the life of the people is all of a piece and that the special belief must be placed in its context and interpreted, not only through their other religious beliefs and customs, but through the structure of their society and their everyday life. Any student accordingly who has assimilated the contents of this volume will have learnt a great deal about the people themselves, their home, their habits, their culture, their mode of life. In this field there is still much to be done. For example, instead of dealing with the Caroline Islands in general, Sir James has been compelled to select a few of these islands about which we have fuller information. We do not need to inform our readers of the brilliance and resourcefulness of the author's style; but it invests with charm an exposition of a subject which, in the hands of a mere pedant could be made dry and repulsive.

Essays on Literature and Education. By SIR HENRY JONES, C.H. Pp. 288. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 8s. 6d. net.

IT was the original intention to include these essays in the author's biography. But it has been found more convenient to issue them separately. The contents have already largely appeared in print. The most substantial section is the essay on Mr. and Mrs. Browning, contributed to the Cambridge History of English Literature, already familiar as a remarkably sympathetic exposition of a subject in which the writer long ago attained distinction. The paper on Tennyson was A Centenary Estimate read before the British Academy, very welcome in view of foolish and evanescent depreciation. The chief of the papers not previously published are those on Sir Walter Scott and The Ethical Idea in Shakespeare. The former is an admirably written and enthusiastic tribute paid by a brilliant Welshman to one of the great glories of Scotland, and it contains a just defence of Scott against Carlyle's depreciation. The

latter is of exceptional value. While it is true that Shakespeare did not write "either to establish or to illustrate the stability of the moral Universe," with him moral law never fails within its own domain. His passivity was at the same time the most intense activity, his overwhelming interest was in human character. "The ethical meaning of man's life was, to him, as stupendous and as inevitable as its beauty. And they were both ubiquitous." There is a short address on The Library as a Maker of Character and a valuable article on The Education of the Citizen. The volume is one to be treasured.

EDITOR.

Contemporary Studies. By CHARLES BAUDOUIN. Translated from the French by Eden and Cedar Paul. Pp. 288. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1924. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THE contents of this book have been gathered from various sources but they are new for English readers. They give forcible utterance to various phases of the new humanism which regards itself as modernism, when it does not go beyond this and poses as futurism. Many of the essays date from the war period and support the protest against war as a solvent of human problems made by Romain Rolland, Nicolai, and other intellectuals. The four parts of the book are by no means distinct. In the first part—The Liberators of the Mind—there are essays on Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Spitteler, Romain Rolland, and Hans Ryner. The second part—The War and the Peace—apart from the review of Nicolai's *The Biology of War*, is merely good journalism. The third part—Education and Society—deals with Bahaism, Esperanto, William James and Psychology, and the myth of Father Christmas. In the fourth part—Art and Criticism—there is a long study of the Coming Poetry, sketches of the work of little known modern French poets, and educational articles dealing with Dynamism in Drawing and the interpretation of Poetry. There is, of course, antagonism to institutional "Catholicism." It is taken for granted that the permanent trend of humanity is in another direction. Yet these essays give utterance to a truly religious sentiment. Their spirit is revealed in this quotation from Romain Rolland: "We have two abiding places: our terrestrial fatherland; and the other, the City of God. We are dwellers in the former, but we are the builders of the latter. . . . Nothing has any right over our souls." Perhaps it is not strange that those engaged in the world conflict should see in the crumbling cathedrals symbols of a crumbling faith. And if Christianity is regarded solely as an outlook away from this world towards refuge in a world beyond, it will have difficulty in winning conquests in the modern world. Those who believe that it is within the province of Christianity to gather all that is latent in and legitimate for humanity into the Kingdom of God will do well to discover in these pages some other ways in which solution of the human problem is being sought.

Richard Baxter: Puritan and Mystic. By A. R. LADELL, M.A.
 Preface by W. H. FRERE, D.D., Bishop of Truro. Pp. 158.
 London: S.P.C.K. 1925. Price 5s. net.

COMPARED with Dr. Powicke's recent *Life* this volume in the "Studies in Church History" series is but a slight treatment of a complicated subject and period. The author endeavours to be fair, even when his own opinion is opposed to that of Baxter. The narrative reveals the controversialist more than the man. In the last chapter it is sought to place Baxter with the Mystics. The case is not made out. Among his multitudinous writings there are phrases that can be culled in support of such an argument; but the meaning of "mystic" would need to be made so general as to be almost meaningless if Baxter is to be included in this order. His mysticism is the result of passing sympathy with types of religious experience other than his own. This is conceded when it is stated that the quest of Puritanism was that of the mystics. Something is done here to redeem the Puritan from the calumnies of Macaulay and others. If only for this the book is worth while. Beyond this, however, it sets forth the man and his period in interesting manner and readable style.

Essays and Adventures of a Labour M.P. By Colonel the Rt. Hon. JOSIAH C. WEDGEWOOD, D.S.O., M.P., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Pp. 263. London: Allen & Unwin. 1924. Price 3s. 6d. net, paper.

THE papers gathered into this volume are varied in both subject and quality. What is most prominent is their piquancy. Some deal with subjects by common consent counted dull, if not dismal—Land Taxation and the Government of India, for instance—yet there is a certain liveliness everywhere that encourages the reader to go on. The adventures are located in Bolshevik Russia, India, South Africa, Belgium, and Gallipoli. There are grisly war pictures, and portraits of people in peculiar circumstances. Humour of a restrained sort is in evidence: in the political papers satire is pressed into service. The paper on "Wedgewood's" has historical interest. The essay on "Troubles of a Labour M.P. in India" is amusing. It ends—"Democracy will win in the end, but not in my time." In that distant land hero-worship dogged the visitor who preached equality. The author is an advocate of the taxation of land values as the solvent of our social problems. This would put an end to established privilege. "Our society," he says, "as we know it to-day, with some living upon the cheap labour of others, does indeed depend upon land monopoly." As he is convinced that things as they are, are not perfect, he does not fear to advocate change. This advocacy provides the serious purpose of this volume. Students of war-psychology will, however, find valuable materials here. Other useful knowledge will reward the serious reader; he will also welcome the opportunity of sharing the confidences of a man whose mind is alert and whose ambition is to make the world of to-day the home of free peoples.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

The Theology of Tertullian. By ROBERT E. ROBERTS, D.D. Pp. 279. London: The Epworth Press. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is one more of an excellent succession of theological studies published by the Wesleyan Book Room. In this thesis for the London D.D. degree Dr. Roberts has given us a very solid book which ought to be for some time to come the most comprehensive guide in English to the works of Tertullian. In thirteen chapters he deals with the sources and nature of his theology and nothing seems to be omitted. We have his career, his relation to his predecessors and contemporaries, his doctrine of God and of Christ, of man, of sin, and of the Church, and his eschatology and ethical teaching. It shows the mark of the most patient research on every page. Chapter v., on the "traces of development in Tertullian's theology," may be said to be the main thesis of the book. Tertullian's contradictions are almost as manifold as those of St. Augustine, and some harmonising of them is necessary. Dr. Roberts first of all arranges the writings in what he is convinced is their chronological order, and explains the contradictions on a theory of development. In doing so he seems to take the writings quite literally just as they stand, and if anything to make a more coherent system of them than the circumstances would altogether justify. He endorses on p. 239 the traditional view as expressed by Gwatkin that "to Tertullian the revelation through Christ is no more than a law." It is worth while noting that Dr. Glover in a brilliant chapter in *The Conflict of Religions* examines that view in the light of historical imagination and comes to the conclusion that it is mistaken, or at any rate only partially true. We feel that in dealing with a man like Tertullian who was not a systematic theologian, but an apologist and an advocate writing with an eye to a particular need, historical imagination is a necessary element in interpretation. The spectacle of such men as Clement of Alexandria, apparently content to blend the faith for which the martyrs were even then suffering, with the philosophy of those who caused them to suffer was not one to induce a comprehensive theology, but rather needed a vigorous polemic. Tertullian's contradictions are due as much as to anything to the fact that the situations for which he wrote were various and needed different methods of treatment. However, this is not to detract from the merit of Dr. Roberts' work. It is most valuable to have so complete an exposition of the great Montanist's writings, even though we may still be compelled to consult other authorities also, who write more from the standpoint of history.

Meister Eckhart. By FRANZ PFEIFER. Translated by C. DE B. EVANS. Pp. xx., 483. London: John M. Watkins. Price 20s.

English Theologians: The Lady Julian: A Psychological Study. By R. H. THOULESS. Pp. 122. London: S.P.C.K. Price 4s. 6d.

MR. WATKINS, the well-known publisher of books on Mysticism, has done well in adding this translation of Eckhart's German works to his list of mystical texts. Books on Mysticism abound, and there

is need for the publication of the works of the mystics themselves. This handy English edition of Eckhart's vernacular writings has long been required. They are scattered about in various places, some embedded in the sermons of John Tauler, and long thought to be his, but for the greater part in manuscript. They were collected and published by Pfeifer in Leipzig in 1857, and it is a translation of his edition, with some omissions and additions, which is now before us. It is not a critical edition, and here and there some notes would have been useful. Eckhart is continually referring to St. Augustine, the Pseudo-Dionysius—presumably in John Scotus Erigena's translation—and to John himself, as well as to other scholastic authorities, but there is no means of tracking down his references except with a most detailed knowledge of his sources. It is, however, intended more for practical and devotional use rather than as a philosophical source-book, and as such is admirably done. There is a short introduction and a bibliography as well as a reprint of Pfeifer's own preface, and for the rest Eckhart is left to speak for himself. The printing and *format* are alike excellent.

Eckhart is a philosopher mystic. He derives from John Scotus Erigena and the Neo-Platonists, and his philosophical ancestry is apparent on nearly every page. At the time when he lived (1260-1327), the doctrine of the Church had been codified by Aquinas, and the long period of experiment in reconciling the Catholic faith with Hellenism was over. At the same time there was an outburst in Germany of movements of personal religion which went under various names,—the "Friends of God," the "Brethren of the Free Spirit," and so forth. Eckhart tried to reconcile these conflicting elements by discovering the new aspect of the faith hidden in the sacred writings under the guise of allegory. That he was not successful is scarcely a matter of wonder, and after his death he was excommunicated for heresy. Yet his great service lay in expressing this philosophical religion of his not in learned Latin, but in the vulgar tongue, and he laid the foundation of German philosophical prose diction. It was also for this, indeed, that he incurred the censure of the Church. More philosophical than the mystics of his time, Tauler, Suso, and the various communities, he was a thorough schoolman, a Dominican like Aquinas himself, professor at Paris, and vicar-general of his Order in Saxony. Learning to him, as to St. Augustine, was not something opposed to mystical experience, but rather its most powerful ally. He is not in the main current of Catholic theology as it ran in the fourteenth century; but he kept alive an earlier Platonism which was strong in Augustine, and Anselm, and Bernard, and which was to come into theology again with a great impetus at the Reformation.

Julian of Norwich is a mystic of a different type altogether. Dr. Thouless admits that "amongst our theologians she would have no place." She represents herself as "a simple soul that cowde no letter," no philosopher, and her visions which took place in 1373 are as vivid and personal as the voices of Joan of Arc. Dr.

Thouless (for whom the work must have been one of *pietas*, since he is a Norwich man), gives us here a useful and adequate study of her state of mind based on Miss Grace Warrack's well-known edition of her writings. He describes her sixteen "shewings" and illustrates in her all the marks of her type of mysticism,—intense ecstasy both in suffering and in joy, a vivid realisation of the Person of our Lord and of the devil, but withal a singular optimism. Unlike the philosophical mystics she finds sin to be rampant and aggressive, a definite injury to God's love, and the cause of His Passion. Yet in the providence of God all will ultimately be well. Dr. Thouless shows the essential modernity of much of her thought and its value in Christian experience, and his little book is to be heartily commended as one more effort to interpret the Middle Ages to the present day.

Early Christianity and its Message to the Modern Church. By R. MARTIN POPE. The Fernley Lecture, 1924. Pp. 256. London: The Epworth Press. Price 5s. net.

In this small book, with its somewhat ambitious title, Mr. Pope examines the characteristics of Early Christianity, its challenge to its environment, and its conflict with the world, and at the conclusion of each of these three parts he adds an epilogue of "applications" to modern conditions. He concludes that the "lessons" to be learnt are those of simplicity, self-renunciation and service. Latin Catholicism, he feels, developed the doctrinal and institutional side of Christianity to its detriment, and the more primitive expression of the Gospel is the higher ideal. Mr. Pope's style is rather unfortunate for such a theme. He has a fondness for transliterations of Greek terms which help neither the scholar nor the general reader. "Upwards your hearts" is not a very happy rendering of *sursum corda*. What are the "Sermons" of Horace to which we are referred on page 60? On page 133 the note "Sat. i. 7, 70f" is an error for "Epistles I. xx. 20." The historical sections (much the best in the book) are loaded with a mass of detail, some of which would be most welcome in the "epilogues" where we regret to find there is none. There is much rhetoric, but at the end we are still left wondering what is the message of the Early Church in its struggle with Gnosticism to the modern Church in its struggle with Theosophy and Christian Science. Nor do we get any light on "Copec" from the treatment of the early Christians' attitude to war and to slavery. Yet these are some, at any rate of the problems whose treatment the title of the book led us to expect. The root cause of the difficulty seems to be that while Mr. Pope has historical knowledge, and on that side the book is useful, he does not show very much historical judgment. He is driven, therefore, to generalisations about the present because of his inability to make generalisations about the past. It is not sufficient to say that the Gospel hardened into dogma. We want to know *why* it did. And a remark like that on page 232—"Nulla salus extra ecclesiam" . . . How it can be harmonized with 'the

mind of Christ' passes our comprehension"—may be perfectly true and in agreement with our own sentiment, but the point for the historian is that it did not pass *Cyprian's* comprehension, and why did it not? We are afraid that Mr. Pope has put more of himself into this presentation of history than a historian should do, and the message of the author gets in the way of the message of his subject.

The Christian Church and Liberty. By A. J. CARLYLE. Pp. 159. "The Living Church" Series. London: James Clarke. Price 4s. 6d. net.

DR. CARLYLE gives us here a brief summary of the attitude of the Christian Church to the question of liberty from the Apostolic Age to the present time. Even to attempt such a task in 130 actual pages of large print implies the vast knowledge which Dr. Carlyle possesses, but it also necessarily means that the treatment is slight and that there are many gaps. Those already familiar with the literature will be glad of a bird's-eye view over so large a field, but those to whom the subject is new (and for such, we gather, this series is intended) will want a great deal more than is here given. Five out of the eight chapters deal with the Early Church and the Middle Ages, and on the latter in particular Dr. Carlyle writes as an authority. The three remaining chapters concern "the revival of the principle of individual liberty," "The Church and industrial liberty," and "the Church and liberty to-day." The part played by the Evangelicals and by the Christian Socialists in the working out of industrial liberty is duly appraised. The burning question of the conscientious objector, however, is mentioned only on the last two pages. Again and again we have the tantalising remark that "it is not to our purpose here to treat"—some issue which we know Dr. Carlyle could treat so well. This is probably inevitable owing to the necessity for compression. We would, however, urge upon the editor and author alike that in a series and in a book of this kind an annotated list of books for further reading is not only useful but essential. It would be of great service to the general reader to have such guidance from the pen of Dr. Carlyle.

A. V. MURRAY.

Idealism as a Philosophical Doctrine. By R. F. ALFRED HOERNLE, M.A., B.Sc. Pp. x., 190. Price 5s. net. *The Philosophy of Religion.* By D. MIAL EDWARDS, M.A. Pp. 318. Price 6s. net. *Freedom in Education.* By H. MILLICENT MACKENZIE, M.A. Pp. xii., 182. Price 5s. net. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

THE three new volumes in the "Library of Philosophy and Religion" are timely and helpful books for the general reader who is interested in philosophy. The volume by Professor Hoernlé first defines what is meant by Idealism in philosophy, and then proceeds to compare the two great modern types of that doctrine. Taking Berkeley as the modern founder of the pluralistic type, he corrects

a good many misapprehensions concerning that thinker, and then shows his affinities with a similar thinker, Leibniz, thus leading up to a discussion of modern spiritual pluralism as exhibited in James, Ward, and McTaggart. He finds this kind of idealism to be most consonant with Christian theism. Its rival type, however, as shown in Hegel and his modern successors, Bradley and Bosanquet, he finds to be more philosophically consistent, and so leaves us at the end with an unresolved choice between two schools of thought. His treatment is thoroughly competent and fair, well expressed and often happily lightened with illustrations. It is an excellent introduction to modern idealism.

Professor Miall Edwards' book is more ambitious, in that it surveys nearly the whole field of recent thought upon the philosophy of religion, and leads up to a positive position. The origin and nature of religion are first discussed, then its intrinsic nature, and finally its relation to the whole of reality. Professor Edwards shows himself abreast of recent thought upon his subject, though he makes a bad slip (carefully avoided by Professor Hoernlé), in his description of Berkeley's philosophy as subjectivistic. With much skill he works his way through various philosophical difficulties, and finally reaches a theistic position like that of Professor Sorley. Whilst there is little that is new in his exposition, he may be taken as a judicious and well-informed guide in a difficult field of thought.

Mrs. Mackenzie, sometime professor of Education at Cardiff, gives us a very sensible account of the meaning and applications of freedom in education. She shows what it should mean both in the teaching of children and in educational administration, and makes many wise and helpful suggestions to parents, teachers and citizens. Like most competent observers she is deeply dissatisfied with the conditions of education in England and longs to transform the system. Her book, if read by the average citizen, will do a good deal to further that desirable end.

Social Development : Its Nature and Conditions. By L. T. HOBHOUSE, D.Lit., LL.D. Pp. 348. London: Allen & Unwin. 1924. Price 12s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR HOBHOUSE completes in the present work his *Principles of Sociology*, of which three volumes have already been published under the titles of *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, *The Rational Good*, and *The Elements of Social Justice*. Taken together these form an imposing and consistent body of social theory, unsurpassed in recent years. Students will go to it as an authoritative exposition of sociological theory for modern times, and its influence is likely to be deep and prolonged. Professor Hobhouse is well acquainted with general philosophy, but he has made social philosophy his distinctive study, and has enriched it with striking contributions, of which the present is probably the greatest. We find here Professor Hobhouse's favourite principle of Harmony laid down as the basis of the community, and worked out under the

guise of co-operation as the great means of social development. The Physical, Biological, Psychological, and Sociological Conditions of Development are then examined at length, with the result of showing how much more important is the human will than external conditions. The course of human civilization is briefly but searchingly scrutinized, and the parts played by intellectual, religious, and legal factors weighed comparatively. The book closes with a critical examination of existing civilization and a grave warning about its dangerous possibilities. The whole work, which cannot be summarized here, is marked by masterly grasp of facts, breadth of view, and sobriety of judgment. If such social theory were but as widely and rapidly diffused as natural science there would be less need for the fears which Professor Hobhouse expresses about the future of civilization.

Development of Social Theory. By JAMES P. LICHTENBERGER. Pp. xiii., 482. Allen and Unwin. 1924. Price 16s. net

THE study of sociology, which is being pursued so eagerly in America, is producing an excellent crop of text books, among which the present one must take a conspicuous place. Professor Lichtenberger has given a summary of social theory in the West, from the time of Plato to the beginning of the twentieth century, largely in the words of the thinkers themselves but accompanied also with historical surveys and critical comments. The historical settings are given as a background for the rise of the theories, which are then generally shortly appraised by the author or by other authorities who are quoted, after which problems are set to be worked out by the student with the help of suggested reading. The chief writers dealt with are Plato and Aristotle, the Christian Evangelists and the Fathers, St. Thomas and Dante, Machiavelli, Luther with Calvin and Bodin, the Social Contract Theorists, Montesquieu, Comte, Darwin and Spencer, Lester Ward, Tarde, Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer. In each case, we think, the teachings are fairly and accurately summarized, and in most cases the judgments passed upon them are sound. It is rather startling to see Herbert Spencer compared favourably with Aristotle, and it is strange that Hegel and Ruskin find no mention as sociologists. There is noticeable a bias towards realistic writers in modern times, and a curious absence of reference to Russian sociology. The book though large is not comprehensive; still it is likely to prove extremely useful as a class-book, which is the end for which it is primarily designed. It must be said that it is very badly printed and revised. There is a misprint or a grammatical error upon nearly every page. We trust that the author will overhaul the work so as to make a good book really excellent.

The World of Souls. By WINCENTY LUTOSLAWSKI. Pp. 224. London: Allen & Unwin. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR LUTOSLAWSKI, of Wilna, the distinguished author of *Plato's Logic*, here purports to formulate the Polish conception of

Being. Whether Polish or not, the conception is one familiar to readers of Leibniz, and is in fact a modern rendering of that author's monadology. Hence there is little room for a fresh criticism of it except as regards the mode of presentation. The book is earnest, wistful, idealistic; it exhibits the self-tormenting, joyfully-enduring soul of the Slav; and is written with a grace and wit that are quite Polish. Professor Lutoslawski's "world" is composed of "souls" and nothing else. This idea leads him to reconstruct our familiar physical world, and to suggest modes of education and sexual association that are unfamiliar to utilitarians. An earlier suggestion, reminiscent of Goethe's "elective affinities," is modified into the churchly ideal of indissoluble marriage, but the author still hopes to found a spiritual republic of kindred souls who shall show the way out of the world's present social perils. A larger work, containing most of the present one, had the warm praise of William James, who knew genius when he saw it. We welcome this, the first book of Polish philosophy written directly for English readers, as a distinct reinforcement of the monadistic school of spiritualistic philosophy. We trust that the author will be encouraged to publish his other works upon social and religious philosophy. For in the present state of human affairs we cannot know too much of the ideals of the thinkers of Eastern Europe.

ATKINSON LEE.

The Christology of the Earliest Gospels. By J. LOGAN AYRE, B.D., Ph.D. Pp. 341. London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The Resurrection and the Virgin Birth. By W. LOCKTON, B.D. Pp. x., 184. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1924. Price 5s. net.

THE aim of Dr. Ayre's book is to follow in the Gospel of Mark the awakening and growth of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, and of the Messianic conceptions of the disciples. If the presentation of Jesus given by Mark is necessarily partial it is at least primitive, and is based in many particulars, as the author shows, on the authority of an eye-witness. The earlier chapters of the book bring out the Petrine stamp of Mark's Gospel, its vivid and realistic character, and the chief features in its portraiture of Jesus as a Man of Power. The author casts his net widely, so that his book seems to approximate at times to a life of Jesus in Mark. We have a discussion of Jesus' parables and preaching, His miracles, His work as a reformer. But all subserves the main interest. Chapter vii. provides an able discussion of the Christological influence of the Messianic titles. We watch with special interest the development of the disciples' faith in the Messiahship of Jesus. The confession at Caesarea Philippi marks a change of emphasis in the teaching of Jesus. "In the earlier part of His teaching, we might say generally, the theme is the nature of the Kingdom; in the later it is the Person of the King" (p. 230). The author makes a careful study of the Transfiguration which he regards as the summit of

the Christian revelation respecting Jesus. Many interesting points emerge in the course of the argument upon some of which, *e.g.* the view taken of the cursing of the fig-tree, opinions will naturally differ. The general standpoint of the book is conservative. But it offers real help in our understanding of the impression made by Jesus on His contemporaries, and is to be welcomed as a sound and thorough statement of its subject. Preachers will find here much suggestive material on a vital theme.

The second book opens with the somewhat startling chapter-heading, "The Secondary Character of St. Mark." The priority of Mark in the Synoptic Gospels we thought to be one of the things most surely believed. Mr. Lockton, however, will have none of it. In a previously published essay on "The Origin of the Gospels," he argued that Luke represents the earliest evangelical tradition which has survived. In the first essay of the present volume he investigates the Gospel stories of the Resurrection, and contends that the adoption of his theory provides a reasonable and adequate explanation of the various discrepancies there presented. The author traces the development of the narrative from Luke (its primary authority) to Mark, and from Mark to Matthew, and finds confirmation of many points of the original story in the Fourth Gospel which he considers to be in many ways "more reliable historically than Mark." The treatment throughout is scholarly and suggestive. Much stress is naturally laid on the points of agreement of Luke and Matthew against Mark. We feel, however, that the merit of the book lies in the careful marshalling of the Synoptic data rather than in the cogency of the conclusions drawn therefrom. The second essay is a critical examination of the Lucan and Matthean accounts of the Virgin Birth. The position is maintained that the passages sometimes suspected as interpolations are an essential part of the Third Gospel, and hence, on the author's thesis, that a statement of the fact of the Virgin Birth is integral to the primitive evangelical tradition. The scientific possibility or otherwise of parthenogenesis is briefly alluded to in the closing pages. An interesting and valuable feature of both essays is the correlation of the various ecstatic visions recorded in the New Testament with the ecstasies of the mystics, especially Saint Teresa. We fear, however, that Mr. Lockton's hypothesis of the primary authority of Luke's Gospel is hardly likely to win acceptance at this time of day.

From the Edge of the Crowd. Being Musings of a Pagan Mind on Jesus Christ. By ARTHUR JOHN GOSSIP, M.A. Pp. xi., 306. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1924. Price 7s.

The Dilemmas of Jesus. By JAMES BLACK, D.D. Pp. 214. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THESE volumes come from the pens of two distinguished ministers of the United Free Church of Scotland. The first is the latest addition to "the Scholar as Preacher" series. To readers of the *Expository Times* the Rev. A. J. Gossip, M.A. is widely known by

his inimitable addresses to children. This book of twenty-three sermon-studies (four of which have previously appeared in the same journal) reveal him as a preacher of outstanding merit. The sub-title is surely a playful misnomer. There is nothing more "pagan" in Mr. Gossip than a strong human sympathy. One feels that the author is every inch a man. But he sees that in a wide range of human interest Christ is central and sufficient. The level of these themes is consistently high, but the chapters on "Rusting Grace," "The Message of Jesus the Layman," "The Gospel according to Christ's enemies," may be mentioned as noticeably fine. Sermonic structure as such is little in evidence, the tone is conversational, and the many apt illustrations are easily and happily introduced. Marked by a reverent and scholarly understanding of the mind of Christ, and couched in language always plain and often outspoken, these addresses provide a splendid sample of the best modern preaching. He who speaks thus will never lack a hearer.

Dr. Black's volume comprises twelve studies in the inner life of Jesus, viewed from the standpoint of the struggle in His own soul in fulfilling His God-given mission. Some readers may feel that this aspect of the matter is here stressed somewhat out of proportion. The author rightly rejects "that inane picture of a calm, passionless Christ, who marched along our tortured ways with unclouded serenity" (p. 76). But, on the other hand, it may be questioned whether it is either true or helpful to represent Jesus as in perpetual spiritual conflict. One has the feeling that some of the "dilemmas" are a little forced. But, allowing full weight to the author's purpose which is to see Jesus "amid the adventures of His own soul," it should be said that these studies reveal a rare gift of spiritual discernment. The anguish and victory in the Desert-Temptation, and the last dilemma on the cross are finely portrayed. Terse and epigrammatic in style, clothed in fresh and forceful speech, and constantly close to our human situation these sermons cannot fail to make a strong appeal.

The Letters of Paul the Apostle. By HENRY COATES, F.S.A. Scot.
Pp. 192. London: Robert Scott. 1924. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book conveys a clear and accurate account of the salient features of Paul's life and labours. Chapter i. outlines the life, chapter ii. deals with points of resemblance and contrast between Jesus and Paul, and two chapters are given to the general characteristics and contents of the Letters. Then follow three chapters on the personality of Paul, and five chapters on the Letters themselves. The volume includes also three Appendices, an Index, a Map and a short Bibliography. Dr. Jas. Moffatt contributes a brief commendatory foreword. The book is brightly written, and is specially helpful in its setting of the various Letters in their historic context, and in its description of the social and political background of the Apostle's ministry. It should prove

very useful, especially to leaders of young peoples' classes, to local preachers, and indeed to all who have scant leisure for larger and more technical works.

H. G. MEECHAM.

What is the Atonement? By H. MALDWYN HUGHES, D.D. Pp. 173. London: James Clarke & Co. Price 4s. 6d. net.

The Message about the Cross. By C. J. CADOUX, M.A., D.D. Pp. 92. London: George Allen & Unwin. Price 3s. 6d. net.

God's Way with Man. By LILY DOUGALL. Pp. 124. London: Student Christian Movement. Price 4s. net.

The Problem of the Cross. By CANON VERNON F. STORR, M.A. Pp. 169. London: Student Christian Movement. Price 4s. net.

It is significant of the quickened interest in theology among thoughtful people which is one characteristic of the present, that four books should call for simultaneous review, each dealing with the doctrine of the Atonement, and each such in its size and price as to contemplate a popular appeal. Those who have read the pamphlet which Dr. Maldwyn Hughes wrote on "The Meaning of the Atonement" will be glad that he has been persuaded to expand it into the volume which he has just issued. This is singularly fresh and stimulating. It is the work of a scholar keenly alive to the modern point of view, yet eager to find in theories which in substance he criticises and discards, *e.g.*, the theory of penal substitution, elements of truth and value. New Testament teaching and historic theories of the Atonement are admirably stated and appraised. Specially helpful, too, is the discussion of the nature of reconciliation, of the meaning of anger in God, and of God as capable of suffering. Now and then Dr. Hughes leaves us wondering, *e.g.*, when he says that by the power of His sympathy Christ "was able to enter into the experience of those who face death with a burdened conscience," or when, to judge by his illustrations, vicarious suffering seems to be identified with suffering brought about or inflicted by others. But these are minor blemishes in a book which on both its critical and its constructive side is rich in suggestion and will repay careful study.

Dr. Cadoux's work on the same subject does not commend itself so unreservedly to our judgment. The field of discussion seems rather limited, for the author's concern is to discover what, in the light of the historical situation, must have been Christ's own view of His death. His conclusion is in substance that Christ's death was a martyrdom, which, because of the spirit in which it was borne, has redemptive value for others. This is what is known as the moral influence theory, though in Dr. Cadoux's closing chapter it is set forth in terms of the pacifist attitude to wrong, and the Cross is presented as a vindication of that attitude. If that, however, be its full explanation, one wonders at the sense of constraint which was upon Jesus during His last journey to Jerusalem. What justification had He for thrusting Himself into the danger zone? Dr.

Cadoux does not satisfy us there, though his main position is ably presented, and the discussion contains casual, but off-times, very effective criticisms of counter-theories of the Atonement.

Miss Dougall's book has a pathetic interest, for it is a posthumous publication. That gifted lady was engaged upon it up to the very evening before her death, and to a slight extent her own completed work has had to be supplemented from notes which she left. Her concern in the essays which constitute her contribution to this volume is to assert what she feels to be certain principles of Divine action in the world. She believes, as against the theory of Divine intervention by miracle, that God works through nature and is limited by it; that the creation of love and reason is the end sought by God in His education of the race. More provocative is her discussion of the meaning of forgiveness and of what she calls "the worship of wrath." There, so the present writer feels, Miss Dougall, whilst justly condemning certain extreme views held by others, leaves herself open to grave criticism. For forgiveness becomes almost making excuses for the offender and taking a lenient view of his sin, penalty is spoken of as if it was always identical with suffering, and there seems to be no perception of the presence in God of a "wrath" which, however imperfectly it may be thus designated, contains no element of personal vindictiveness, but represents the necessary reaction of the love of God equally with His holiness to sin and sinners. We cannot feel, therefore, that this book carries us far towards the solution of the problems which it discusses.

Canon Storr's book on "The Problem of the Cross" belongs to a different category. It is a scholarly and discriminating treatment of its subject. It is suffused with the modern spirit. The discussion naturally begins with Christ's own references to His death. These are traced to their probable sources and their teaching justly appraised. The doctrine of Paul is next sympathetically, but also critically, examined, and justification offered for a refusal to recognise its finality. Typical historic theories of the Atonement are passed in review, their strength is acknowledged and their weakness exposed. There is scarcely any important problem associated with the death of Christ which does not emerge somewhere in the discussion and receive the attention it deserves. The book is a fresh and living treatment of a great subject. We have read it with great interest and in the main with warm approval.

A. L. HUMPHRIES.

Outlines of the Book of Psalms. By the REV. ALFRED G. MORTIMER, D.D.
Longmans, Green & Co. Price 9s. net.

As a devotional writer Dr. Mortimer has several volumes to his credit, besides a number of theological and religious works, some of which have called for eighteen and twenty Impressions. These *Outlines for Meditations and Sermons*, to quote the sub-title, aim specially to help the devout to employ the Psalms more frequently in their private meditations. Their homiletical form should make them

helpful to preachers. The saints of all ages, but particularly the writers of the Psalter, tell God not only of their needs and difficulties, but of their love for Him, and their longing to love Him better and to know Him more; while thanking Him for His goodness, especially in redeeming them from sin. Among the samples of this the sixty-third Psalm is cited in the Preface, as specially suited to a morning meditation. Its use might well form a test of the spirituality and standing of the Christian. Too many professing Christians would hesitate to use some of the sentences in this beautiful Psalm. To ask themselves why, would be a salutary means of grace. Meditations are provided here for thirty days; four each day; also for Christmas, Easter, etc. The Prayer Book version of the Psalms and that of the Revised Version have been used somewhat indiscriminately. It can hardly be expected that these Outlines will be of equal value, or that the obvious should always be avoided. But the devout will not find them less helpful on that account. Nonconformists may find allusions to baptism and the Eucharist with which they cannot agree; but Dr. Alexander Whyte is a shining example of how the sturdiest Free Churchman may extract spiritual nutriment from the writings of the devout of all ages and the most diverse ecclesiastical folds.

The Inner Circle: Studies in the Associates of Jesus. By TREVOR H. DAVIES, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 8s. 6d. net.

To prospect over so oft-explored a field as the Apostles requires courage. So many able pens have worked over this ground, so many first class minds lavished their genius upon it. Yet this bold prospector has struck new veins of precious metal. Here is a book no preacher will wisely leave unread. Nay, he will find it worth careful study, and full of practical suggestion calculated to bear rich fruit. There is illumination in the very titles of these fourteen studies. Peter is a study of the Sanguine Temperament in Religion; John of Life and Love; Nathanael of Reality; James of Impulse and Regulation; Mary of Magdala of the Imprisoned Glory; Nicodemus of the Fashioning of a Disciple; and so of Andrew, Philip, Matthew, Thomas, Simon of Cyrene, Judas, Cleopas and Another. The opening study is John the Baptist, the Last of the Hebrew Prophets. Perhaps it is in the analysis of these characters that the author's work is most distinctive. If now and then this may be deemed a trifle fanciful, in the main it will be found quite sound. How illuminating, for example, is the following analysis of John: Love and Vision, Love and Self-forgetfulness, Love and Courage, Love and Endurance, Love and Belief. The author of *The Spiritual Voices of Modern Literature* has amply justified himself in putting his courage to the hazard in prospecting over this well-tried field. Clearly what Edinburgh lost Toronto has gained. Happily we on this side the Atlantic are not debarred from the profit of so able and fruitful a ministry.

J. RITSON.

The Code of Deuteronomy. By ADAM C. WELCH, D.D. Pp. 224. London: James Clarke and Co. Price 6s.

THERE can be no such thing as orthodox criticism. In the nature of the case a critic's conclusions are tentative, and it is well that even opinions that have held sway for a generation or more should have their basis reinvestigated, their weaknesses disclosed, and should be, if necessary, discarded by the general world of scholarship. All serious lovers of truth, therefore, will heartily welcome Dr. Welch's new book, even if they do not see their way to accept his views at once. The normal opinion of current criticism is that Deuteronomy was the Book of the Law on which the reforms of Josiah in 621 were based, and that its main portion was practically compiled either immediately before the reforms or during the preceding half-century. This has been challenged by individual scholars in England, America and Germany on various grounds, and an attempt has been made to assign Deuteronomy to a period as late as the time of Ezra. Dr. Welch, with that freedom and originality which characterise all his work, has critically examined both the current view and that of these new dissentients, and has added a singularly close and detailed study of parts of the book itself. He has been led to doubt whether Deuteronomy, at least in its original form, contemplated the centralisation of worship. On the contrary he finds that it comes from a time when the conflict between Baalism and Yahwism was at its height, and notes points of connexion with Northern Israel which incline him to carry back its date to the early monarchy or even to the period of the Judges. It is true that he has been led to this view by the consideration of a multitude of small details, but every critical view is necessarily based on exactly that kind of evidence, and sound critical proof is practically always cumulative. But however far Dr. Welch may convince us on the points with which he deals—and in many ways his treatment is attractive and illuminating—it is hardly possible yet to accept his position as final. Deuteronomy does not stand alone, and cannot be treated alone. Part of the strength of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis lay in the fact that it offered a complete literary history of Israel, in which practically every document fell into its place. We must yet suspend judgment till we see whether the new view advocated by Professor Welch can be made equally comprehensive and equally satisfactory in other directions. If it can, it may well supersede the older position altogether; if not, we shall be forced to look for some other solution of the difficulties that Dr. Welch has brought to our notice. In any case we shall thank him very heartily for stimulating us to think out again one of the most interesting and important problems presented by the Old Testament.

T. H. ROBINSON.

The Making of Modern India. By NICOL MACNICOL, M.A., D.Litt. Pp. vi., 235. Oxford at the University Press. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

ALTHOUGH this book is largely a collection of articles published in various periodicals between 1907 and 1923, it is deserving of the careful attention of all who are interested in the

political or religious conditions of India. Dr. Macnicol writes with shrewdness and knowledge of both. The first part of the book consists of two articles dealing with the political situation in 1908 (just before the Morley-Minto Reforms) and in 1923, a year before Gandhi's release from prison. It is with some dismay that we note the confidence with which Dr. Macnicol, in both these articles, pronounces the British administration a failure, even on the material side. He may be right, though the official reports of the India Office do not give this impression. (See *e.g.*, the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms published in 1918; pages 108 and 167). The discussion of religious ideas and practices that occupies the second and third parts of the book is full of insight and of valuable first-hand information, not the least attractive feature of these chapters being the delightful translations from the poems of some of the Marāthā saints. The reader is made to feel in these pages the confused religious background of Indian life, full of inconsistent ideas and of elements utterly debased and genuinely sublime. There follow a number of character studies, notable among these being the sketch of Rājā Rām Mohun Roy the founder of the Brāhmo Samāj, and that of Devendranath Tagore, the father of the poet. The sketch of Gandhi in the second article may also be mentioned here. Its discussion of the reasons of Gandhi's failure (written more than a year before his capitulation had made that failure evident to all) is particularly good. The writer is convinced that the great work of Christianity in India has, as yet, scarcely begun. It will only begin when Christianity is re-thought in her own terms. The name to be given to the resultant product will not greatly matter, so long as it has at its heart the spirit and power of Christ.

F. C. TAYLOR.

BRIEF NOTICES.

In the very useful series "Books of the Old Testament in Colloquial English," published by The National Adult School Union, Prof. A. C. Welch has issued *Jeremiah* (1s. 3d. net), and Major J. W. Povah *The Book of Hosea* (9d.). We note with great interest, in view of Dr. Welch's recent study of Deuteronomy, that he identifies the Code with the Law Book of Josiah's Reformation. It was not wholly new but was a collection of the best practice which had grown up at different religious centres. The book is broken up into sections with brief introductions and annotations. Major Povah's work is fuller. He reconstructs the story of Hosea much along the generally accepted lines, which we believe to be correct in spite of the fact that scholars like Steuernagel, Hölscher, Sellin and Gressmann have broken away from them, though themselves differing much from each other. The book is so difficult that this rendering should prove extremely useful.—To Major Povah we are further indebted for a lecture *The New Psychology and the Bible* (Longmans, 1s.). In it also a good deal is said about Hosea, who is described as a great psychologist because he was a great lover. He brings out the way in which

the prophets, and especially Hosea, hit upon the ideas of repression and a buried complex and the perverted expression which the repressed instinct receives. They think of man as suffering from a complex—due to his refusal to face the living God and to face himself. Valuable information, correcting current ideas, is also given about Hebrew psychology.—From the National Adult School Union we have received *The Search*, the Lesson Handbook for 1925 (limp covers, 1s. 3d.) and *International Affairs* (1s.) The former falls into eight sections: Adult Schools in Theory and Practice; Jesus the Revealer; Friendships of Common Life; Truth-seeking; Who is my Neighbour? Making Choice; The Power of Love; Fundamentals. The scope of the studies is wide and the treatment is enlightened. Many who are not connected with Adult Schools would find valuable suggestion for addresses or sermons in these pages. The volume on *International Affairs* is timely and of high quality. It falls into four divisions, the longest being the third. Mr. Norman Angell expounds the fundamental ideas, Mr. Fairgrieve deals with history and geography, Mr. Delisle Burns contributes an admirable set of studies on international affairs to-day, while Mr. Currie Martin speaks of the new spirit, the difficulties in securing it, the way in which it is to be acquired and the sources of the dynamic. We hope this little book will be widely used.—Another timely book is *Gambling and Betting* (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 6d. net), by Dr. R. H. Charles. He defines gambling as an appeal to chance with two ends in view, the first to give expression to an inherent love of sport or adventure in man; the second to determine ownership of property. Gambling is condemned because it involves a reversion from moral to immoral methods, it conflicts with the well-being of society, it ruins personality, leads to superstition, and no single good effect can be traced to it. He examines the various defences and exposes their fallacies, and quotes examples of the positive evils and miseries it involves. He speaks out strongly against raffles and lotteries organised by Churches; he denounces the newspapers which pander to this vice; he urges the necessity of better housing and wholesome recreation; and insists on religion as an effective means of exorcising the gambling spirit.—We welcome the fourth edition of Prof. H. R. Mackintosh's small volume *The Person of Jesus Christ*, first published in 1912 (S. C. M., 2s. net). Designed especially for the Student Movement it should make a much wider appeal. There are multitudes for whom his large book with the same title will be too long, too expensive or too difficult who would find in this little book just what they want on perhaps the most urgent, as it is the most vital, of religious problems, What think ye of Christ?—The Ingersoll Lecture for 1924 is by Philip Cabot and its title is *The Sense of Immortality*. (Milford, 4s. 6s. net). It is a tiny book but worth reading. The author was himself a business man and he gives an interesting sketch of his spiritual development. To use his own words, "for many years a subconscious instinct unlighted by faith had been my only guide, but there came a day when it broke through into consciousness." The crisis of rebirth came to him when he was fifty. He

insists that faith in immortality is not to be held in isolation, but to be rooted in faith in God. This must be a courageous faith not a blind fanaticism. Yet those who have no conscious belief in immortality, who believe in God and the law of obedience to His will, really have the sense of immortality.—We recommend a little book *Church and Chapel: What each may Learn from the Other* (S.P.C.K. 1s. net). The book is anonymous but the author, originally a Free Churchman and trained in a Free Church College, has become an Anglican clergyman. He does not write as a partisan, but he is really concerned to detect the strength and the weakness in both systems and suggest the points at which mutual study would prove advantageous. Internal evidence strongly suggests that the book has been written by an ex-Congregationalist or ex-Baptist. Several things which are said about Free Churchmen in general would be less true or not true at all about Methodists and especially Wesleyans. At some points the distinction is drawn, but not often enough. The author's outlook as a Free Churchman was essentially an Independent outlook. The devotional life of the Free Church Colleges is no doubt capable of improvement, but the author does not recognise the objections which may be urged against the method in Anglican Colleges. Moreover he tends to suppose that what was true of the Free Churches when he belonged to them is true to-day. This applies to what he says about the terrorism exercised in the Free Churches over the minister by the obscurantists. Another point which he quite misses is that Methodist ministers are drawn entirely from the ranks of local preachers. We should like to think that this book will be carefully read by Anglicans and by Free Churchmen. But it would be better than it is, and therefore more effective, if the author would get it checked by authoritative representatives of all the Free Churches to which he did not himself belong, and if he would bring his knowledge of the denomination he left, up to date.—We recently called attention to Mr. R. C. Trevelyan's *The Oresteia of Æschylus*. Hodder & Stoughton have now published for the University Press of Liverpool his translation of *The Antigone of Sophocles*. We spoke in our former review of the metrical character of his rendering and we must confess ourselves to be among those who do not take kindly to this adaptation of alien metrical forms. Yet the rendering is a remarkable achievement, especially considering the limitations the translator has imposed upon himself. And we cannot have too many competent renderings, in different forms and from different points of view, of one of the greatest and most famous of Greek tragedies.—Dr. Schweitzer is so interesting a personality that we are eager to learn more about him and welcome a translation by Mr. C. T. Campion of his *Memoirs of Childhood and Youth* (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d. net). It is an interesting, though we cannot say specially striking, bit of autobiography. He singles out as the greatest experience of his childhood and youth the early influence upon him of the commandment not to kill or torture other creatures. In the later period covered by this book he takes as the second great experience of his life the question about the right to happiness.

He tells how these two experiences melted into each other and thus his own life-work became plain to him ; though it was only a chain of circumstances which determined him to devote himself to the sufferers from leprosy and sleeping sickness in Africa.

EDITOR.

A reprint from the "Journal of the British Institute of International Affairs," *The Geneva Protocol of 1924*, by Sir John F. Williams, K.C., C.B.E. (Allen & Unwin, 1s. net, paper), explains the provisions by means of which it is sought to strengthen the Covenant of the League of Nations in reference to reduction of armaments and the settlement of international disputes. This Protocol is to come up for consideration at a Conference at Geneva on June 15th next to which all States are invited to send representatives. The ambiguities as well as the strong features of the Protocol are discussed, and it is claimed that its aims must stand or fall together.—*The Guild of St. George* (Allen & Unwin, 1s. 6d. net, paper) contains the report of this Association, founded by Ruskin for the purpose of reviving interest in agriculture, schools, and museums. The objects and work of the Guild are set forth. The chief contribution is an address by the Master, Mr. H. E. Luxmoore, containing new materials in reference to Ruskin.—The main interest of *Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal, 1714-85*, by John Somervell (Swarthmore Press, 7s. 6d. net), is of a family character. The records extend beyond the dates given to the third generation. Some good stories illustrate the spartan manner of life pursued by the Friends of the eighteenth century. A characteristic story is told of an Arthington of those days who contracted to keep a carriage for his wife. There was no mention of a horse and the carriage served only for the play of visiting children. Such thrift probably explains the Arthington Trust. Rachel Wilson was a prominent minister among the Quakers. The hardships of her journey to America recall the experience of George Fox at an earlier date. She did not find it pleasant to be popular ; there was "more danger at present from their fawning than frowning." Curious glimpses into the life of those times and the character of the people called Quakers are to be found in these records ; but most of all the utter devotion to what was regarded as God's will lends dignity to these pages.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

Two recent books published by the Student Christian Movement are worthy of notice. Archdeacon Lilley's *Prayer in Christian Theology* is based on lectures given in Hereford Cathedral in the Lent of 1921 and on the Murtle Lecture before the University of Aberdeen in 1922. (Price 4s. net). In this small book of a little over a hundred pages, packed with information and scholarship, Archdeacon Lilley discusses the conception of Prayer held by some of the great leaders and mystics of the Church, Clement of Alexandria, St. Bernard, St. John of the Cross, Fénelon, etc. Prayer is

held to be a continuous attitude, not an occasional exercise ; and this is shown to have been the Church's doctrine throughout. The Arch-deacon has some very penetrating things to say on Monasticism, the Reformation, and the direction taken by the Post-Reformation Church. A book to be read and thought over. The last chapter on "Prayer and the Modern World" should be particularly helpful to men trying to relate their faith to the complex conditions of to-day.—*The Faith of a Teacher* by Fanny Street, M.A., (2s. net. Paper) is a careful, balanced, and in many places shrewd, discussion of some modern educational questions by a teacher of strong religious disposition. The author is Principal of the College for Working Women at Beckenham and writes as one who is at once craftsman and crusader. That, even in the midst of the present disorder, the teacher may give undivided allegiance to his ideals, revealing truth and beauty, and developing personality, is her firm conviction ; for education involves "dealing with spiritual issues at every turn by every one concerned." There is a sense of vocation in this book, but there is no "mushiness ;" it is strong in fibre.

F. C. TAYLOR.

NEW EDITIONS.

We always welcome each successive issue of the *New Shakespeare* ; but owing to the fact that the volumes have been published in the traditional order we have received nothing so welcome as *The Tempest* which was the first issue, till now when we have *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. (Cambridge : at the University Press, 6s. net). The play was, it is held, composed to celebrate a courtly wedding, perhaps that of the Earl of Southampton in 1598. The play was not based on a borrowed plot. The Fisher quarto of 1600 was set up from Shakespeare's autograph manuscript. By a very ingenious investigation the editors reach the conclusion that the first draft of the play was written in 1592, the play was rehandled in 1594 and finally in 1598. To this final revision the most splendid poetry of the play belongs. This theory, stated in the section on "The Copy," is tested in the notes, and would certainly give a satisfactory explanation of the unevenness in quality which characterises the play. We are glad to know that *The Merchant of Venice* is in the Press.

We are greatly pleased with a type-facsimile, printed on linen-rag paper, of *Milton's Poems, 1645*. (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 10s. 6d. net). The edition consists of one thousand copies. It is a reprint, as near to facsimile as the opulent resources of the Oxford Press permit, of the edition of 1645. But misprints have been corrected, with due warning, and some of the ligatured contractions in the Greek poems have been expanded. A few notes are added in which corrections of misprints in the edition of 1645 made in the edition of 1673 are cited. The poems include among others the Ode on the Nativity, and that on the Passion, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas, Comus, the Sonnets, together with the Italian and Latin poems. It is a delightful edition, which presents the poems as

Milton's contemporaries possessed them; and the choice production fitly matches the beauty of the verse.

We are glad to welcome a popular edition of Dr. Carnegie Simpson's *The Fact of Christ* (Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d. net). The book has attained great fame. It has been translated into half a score of languages. It has helped many to a surer faith in Christ. While the author recognises that a quarter of a century, especially so momentous as that through which we have lived, has not left things as they were, he affirms that the lapse of time has not changed the eternal truths for which his book stands. Accordingly, while at several points the author would not now write quite as he wrote, he is as firmly convinced as ever that the main position on which the book is based and the main line which it follows are as true to-day as ever.

In 1910 Mr. Joseph H. Wicksteed published *Blake's Vision of the Book of Job*. It attracted considerable attention and it has now been published in a second edition (J. M. Dent, 10s. 6d. net). This edition has been set up afresh since the text has been greatly revised and expanded. The work is made much more valuable by its reproductions of the twenty-one illustrations. An introductory essay entitled "By Way of Preface" contains replies to criticisms of the first edition, and a further defence of the penetrating system of interpretation which he had applied to the designs. But last year Mr. Foster Damon published a very remarkable work entitled *William Blake, his Philosophy and Symbols*. We called attention to Mr. Wicksteed's article on Mr. Damon's volume in "The Quest." The first edition of the work was recognised as constituting a great advance on all previous studies of the designs, and as indispensable to all students of Blake. In its new form it is more valuable than ever. It should be added that the book as a whole, and above all the illustrations, are admirably produced.

EDITOR.

MAGAZINES.

The Hibbert Journal for January, 1925, opens with an important article by Prof. James Ward on "The Christian Ideas of Faith and Eternal Life." He insists on what is for more Christians than perhaps he recognises a commonplace, that faith is not essentially intellectual and eternal life is not something to be realised only beyond the grave. He emphasises the difference between the Christianity of Christ and the Christendom of to-day, and for this there is abundant cause, but there is a danger of dropping as irrelevant what is really essential to the religion. Canon Streeter contributes an interesting study of "Dream Symbolism and the Mystic Vision." A striking paper on "The Basis of Greek Tragedy" is written by Prof. A. Y. Campbell, it strongly criticises the attitude of Verrall and Gilbert Murray to Euripides. Prof. Alexander prints his Sir Samuel Hall Oration on "The Artistry of Truth." The editor selects for his subject "The Need for a Philosophy of Labour." Sir Herbert

Russell has a grave article on the perils in the relations between Japan and the United States. Dr. C. F. Thwing expounds ruling ideas in America, national self-sufficiency, direct political executive action, religion, education, taxation of large incomes, inheritances and gifts. Miss Evelyn Underhill writes on "Our Two-fold Relation to Reality."

The London Quarterly for January, 1925, opens with an article on "The Philosophy of Education" from the competent pen of Dr. E. Lyttelton insisting on the primacy of religion in the form of a rightly interpreted Christianity. A timely and valuable paper on "The Person of Jesus in Recent Criticism" is from the pen of Prof. W. F. Howard. Mr. T. F. Lockyer devotes a careful study to Wesley's revision of the Authorised Version, showing in how many instances he anticipated the R.V. and modern translators. Mr. T. W. Douglas James deals with the place of missions in Christian internationalism and discusses the problem of the individual call. Mr. J. Grange Radford has a brief paper on "Christ's Work of Healing." The Editor has one of his welcome historical articles dealing specially with Mr. Bruce Williamson's *History of the Temple, London*. Other articles are Mr. J. Blacket's on "Joseph Blacket and his Links to Byron" and "American Ideals *versus* the University," by Mrs. M. L. Ritchie. There are good Notes and Discussions and careful reviews of books and periodicals.

The Congregational Quarterly for January, 1925, contains an article on the Trinity by Dr. Tennant which tentatively suggests that we should perhaps think of God as constituted by a society of persons, though without the mutual exclusiveness which characterises personality as we experience it. Mr. J. F. Mozley under the title "Was Darwin's Life Crippled?" investigates the problem of Darwin's ill-health which he takes to have been due to the fact that his mind was sick and his being divided against itself. This he traces in turn, to the thwarting of all his other rich qualities by his preoccupation with scientific research. There is a breezy article by Mr. W. H. Jacobsen on "The Religion of the Man in the Pew." Mr. S. W. Pascall from the standpoint of the employer discusses the ethics of industry and with sympathy towards the employed and insistence on the Christian standpoint for all. Dr. Dugald Macfadyen contributes a welcome study of Jacob Böhme. Mr. Claude M. Colman discusses the nature of the revival which, with many others, he confidently expects. Rev. G. Shillito has a trenchant article dealing with the grave declension from Christian ethics increasingly manifested in our modern fiction. There is a symposium on the subject "Has the Liberal Party a Future?" in which Captain Wedgwood Benn, Mr. William Graham, who was a member of the late Labour Government and the Editor himself, participate. The section on Developments and Experiments is interesting, as is the Current Literature. Special praise should be given to the reviews of foreign literature.

The International Review of Missions for January, 1925, opens with three articles dealing with Africa. Dr. Garfield Williams writes on the aim, scope and function of education in the British colonies in tropical Africa with special reference to the relations with the Government; Prof. Westermann on the place and function of the vernacular in African education; and the Rev. W. T. Balmer on the place of text-books in the schools in Africa. One can always be sure that Prof. A. G. Hogg will provide a stimulating treatment of any subject he discusses, and he contributes a penetrating and discriminating study of Dr. Schweitzer's work. Dr. Adriani gives an account of a synthetic language created by the people of Central Celebes. Prof. A. Jeffery indicates the place of the Mecca pilgrimage in Islam. The Rev. Paul Gibson describes a Christian Experiment in National Expression, the scene of the experiment being Ceylon; while Prof. Miao writes on "The Religious Education of Students in Christian Colleges and Universities in China." Prof. Latourette pleads for a fuller attention to be given by Church historians to the history of missions, and the Rev. W. Paton discusses the problem of opium as it affects India. The reviews are of high quality as usual. We call special attention to Prof. Carl Mirbt's review of the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society which is also of interest for its discussion of the influence of Methodism.

The Quest for January, 1925, contains a very interesting series of articles. The longest is by the Editor on "The Scientific Approach to Religion," starting from the recent Conference of Modern Churchmen. Mr. Cloudesley Brereton gives a sympathetic account of Herbert Trench, whose poetry, he thinks, has beauty for its dominant note. Mr. Grubb is on congenial and familiar ground when he describes Quakerism from within. Our own "George Fox Tercentenary Number" will testify how strongly we feel that the message of the Society of Friends should be carefully studied by the Churches at the present time. Mr. Paul Levertoff writes on the use of parables in Chasidic literature. Mrs. Drower who wrote on the Mandæans last October now describes a Mandæan Baptism. Dr. Astley gives an account of the Swastika, setting forth his own point of view, since he cannot agree with any of the theories which have been propounded. Other articles are "Telepathy and the Proper Self," by Mr. F. C. Constable, and "Art and the Group Mind," by Mr. W. Gaunt.

The Baptist Quarterly for January, 1925, is of special interest to Baptists for two articles, that by Mr. C. M. Hardy on "Former Secretaries of the Baptist Union," and an account of a very rare book by Benjamin Keach, "The Gospel Minister's Maintenance Vindicated" (1689). Of more general interest is "The Christ of Jewish Expectation—and The Christ Who Came," by Dr. H. J. Wicks, already known for his work on Apocalyptic Literature. The Rev. R. Guy Ramsay writes on "A Subjective Faith—its Methods and Consequences." The longest article is one by Professor A. J.

D. Farrer, "The Present Position of Church and Dissent." He recognises that the Free Churches have moved from the hard rigidity of their traditional position; he admits the truths of some of the criticisms passed upon them; but indicates principles on which surrender is impossible.

The Expositor for January, February and March, 1925, follows on the general lines of earlier issues, but in the March number the valuable series of "Ten Best Books" is interrupted. In January Dr. Wade contributes to this series an article on "The Apostolic Age," and to the February number the Editor contributes one on "The Parables." He also deals in each number with current issues and Current Literature, and there are questions and answers. In January Dr. W. E. Barnes discusses The Bible and the Kor'an. Dr. Naish writes in January and February on "The Book of Job and the Early Persian Period." He thinks that the author of Job was, if not a personal disciple, at least a devoted student of the Second Isaiah. Dr. A. T. Cadoux writes on "The Feeding of the Multitude" in the February number, and his brother on "The Visits of Jesus to Jerusalem" in the March number. There are several articles we have no space to mention, but must call attention to Mr. Gadd's reply (February) to the criticisms by Dr. Lewy and Dr. Allis on his edition of the Nabopolassar Chronicle.

The most important article in the *Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1924, is Prof. G. F. Moore's "The Rise of Normative Judaism." This covers the period from the Return to the re-organisation at Jamnia. It is a notable contribution to a subject which the author has made his own, and on which Biblical scholars generally have a great deal to learn. Dr. Tennant writes on "Theism and Laws of Nature," and Mr. G. B. King discusses the passage in the Sermon on the Mount on the mote and the beam.

The Princeton Theological Review for January, 1925, is devoted to Philosophy, Science, and the Bible. Dr. George Johnson examines the religious implications of contemporary philosophy, and Dr. F. D. Jenkins continues his paper on "Modern Philosophical Views of Space in Relation to Prophecy." Mr. George McCready Price quotes recent botanical works against the accepted theory of evolution. Prof. J. Gresham Machen has a long attack on Dr. Fosdick's *The Modern Use of the Bible*, and Dr. Allis criticises at great length Prof. G. A. Smith's work on Jeremiah.

The Pilgrim for January, 1925, has an article by the Bishop of Winchester on "The Social Function of the Church," with special reference to Copec. Mr. G. C. Binyon writes on "The Christian Law," also with special reference to sociology. Mr. H. F. B. Compston discusses the exposure of children and child sacrifice in antiquity and the change made by Christianity. It should be remembered that the practice is terribly common in China. Mr. A. E. Baker deals with the difficulties presented to theism by natural science. Mr. D. C. Somervell writes on "Religion and School-Religion." The Editor himself in addition to his Editorial Notes

has an article on "St. Joan, Shakespeare, and Bernard Shaw." It deals with Mr. Shaw's treatment of Shakespeare in the preface to *St. Joan*.

The Christian Union Quarterly for January, 1925, is of course devoted to Unity and four articles are concerned with this question. The Rev. H. W. Carpenter describes "An Adventure in Goodwill;" Bishop Ostenfeld has a brief paper on the way to realise the prayer "that they all may be one;" Prof. Spinka writes on "The Catholic and Slav Orthodox Unionist Congress," and the Rev. J. R. Voris on "Aspects of Christian Unity in Near East Relief." Much space is devoted to quotations from contemporary speeches and journals on this question. Dr. G. W. Richards selects for his theme "Distinctive Ideals of the Life of Jesus," and Dr. Jerome Davies "Loyalty to Christ."

The Bookman for January, 1925, is specially notable for a long and important article on Swinburne by Mr. Alfred Noyes. Mr. Laurence Binyon reviews Mr. Fausset's "Study of Donne." The February number opens with an interesting study of J. S. Fletcher by Mr. A. C. Ward. Mr. John Freeman writes, not on for the first time, Sir Edmund Gosse. In the March number Mr. Cranstoun Metcalfe treats of David Grayson and there is a full report of Ian Hay's address on Books and Bookmen. Each number, of course, contains interesting literary gossip and many excellent reviews.

Discovery for January, 1925, opens with an article by Mr. C. J. S. Thompson on "Witch Doctors and Native Medicine Men." Mr. Julian Huxley under the title "The Pigmentary Effector System" deals with the discovery of the endocrine glands and the effects of their secretions. Sir Frederic Kenyon has a long article on "English Paintings in the Middle Ages." Mr. Ivor Montague describes the spalax a little known European mammal which burrows underground. Mr. T. W. Jones explains how synthetic sugar has been made by Prof. Baly of Liverpool. Mr. Domville-Fife has a fascinating article on the River Amazon. There is also an important paper on "The Mechanism of Hearing," which describes Dr. Wilkinson and Dr. Gray's work, *The Mechanism of Cochlea*, as the most important single contribution to the subject since Helmholtz first enunciated his theory. In the February number Mr. R. N. R. Brown, describes whaling in the Southern Ocean, Mr. T. Thorne Baker recounts the present developments in photography, Mr. Wilson Jones brings our knowledge of Insulin up to date, Dr. Lebour describes British Marine Biological Laboratories, Mr. P. H. Gray writes on "Soil Bacteria and Cellulose," and there are several other noteworthy articles. In the March number there is a most striking article explaining the way in which bees communicate with each other. Mr. Edmund Dulac deals with "Ancient Art" from the standpoint of an expert artist. Sir Arthur Shipley writes on "Water Fleas." Naturally attention is called to the fossil ape man of South Africa. Sir Gilbert Walker deals with forecasting the weather for long periods. There are several other articles which we have no space to mention.

EDITOR.

THE
BOLBORN REVIEW.

JULY, 1925.

**“The Profoundest Theologian of Them
All.”**

BY THE REV. H. G. MARSH, M.A., B.D.

A Life of the Reverend Richard Baxter, 1615-1691. By
FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., Ph.D. Pp. 326. London:
Jonathan Cape. 1924. Price 15s. net.

THE memory of other authors, says Macaulay in the tribute he pays to Dr. Johnson, is kept alive by their books; the memory of Johnson keeps many of his books alive. The case of Johnson, however, is not quite so unique as Macaulay would suggest. The fame of other men has sometimes proved more enduring than their works; and one wonders if in the near future an indifferent generation will not include the name of the great defender of Puritanism—Richard Baxter. Probably the most voluminous theological writer that this country has produced, his writings have fallen on evil days. It is with a start that one reads in the Dictionary of National Biography that “his works have still a matchless circulation among the English speaking race.” Allowing for the fact that this is the considered judgment of the later nineteenth century, surely there must be some special reason why a literature after two hundred years could merit the praise inherent in the sentence quoted, and yet within the next half century could pass almost into oblivion.

Whether the cause is to be found in an age out of touch with the great theological questions which vexed the souls of the old Puritan divines; or whether a certain mental paralysis induced by the modern type of popular literature has rendered us unfit to assimilate their message, are problems which cannot be discussed here. Let it suffice to say that even the great masterpiece, the classic *Saints' Everlasting Rest* has become involved in the common fate; and the book which has been translated into a score of languages and whose reputation is world-wide is—as one writer has put it—"gradually sinking into the limbo whither much of the seventeenth century prose, for all save scholars, has gone before."*

Yet, whatever the fate of his writings, there is one certainty, the memory of Baxter himself is immortal. In a movement which produced many fine characters he is in some ways the greatest of them all. Few men have received such a chorus of praise from critics of succeeding generations as has come to Baxter. The title of this essay is a part of the tribute of Lord Morley. It was eminently fitting that in the hour when Puritanism, as a great internal religious movement for the reform of the National Church, fought its last fight, the man who led its defeated, but by no means, dishonoured stalwarts should be the one who by his writings and general attitude had proved himself its greatest protagonist.

The last few years of Puritanism to the passing of the Act of Uniformity are inseparably linked with the life of Baxter. No serious student of the movement can afford to ignore him. Unfortunately for the study of his life, we have had to depend in the main on some rather antiquated volumes that of necessity failed to take into account the revealing sidelights which the progress of historical studies has brought to bear on the subject. The need was for some life that should include the results of the latest modern research, for we

* W. H. Hutton in *Cambridge History of English Literature*.

would not forget how greatly the labours of Gardiner, Firth, and others have enriched our knowledge of the period.

The volume by Dr. Powicke is, therefore, especially welcome. Few men could be better fitted for the task. The place of his birth, his early training, his religious and political sympathies—all made the task the more congenial. He had already given an indication of the direction of his studies and their quality in a brilliantly written article in an issue of the old *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review** the predecessor of the present Review, under the title “Baxter as a Catholic Christian.”

Dr. Powicke has been at great pains in his work and he presents us with the fruit of much original research. The new portrait which forms the frontispiece is symbolic of the new light which he sheds on the life of his hero. We use the latter word advisedly, for apart from the interest of the scholar Dr. Powicke’s work is a labour of love. On his own confession the “true genesis of the book lies in the fact that I happen to have been born at Kidderminster; that my earliest associations were with the Church which bears Baxter’s name; and that from childhood, I was taught to think of him as constituting the town’s peculiar glory.”

Unfortunately, this has limited the scope of the book. The title *A Life of the Rev. Richard Baxter, 1615-1691*, is rather misleading. The author’s deliberate aim is to concentrate on the Kidderminster period which he feels is so inadequately treated by the previous biographers, Calamy and Orme—partly probably through the lack of material which the Baxter MSS. of Dr. Williams’s Library have now helped to remedy. The book, therefore, finishes rather abruptly with the year 1663, soon after Baxter’s active association with Kidderminster came to an end. While gratifying to local patriotism, it will seem very regrettable to the general reader that practically the last thirty years of his life should be so arbitrarily treated. It was in these years that Baxter’s powers were in their full maturity; it was then also that Noncon-

* April, 1909.

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formity was struggling for its very existence, and no life could better illustrate those struggles than that of Baxter. The writer evidently anticipates this criticism and partly parries it by a vague promise of a further volume. He would have been more convincing, however, if the present volume had been labelled Volume I. 1615-1663.

One is surprised to find a certain reluctance of the author to express himself in his own words. It might be imagined that devotion to Baxter extended also to the language he used ; since on almost every occasion, wherever possible, he prefers to let his subject speak for himself rather than to give us the results of his own study. One would have liked less of the compiler and more of the biographer. There are passages in the book in which Dr. Powicke reveals a masterly grasp of his subject ; whereas the only result of much of the quotation is to present the reader with whole pages consisting of a mass of small cuttings, rather artificially linked together by a few observations which do scant justice either to the writer or his subject.

But leaving aside the question of arrangement, the biography brings out with great clearness the main features of Baxter's life ; and while moving in the realm of detail, presents a fine character study of the man. Few lives, lived under such conditions as were furnished by the age in which he lived, and with the full glare of publicity upon them, come so creditably from the ordeal.

Greater than all his gifts is the outstanding sincerity and unswerving faithfulness to what he believed to be right despite any cost. His judgment was frequently at fault, but never his honesty. In his harsh criticism of Cromwell and of the Quakers, in his simple trust in the faith of the opportunist Charles II., he revealed his limitations ; but none can ever accuse him of time-serving. To few is it given to be able to refuse a bishopric and yet at the same time crave a curacy. But he was indifferent to either if the price was more than his conscience would allow him to pay. He became a Puritan because of the inconsistency he felt in the Church's discipline which strained out the gnat of minor ecclesiastical errors and

swallowed readily the camel of greater moral delinquencies.

Circumstances made Baxter a man of the world, but he was most unfitted for the position. He lacked the practical mind and moved too much in the realm of speculation. An over-sensitive conscience kept him frequently in two minds and paralysed his actions. He was a supporter of the Parliamentary party, but he wished to maintain intact the rights of the king. It was under the Protectorate that the nation enjoyed the freedom of worship which Baxter advocated as one of the main pillars of a true religious life; yet it was the Protectorate Government to which he was most uncompromisingly hostile. He was quite ready, and indeed eager, to welcome back the exile Charles II.; but his joy was modified by a certain uneasiness as to the question whether he still owed allegiance to Richard Cromwell.

Baxter was a man of very wide sympathy; and in an age of intolerance his sympathetic spirit was much misunderstood. Upbraided as an Arminian on the one hand, and as a Calvinist on the other, his Catholicity made little appeal in a bitter sectarian world. He could never be a real partisan. Even of the bitter struggle of Roundhead and Cavalier he wrote, “I make no doubt that both parties were to blame, as it commonly falleth out in most wars and contentions, and I will not be he that will justify either of them.” (*Reliq. Baxt.* I. 39). He refers to himself on one occasion as a “meer Catholick,” and, apart from the religious denomination of the term, the words may be applied aptly to the great-heartedness which revealed itself in his life and actions. Yet even this spirit of charity had its flaws. There is a harshness in some of his controversies, that seems quite at variance with the general tenor of his writings, and which cannot easily be explained even by his strong fidelity to principles that he may have thought endangered. From the feeling of political insecurity which they engendered, we can understand his attitude to the Romanists; but certainly there is not the same excuse for his treatment of Cromwell or the Quakers. Dr. Powicke rises to brilliance in his consideration of these questions. He points out the utter inability of Baxter to

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appreciate mysticism, and his intolerance of fanaticism which amounted almost to an obsession.

In his private life Baxter was a man of the kindest thought and disposition. There is much in the book to illustrate this. One of the finest pages of his career is his treatment of the dispossessed vicar, Mr. Dance. But surely in this episode our author has allowed admiration to blind his historical perspective. It is certainly true that for a man of Baxter's ability more lucrative fields of service were open; and Baxter himself, when on his defence against his detractors, is obliged to mention them. Yet, in a period when the incomes of the country clergy were so miserable that £30 was considered a good living, it becomes rather absurd to praise the honourable poverty of one who enjoyed a stipend of £100 a year.

The early life of the great Puritan is briefly but sufficiently outlined. Dr. Powicke points out a certain deficiency in his education. Dissuaded from a strong desire to enter at one of the universities, he was placed under the charge of a local tutor who was quite indifferent to his work. The only benefit Baxter obtained from him was the opportunity of free access to a magnificent library. This opportunity he used to the utmost advantage, and from henceforth was a great reader and lover of books. And yet none was so conscious of his own deficiency in education as Baxter. Although his wonderful diligence and perseverance secured for him an equipment that gave him rank as one of the foremost theologians of his age, throughout his life he never ceased to deplore his lack of academic training.

After dealing with the Kidderminster period of Baxter's ministry, Dr. Powicke devotes the whole of the second part of the volume to a consideration of his controversies. It would have been an impossibility in the space at disposal to have discussed with any degree of fulness the various and manifold disputes into which Baxter entered; but our author gives a very helpful division of the various questions with which they are concerned. One thing is undoubtedly true; Baxter was a great controversialist. It is a paradox that

the man, who in so many ways was outstanding as a man of broad sympathies and of peaceful disposition, should become one of the most active controversialists of his own, or indeed any, age. Baxter himself felt the incongruity of his position. He continually reiterates the fact that his life-work was to bring peace to the churches, and that all his controversies were “to take men off from extreams, and bring them to peace.” Yet, as Dr. Powicke adds: “there were two things which Baxter did not sufficiently remember:—(1) That he might sometimes be mistaken; or not quite so entirely in the right as he supposed; (2) That the cause of peace may owe not a little to the way in which the ‘good cause’ is maintained.” And that Baxter himself was not too easy in his mind on these points may be gathered from his own words. At the Savoy Conference of 1661, while it is not possible to give much credit to a conciliatory spirit on the Episcopal side, it must also be admitted that the keen argumentative attitude of Baxter left little room for compromise.

Linked up with his desire for peace in the churches was Baxter’s ardent longing for a true reunion of all, excluding of course the Roman Catholics. Much of his controversial life had as an aim the purging of heresy that the churches might be more in harmony in doctrine. The Worcestershire Association was the first step towards his ideal. His endeavour was to lessen the spirit of intolerant sectarianism and to help to spread one of Catholic charity. Archbishop Usher’s scheme of a moderate episcopacy to which even those anti-episcopal sections, whose hostility was not too bitter, might be reconciled, was his model. Although circumstances compelled him to become one of the first Nonconformists, he maintained communion with the Episcopal Church to the day of his death.

Reference has been made to Baxter’s wonderful literary output. This is the more amazing when we remember the author’s frail physique, his continual struggle against disease, and the conditions under which at times he was compelled to work. The “thorn in the flesh,” however,

became to him a channel of grace. "Weakness and pain helped me to study how to die; that set me on studying how to live; and that on studying the doctrine from which I must fetch my motives and comforts."

His recorded works number one hundred and sixty-eight; and although most of these are of interest only to the student, they maintain a wonderful level of literary excellence. The charm of his writings lies in their simplicity and freedom from affectation. There is no elaborate polish about his sentences, but he had learned the true secret of eloquence. Baxter is a man in earnest, and there is a directness and happiness of expression about his writings reminiscent of his contemporary Bunyan. He wrote simply and naturally and through all his work one can trace his own sincerity. There is absolutely no mark of artificiality about it. A very instructive comparison may be made with many of the contemporary theological treatises, with their stilted language and forced metaphors so characteristic of the age.

His style is popular in the finer sense of the word and has earned great praise from the keenest critics. Dr. Johnson and Dr. Barrow were both great admirers of his writings, and Augustine Birrell describes his memoirs as one of the best books in existence. It is impossible to do justice in a short paragraph to the merit of the famous *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. These two, together with *The Call to the Unconverted*, and perhaps, *Gildas Salvianus*, *The Reformed Pastor*, constitute his chief works.

In summing up the life of Baxter one cannot do better than go to the life of one whose sphere of service was in a city not far from Kidderminster, where he exercised a ministry comparable in its influence to that of Baxter; and who, although removed by two hundred years from the latter, yet seemed to have much in common with him. The author of the life of Dr. Dale says of his father "he was an unworldly man of the world—that is, he understood the world and its tendencies, and was able to play a distinguished part in its great movements, but I have never met a man more free

from the taint of its spirit.” He also says of him: “He was incapable of intrigue or of playing with great principles, and what he did, he did with both hands earnestly. Needless to say he was an independent thinker, and on some points reached conclusions in which he met with but little sympathy from those most attached to him.”

These words aptly describe the subject of Dr. Powicke's biography, and we trust that the message of the book may not pass forgotten in an age which understands better than that in which he lived, the truth of Baxter's favourite motto:—in things necessary, Unity; in things doubtful, Liberty; in all things, Charity.

Religion and Mental Conflict.

BY ROBERT H. THOULESS, M.A., Ph.D.

THE purpose of the present article is to enquire into the part played by religion in the economy of living. I am not asking whether its beliefs are true or false, or whence they arise, but simply what effect they have on the religious man's whole mental adjustment. I suppose that an answer which commanded fairly general agreement would be one which spoke of its promotion of harmony with the world-process as a whole. But harmony of what kind, and whence comes the disharmony?

Perhaps we might begin the consideration of these questions by reminding ourselves that a certain disharmony between an organism and its environment is the condition of behaviour and of thought and probably of consciousness itself. An animal requires food and other things, and since these wants are not supplied without his effort, conscious representations of the wants arise (as desires or vague cravings) and the animal adopts the external behaviour necessary to acquire what he needs. Were there no such constantly recurring disharmony between his own needs and the environment's power of satisfying them (as probably there is not in the ante-natal condition) it is to be presumed there would be no consciousness.

So consciousness, with its thinking and striving, comes into being as a requirement of the continued effort of the organism to alter external conditions to satisfy his needs. This, however, is only the beginning of the work of adaptation of the organism to its environment.

If we could live in the present only, we should need no more thought or action than would suffice to adapt us to the needs of the moment. For man, however, who has so developed his

thought processes that the remote in time and space may be no less real to him than the immediately present, there is need for a wider adjustment than that of the primitive organism. The circumstances of his civilised life, which have developed concomitantly with his power of reflection, themselves make this demand on him.

Most of our activities are, in fact, concerned with the future. The wolf hunts for his next meal, while the man ordinarily works for money which will come to him only at the end of the week or the quarter.* We can as little imagine even the highest of the apes taking out a life-insurance policy as we can imagine him formulating a theory of a future life. Both are possible only when the power of verbal and imaginal representation have reached a level which can make the representation of the future an effective stimulus to action and a reality vivid enough to require an emotional reconciliation.

It is this reality of the future, made possible by man's developed capacity for imaginal and verbal reflection, that makes necessary for him a solution of conflicts of wider scope than the momentary ones of the animal living in the present. It requires, in fact, an adjustment of his present thought and behaviour to the needs of his own life as a whole and of the whole world process, and not only to the demands of that bit of them which is his present perceptual experience.

This adaptation takes place by the adoption of a system of rules of conduct, a system of beliefs, and an emotional attitude, all connected with the whole of things. This adaptation may be of various kinds. Its emotional attitude may be one of angry rebellion (like that of Hardy), of resigned hopelessness (like that sketched by Mr. Bertrand Russell in *A Free Man's Worship*), or of happy acquiescence. Its beliefs, too, may vary. It may find its ultimate principle in a maleficent

* It must be admitted, of course, that those animals which store food are showing behaviour directed towards a future situation, but this is only an adaptation for a future a short distance ahead, and is very largely an activity undertaken without clear knowledge of its end. In such behaviour, however, we may see the germ of the more complete adaptations to the future made by the man.

maker of all things, or a universe which is the result of a chance conglomeration of molecules, or of a beneficent Creator. Its behaviour requirements may be for the carrying out of rigid moral rules, for mental development through psychological exercises, for devotional practices, or, of course, for any mixture of these.

Religion is one of this class of adaptations to the world process and to life as a whole. Not all such adaptations are religious, but religion is always a mode of adaptation. I think we shall do least violence to popular speech if we use the word "religion" only for those kinds of adaptation in which the central belief is in a God or in gods, the emotional attitude of which is, therefore, an acquiescent rather than a rebellious one, while its practices are to some extent practices of devotion to the powers above and not merely moral rules.

I have said that one of the functions which such a mode of adaptation serves is that of the solution of the mental conflicts of the individual adopting it. It is necessary to be clear as to exactly what kind of thing we mean by the word "conflict," since there is a certain ambiguity in the current use of the term. If, at the present moment, I experience an impulse to carry out a certain action and this impulse is prevented from having free play in action, either through the existence in myself of an opposing impulse, or through an external obstruction, my resultant mental condition is sometimes said to be a state of "conflict." But obviously we are not here using the word "conflict" in the same sense as when we use it for the mental condition of a person with high moral principles who finds himself falling in love with somebody else's wife.

These are two facts of a totally different psychological order. In the one case there is a present obstruction to an impulse; in the other, there are two major dispositions of character which are continually leading to minor conflicts between impulses. It is in the second of these senses that I have used the word "conflict" in the title of this article. In order to make the distinction clear, it will be well to use different terms for these different uses of the word conflict,

and to speak of "incidental conflicts" when we mean a present disharmony between the tendencies of two impulses, and of a "sustained conflict" when the forces in opposition are permanent dispositions of character. We may, perhaps, express this distinction by saying that a sustained conflict is a condition of mental warfare in which incidental conflicts are the battles.

We will give the name "deprivation" to a particular kind of sustained conflict in which the condition of unrest is set up by the failure of a major mental system to attain satisfaction, not through the opposition of another mental system, but through unfavourable conditions of the environment. The condition of conflict set up by a persistent desire for something which, for external reasons, we cannot have, is thus a "deprivation." We cannot, of course, draw a sharp line between "deprivations" and other sustained conflicts, for when a sentiment or instinct is thwarted it will generally be found to be in conflict both with another mental disposition and with a limitation imposed from outside. The man we have mentioned, for example, is unable to satisfy his love both because of external difficulties and because of the internal opposition of his own moral sentiments.

The requirements of a satisfactory solution of a sustained conflict may perhaps best be made clear if we consider cases of non-adaptive solutions.* It has been demonstrated by Professor Freud that the psychoneurotic (or "nervous") complaints can be understood if we see in their symptoms an attempt of the patient to adapt himself to a sustained conflict.† A patient, for example, whose love instinct has been thwarted either through external circumstances or through an internal inhibition is found to develop a symptom

* I am using the words "adaptive" and "non-adaptive" in their usual technical sense. An adaptive reaction is one that is serviceable to the needs of the situation in which it appears. Thus flight is an adaptive reaction to the sight of an angry bull, while collapse with tremor is a non-adaptive one. The general adaptiveness of our responses to our immediate environment is sanity, while the various forms of mental disorder are all characterised by a greater or smaller loss of this general adaptation to the environment.

† *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, London, 1922.

(such as carrying out some compulsive ritual) which represents symbolically the acquirement of the desired love-object. Since nothing is really attained by the symptom, and its results are only to unfit the patient for the demands of real life the psycho-neurotic symptom is a mal-adaptation, and the psycho-analytic method of cure is to make the patient aware of the nature of the conflict, and so enable him to come to an adaptive solution of it. This adaptive solution may, for example, be marriage, or the redirection of the misspent energy in a new and socially useful direction.

Whatever criticisms may be made of the details of Freud's theory it is unlikely that this central position will be entirely overthrown. We may doubt whether the conflict always takes the form stated by Freud of a conflict between impulses originated within the sex instinct and the forces of character repressing that instinct. We may also doubt whether the real determining cause of a psycho-neurotic complaint is the severity of the psycho-neurotic patients' conflicts, and whether the truth is not, as Professor Janet would believe, that the psycho-neurotic has much the same conflicts as anybody else, but through innate weakness of character is unable to deal with them satisfactorily.

These, however, are criticisms which very little affect the importance of the central position with respect to conflict. The asperity with which these and similar objections to subordinate points of Freud's theories are often made, may easily conceal from readers how very much his critics have accepted his view of conflict. This central position is that the lack of harmonious relationship with the environment (which is shown in an acute form in mental disorder, and in a minor form in such minor disharmonies as worries, fears, irritability and so on) can be traced to imperfect adaptation to conflicts.

A study of the psycho-neuroses of the war suggested that the conflicts giving rise to mental disorder did not necessarily belong to the sex instinct.† It was found that exactly the same condition of mal-adaptation to the environment was the

† *Instinct and the Unconscious*, by W. H. R. Rivers, Cambridge, 1921.

result of unresolved conflicts between the self-preservation tendency and the instinct of flight. A soldier suffering, for example, from a hysterical paralysis, had adapted himself to the mentally incompatible requirements of his tendency to obey his leaders, and his tendency to escape from danger by developing unconsciously a symptom which made it impossible for him to fight, and at the same time, effected his removal from the firing line in a manner which involved no disobedience to his superiors.

More recently Dr. MacCurdy has shown that even the graver disturbances of the group of manic-depressive insanities has the same kind of origin.* Inability to deal with life's conflicts leads these unfortunate persons to escape by "flight from reality" (in stupor or mania) or to the heaviness of spirit which is known as melancholia and depression (often ending in suicide).

It is not, however, with the psycho-neuroses or the insanities that I am specially concerned in the present paper. All these grosser mal-adaptations, which more or less completely unfit the person suffering from them from the business of living, exist also in minor forms. These minor mal-adaptations are such things as worry, frivolity, depression (or accidie), irritability, an excessive demand for affection, and affectation. Worry is the painful effect of the persistence in the mind of impulses which can have no useful outlet in behaviour. Frivolity is the absorption in trivial present activities as a means of escape from serious demands on one's activity and from the painful thoughts engendered by reflection. Depression (particularly amongst the aged) results from a continued heaviness and sorrow arising out of a realization of the painful realities of loss and of death. Irritability is a form of self-protection against other persons' demands on our activity. Affectation is the result of an assertion of superiority (intellectual or social) against others who are not willing to recognise it. Many other minor mal-adaptations might be mentioned which are also the fruit of such egoism—cantan-

* *The Psychology of Emotion*, Dr. J. T. MacCurdy, London, 1925.

kerousness, snobbishness—all of which are symptoms of a self-assertive impulse which has not come to terms with its environment.

From such minor mal-adjustments as these, with their ineffectiveness and psychological wastefulness, the man who has achieved a satisfactory mode of adapting himself to things as a whole will escape. Ideally he will escape from them through his religion. I do not mean, of course, anything so absurd as that the end of religion is to save men from worry and similar mental maladies. Certainly it is not for this purpose that men are religious. These things, however, are symptoms of an unsatisfactory adjustment towards life as a whole, and religion can remove them by removing this major disharmony which lies at their source.

The man who is truly religious does not worry, for when his efforts are ended he resigns the upshot of his actions to the care of an all-powerful God. Frivolity is equally far removed from him, for he has considered the terrors against which frivolity is a reaction and they are so worked into his beliefs that they have ceased to be terrible. For the same reason, he is armoured against depression.* Nor may he be irritable, for part of his consciously accepted rule of life is acceptance of the troubles of other persons. Lastly, his identification of himself with a scheme of things, of which his own ambitions and desires are only a trivial part, saves him from all the various maladies of undisciplined self-assertion (inordinate craving for affection, for prestige, etc). The perfectly religious man shows the fact that he has made a harmonious adjustment to his environment as a whole, and therefore, to all his particular conflicts and deprivations by remaining calm, earnest, hopeful, peaceful and humble.

Religious teachers have, as a matter of historical fact, specifically concerned themselves with some of the minor mal-adjustments which I have mentioned. *Accidie* was regarded

*The records of depression amongst the saints suggest that this is the last mal-adaptation to be overcome, perhaps because progress in the religious life brings with it new terrors to be faced and overcome, so that a full facing of all terrors and escape from their depressing influence come only at a very late stage of religious development.

as a sin by the moral theologians. Of the ten commandments, nine were concerned with the prohibition of specific kinds of conduct, but the tenth was directed against a non-adaptive mental attitude—that of covetousness. Similarly, in the Sermon on the Mount, Our Lord warns his hearers not only against morally evil conduct but also against the anxious thought for the morrow which we call *worry*.

The result of a satisfactory adaptation (whether religious or otherwise) is then to achieve a harmony in which pressing conflicts can find their solution and deprivations can lose their sting. In such an adaptation, calmness and confidence replace the worry, the fussiness, and the heaviness which are apt to be the immediate effects on our spirits of our environmental conditions (with their injurious effects heightened by our power of reflection).

If this be true, we must account for the fact that religious persons are often notoriously mal-adapted. Every mal-adaptation is to be found with a religious colouring. Fussy persons often organise their fussiness into a religious system and are fussy about religious objects. The depressed often give religious grounds for their depression. Worry, too, may be a religious reaction, as in the condition known as “scrupulosity.”

Indeed, it is not only minor mal-adaptations that may seem to be served by religious ideas. Even in the insanities themselves, religious ideas may make up a considerable part of the delusional system of a paranoiac, of the ravings of a maniac, or the depression of a melancholic. In face of such facts as these it seems a little difficult to maintain the view that the result of religious faith is to provide a means of resolving conflicts which makes for mental health.

I do not think this objection is as serious as it at first sounds. The view that religion is ideally a mode of adapting ourselves harmoniously to the world as a whole does not also commit us to the view that this adaptation always succeeds. The facts that we have just been considering are clear evidence that it does not. But the fact that sick people are found to be takers of medicine more often than sound ones is

no evidence that medicine is not good for sickness. There is some reason for supposing that it is those persons who are most prone to fail to deal satisfactorily with their conflicts who turn most readily to the various consciously adopted attitudes to the world-process which seem to offer them strength and relief. The worriers, the frivolous, and the melancholy are those to whom religion seems to offer most, so we must not be surprised that we find them often within the fold of religious faith with their mal-adaptations unrelieved and even given a religious colouring. It is impossible to make a satisfactory scientific induction as to how far their religious faith has helped them in the direction of mental health. I think there is good reason for rejecting the view that it has not helped them at all.

It must be remembered that there is an exactly similar problem in connexion with the moral function of religion. It is not doubted that the function of religion in the field of moral conduct is to promote the highest morality. Yet there is no wickedness so awful that it has not sometimes been bound up with religious ideas and been justified by its perpetrator as a religious action. Crimes of violence have been committed in the name of God, and cults of sexual licence have organised themselves as religious bodies. Similarly, amongst the less spectacular moral evils, we are all of us familiar with the sight of pride, selfishness, and cruelty masquerading as religious motives. It remains true, however, that religion is a force acting in the direction of moral righteousness. Similarly, the utilisation of religious ideas in mental disorder and in minor mal-adaptations does not alter the fact that it is a force making for mental health.

The explanation is the same in both cases. The content of religious faith is largely supplied from outside individual experience, and the beliefs, rites, and feelings belonging to the traditional element in religion can be utilised in more than one way. They can be used for moral advancement or for justification of an existing low moral standard; they can be used for the attainment of mental health or as instruments for the expression of non-adaptive attitudes. The person

disposed to worry may, for example, by accepting the beliefs of religion find relief for his worrying in confidence in an all-powerful and all-wise God. He may, on the other hand, simply find in his religion new things to worry about—formal observances, trivial points of doctrine, the various possibilities that he has sinned without knowing it, and so on. If he reacts in the first way he will be using his religious conceptions constructively, so that they help him towards harmony and mental health, while in the second way they will merely become new instruments for his disorders. In the first case only is religion attaining its true end in mental adaptation. In the second case the situation somewhat resembles that of a patient who has abused a valuable medicine by taking it as a drug.

It is, in fact, possible to find examples of religious ideas acting both constructively for mental health and in the service of mal-adaptive dispositions. *Grace Abounding* is a record of rivalry between these two tendencies of religious thought in which the constructive elements finally triumphed. Even in insanity one may find examples of constructive religious attitudes aiding in the attainment of normal mental health. As an example, we may take a case described by Dr. MacCurdy.* A woman who had suffered from mania with grandiose ideas began to recover orientation. "Finally there came an illusion which illustrates exquisitely how her ideas were shaping for sanity. One day the guard on the window looked to her eyes like a cross, and the thought came to her that she should be keeping Lent. Then suddenly her feeling of rebellion against things as they were passed away, and immediately with this resignation everything cleared." From this point with the help of explanations from husband and doctors she began to get well.

There is, of course, another side to this question. Relief from conflicts may be given so completely by religious faith that effective action diminishes seriously. "Fatalism" is the name commonly given to the mode of adaptation which

* *Op. cit.*

is the polar opposite of the worrying attitude. Deprivations are accepted so calmly that no effort at all is made to improve environmental conditions by our own efforts. This is plainly an attitude as non-adaptive as the worrying one. While religious conceptions may be used to justify the fatalistic attitude, it is as necessary a function of a truly adaptive religious faith that it should lead to effort when effort is required as that it should lead to resignation when further effort is useless.

This possibility of leading to a too easy escape from conflicts by mere abandonment of effort is one of the dangers of those new kinds of world attitudes in which such maxims as "Do not worry" take the central place. It must be remembered that the attaining of a satisfactory attitude towards a this-world environment is not the sole end of religion, nor is the avoidance of unnecessary emotional stress the sole requirement for a satisfactory adjustment to the world-process. The man who has most satisfactorily come to terms with things as a whole by means of religion is the man of courageous effort who knows when to cease effort, leaving the issue in the hands of God. He shows that he has attained harmony with the world process as a whole by the fact that his emotional energy is directed towards useful action, while he spends no emotion in the useless channels of worry, irritability, etc., which are the marks of imperfectly resolved conflicts. He is armed by his religious faith against the dangerous effects of losses and difficulties which drive other men to worry or to mental break-down.

Finally, may I repeat that I am not suggesting that the function of religion is to give us mental health and to save us from worry and similar mal-adaptations. This is no more true than that the function of religion is to promote right conduct. The aim of religion is to bring men into relationship with God, so that they may love and serve Him. From this relationship a right mental and moral adjustment will result. Man's relationship to God is, however, an end in itself and it is a misunderstanding of the nature of religion

to represent it as a device for the attainment of mental or of moral health.

Mental health,—the possibility of an adaptive attitude towards conflict and loss—is, however, an important secondary consequence of religious faith. It is one, moreover, which I think is sometimes undeservedly neglected in comparison with the function of religion in the moral life. The service of religious faith to mental health is of no less importance than its service to right conduct.

Evolution and the Fall of Man.

BY THE REV. J. PARTON MILUM, B.Sc.

THE story of the Garden of Eden might be adequately dealt with on the lines of folk-lore, were it not that its main conception enters into the warp and woof of Hebrew thought, and thence passes into the substance of the Christian message both in the New Testament itself and in later theology. A dogma which has thus come right through that body of developing ideas commonly known as "Revelation" has a first-rate claim to be called "catholic." Even secular thought to-day is recognizing the need for what Mr. H. G. Wells does not hesitate to call a "Bible of the race," by which he means the body of accredited truth about human life. Christians believe that the fundamental truths extracted from the Bible are invested in the great catholic dogmas. And the modernist position (as distinct from the so-called "liberal Christian") is that since truth is one, scientific truth and religious truth cannot be opposed, however much at variance they may seem to be at first sight. For the modernist there is no conflict of religion and science. The idea is silly. If there seem to be contradictions, then the right attitude is to go on investigating, just as when a ledger-clerk cannot balance his books he goes on checking the items until the two sides agree. Scientific truth rests upon experiment. Religious truth rests upon experience. But the inner world is no less valid than the outer world. Science has for its subject and scope facts and processes. Religion deals with the ultimate meaning and value of life. Now the Bible scheme or key to world history is summed up

in four acts; (1) Man created in the image of God. (2) A Fall of Man. (3) Redemption by an act of God long prepared for, culminating in (4) the achievement of the Divine Purpose in the Kingdom or Reign of God.

By the irruption of the Evolution idea this whole accepted scheme seemed to fall to the ground. This we believe is a premature conclusion. The pitiful figure cut by the champions of orthodoxy who regarded Darwinian evolution as a frontal attack upon religion has later produced an equally ridiculous sequel in the completeness with which writers upon morals and psychology have assumed the entirely bestial origin of man. It was surely worth while investigating that whole body of research which may be entitled *Evolution by Degeneration*.

When nature provides a creature with some organ or faculty for increased mastery of environment, and that creature by disuse or abuse lets that organ or faculty fall into desuetude, there is a case of degeneracy. Christianity has taught that this is the case with man. There is no logical contradiction then between evolution and the Fall.

What if man arrived by evolution, and then fell? Did the race as a whole miss the mark? In the nature of things it seems that God had to take the risk. A sufficiently high conception of human nature assumes that man has moral freedom. After a long travail of evolution man emerged, the first created being with the power of conscious self-determination; and immediately he takes the helm he runs off the course. Coming down from metaphor what can this mean? We may perhaps say (1) that being spiritual, grafted upon animal, he deliberately quenched the spiritual and sought satisfaction through the lower side of his nature; and (2) belonging essentially to a social harmony he turned his back on this, becoming "selfish."

These steps are more easily imagined as being the course taken by the early community than by a single individual.

"Adam," we recollect, implicitly signifies the race, and if we may thus think of the earliest community of undivided man, it is not assuming anything grotesque to suppose that

the acts in which these moral choices were made were conscious departures from a destiny and mode of life clearly apprehended by conscience, and that they were a conscious defiance of that Being of whose reality all primitive men had no misgiving.

Let us adduce what may be said for this.

(1) THE BIOLOGICAL EVIDENCE. Since the dawn of the Twentieth Century a change has come over the conception of the nature and method of evolution.

Hugo De Vries' Mutation theory of evolution then announced, has steadily won its triumphant way. Evolution has not come about by the accumulation of infinitesimal differences through æons of time, but by definite and sudden changes, to which he gave the name of "mutations." The Mutation theory does not profess to explain the origin of species, but simply to describe the manner of their arrivals. It is based upon the observed appearance of such new forms of plants and animals. It is supposed that these mutations occur in a species only at long intervals and in response to changed circumstances; but they are from within. The application of this line of thought to the arrival of man upon this planet is of tremendous significance, not yet realized by religious thinkers. Let us focus our thought upon that momentous mutation by which man became man indeed. It seems probable that the dormant germ of those faculties by reason of which man can be called truly man, was a single "unit character," and consisted in a spiritual potentiality, and this potentiality would be revealed in the first human community.

The arrival of man may now be regarded scientifically as a single and definite happening in time and space; whether 50,000 or 500,000 years ago is immaterial; but since that happening it may be fairly questioned whether man has "evolved" in the slightest degree. From that occurrence onward what we call human progress has consisted not in biological evolution, but in the accumulation of experience, which we call education, and in what we may call for short, awakening.

The line of Omar contains the thought :

“ With Earth's first clay He did the first man knead,
And there of the last Harvest sowed the seed.”

From this it follows that what is called progress in human life is fundamentally different from what is called evolution in biology. The achievements of the human intellect are such that the modern man finds it hard to think that the race is not progressing in consequence. Our deeper thinkers on the other hand have now perceived that the possible advantages to our race from all the wonderful discoveries and inventions are continually defeated by reason of man's moral failure to apply them in any disinterested and far-seeing manner to the needs of mankind. The progress of invention is toward the destruction of the race. Readers of Professor Bury's book, *The Idea of Progress*, will be able to stand outside the idea and compare it dispassionately with the preceding idea of degeneration which held sway during earlier ages. Dean Inge, using Bury's facts, goes so far as to speak of the idea of progress as a “myth.” This is really excellent when regarded as a repartee to those who are accustomed to speak of the “myth of the Fall of Man.” On the other hand, the truth and value of myth in human life have not yet been adequately assessed. When human thought tries to grasp the greatest truths, it can do so clearly only in figures of speech, in pictures of the mind. Meanwhile it is worth remembering that the idea of progress, equally with the idea of the Fall, has been regarded as a myth. But let us resume our enquiry whether there are any facts in the history or constitution of human nature for which the idea of the Fall may stand.

(2) THE EVIDENCE OF ANTHROPOLOGY. Anthropology yields the surprising evidence that the earliest races of undoubted men, so far from having a smaller brain capacity than modern civilized man, had an even greater brain capacity. The Neanderthal skulls have an average cranial capacity of 1600 c.c. These people were succeeded in Europe by the splendid Cro-Magnon race with a cranial capacity of 1580 c.c.

The average European of to-day has a skull of 1480 c.c. Cro-Magnon man produced the Cave Artists who decorated their caverns with the astounding drawings of now extinct animals. Competent judges have said that the modern artist might envy the eye for form possessed by his untutored forerunner of 25,000 years ago. Those who have seen copies of the famous Reindeer of Kesslerloch will know that this is no exaggeration. The impression that primitive man was forever engaged in war with his own kind is a false one. His tools are not implements of war. And Lewis H. Morgan's statement probably stands true, that for nine tenths of the time of man's existence property was vested in the tribe and not in the individual. The individual man thought, felt, and acted not for "self" in the narrow sense, but for his tribe or "self" in the larger sense. The rise of empire and civilization, founded as they are upon War and private property, may indeed have been a result of the Fall.

The easy identification of primitive man with modern savage man is not justified. The leading anthropologists to-day teach that the lowest savage races to-day are all degenerate. To judge of primitive man by the modern savage is to follow a false trail.

(3) THE EVIDENCE OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION. Primitive man was religious. He thought he was not made to die. Moreover, there are strong grounds for disputing the accepted "evolutionary" doctrine as applied to the history of religion. Religion possibly "fell" from an original simplicity before it rose to Monotheism again. As Max Müller shewed in his identification of the Latin Deus Pater, Greek Zeus Pater, Sanscrit Dyaus Pitar,—the title "Heavenly Father" is the most primitive as well as the most advanced of the titles of Deity that we know.

Anthropologists who survey the facts of the world's religions from a stand-point outside of religion must not be allowed to presume that their stand-point is a superior one for comprehension. It is decidedly inferior. Thus Salomon Reinach in his "Orpheus" speaks scornfully of the theory of a primitive revelation. But primitive man, with a sense

of God and a tender conscience had greater possibilities within him than the modern who has got rid of these encumbrances.

(4) **THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.** The "new psychology" is essentially the product of an attempt to understand man from an evolutionary point of view. The great quarry for new ideas has of late been "the unconscious." Also the principle known to biologists as "recapitulation" has been much used. The individual of any species in its short lifetime shews traces of the history through which its race has passed,—abbreviated and recapitulated within the cycle of its own development from germ to adult.

It is generally allowed that the human child in passing from the innocence and ignorance of early child-hood,—through the phases of dawning self-consciousness—becomes acutely aware of the moral values of life,—“knows good and evil,” and becomes conscious of shame and guilt. In recent times the doctrine of the Fall has been often used as simply illustrating or typifying our individual spiritual history. Does it not seem probable, however, that this fact in the moral and spiritual development of the individual is to be explained as a case of racial recapitulation? As the infant passes from happy innocence to uneasy self-consciousness and disharmony, in which the immediate claims of the senses and the lower self seem to offer a happiness which is found to be delusive, he surely repeats the history of his race. If this is admitted, then those Jewish thinkers who elaborated the doctrine of the “Old Adam” and the “New,” had their feet upon the ground of fact. At a certain point in the travail of the ages the spiritual emerged. That was the coming of man. Man alas! took a wrong direction, and the spiritual was eclipsed, until it flashed forth in Him whom Paul calls the Second Adam—calling to His buried likeness in all men. Perhaps the boldest flight of reason makes the “attainment of Immortality” the goal of evolution. (The case for this has been well put by Dr. J. Y. Simpson). Intuition had taken this flight with the earliest men. Reason for a long time seemed at conflict with this intuition

of immortality. The old story we are considering seems to make sin the cause of death. The burial relics of the men of the Old Stone age proclaim that they thought they were not meant to die, and yet the flesh failed them and had to be put away. The Pauline thought is probably theirs, "there is a natural body and there is a spiritual body." It is beyond the power of science to disprove this thesis. On the other hand, if it be true, all existence becomes rich with meaning and value. But just what is it that has continually cast doubt upon this hope? It is that the sense-world has drowned the higher faculties and made them seem unreal. The awakened spirit has claimed its immortality already. The story of the Fall can no longer be patronized as a bit of folk-lore stretched to serve a moral; it represents a racial truth discerned long ago and propagated with other truths that human nature needs to know.

Finally, the Fall of man is an experimental or pragmatic truth. It would remain a religious fact even if no historical basis could be found. There is no truth about human nature more certain than that which Josiah Royce describes as "the lost state of the natural man." To-day, practically all who study human nature in the light of evolution, independently of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, are pessimists. The doctrine of progress by means of an indefinitely improved environment has struck a rock. The Doctrine of Eugenics then arrived to breed a better human nature. This also has struck a rock by the now proven fact that "fluctuations" are not heritable but only Mutations. Indeed the leading exponents of Eugenics now practically abandon what they call "Positive Eugenics," limiting the doctrine to common-sense measures for preventing defectives from propagating the race. Eugenics is no gospel.

The way has been cleared for the emergence of the original Gospel. The following words of Eucken indicate the position :

"The fact that on this planet there are innumerable beings who have certain special features of their own as

distinguished from the animals most nearly related to them, is not enough to exact respect for the idea. The promise of an even greater development must be recognized."

Let us fully admit that what we should go to Revelation for, are not matters of obscure history or secrets of nature. These are the province of science. But we claim that Revelation alone can tell us of the ultimate meanings and values of things. Even so this Revelation has been made known through history. And the doctrine of the Fall of man very definitely affects our view of the meaning of the present world-process, and the relative values that we set upon the bodily senses and the spiritual faculties of man. The Fall signifies that a higher nature, having emerged, was once more submerged beneath the level of the senses. Man intuitively feels that he has missed the mark; he has inklings of a vaster harmony for which he was made. The ideals of justice, beauty, and love make their appeal to him because of this. Man would not be man if the ideal did not appeal to him. "We can only judge of that which is by that which ought to be." (Lotze). But just when the natural man is brought to acknowledge this, he feels his powerlessness to rise, and his need of an influx from above and beyond him. This is just what Christianity offers. Christ is, to use a fine phrase of Royce's, the Spirit of the Beloved Community. There is in all human nature that which is of His nature, and which can recognize Him who is the "Logos." Deep calleth unto deep, and responds with a thrill of recognition. The dormant divinity awakes, the germ of immortality unfolds. The "Second Adam" arises from His tomb again. The new creation takes place in the individual,—earnest of a universal renovation, and a supernatural and heavenly power becomes available for transforming our earthly life. Such are the triumphant tidings we have to proclaim.

The Theologian and Classical Scholarship.

BY THE EDITOR.

PART II.

IT may at this point be convenient to raise some larger issues which are naturally suggested by what I have said of the Apocalypse. I have touched on the possibility that the Revelation has incorporated Jewish elements. But are there Pagan elements in it? Not written documents of Pagan origin but conceptions definitely derived from Paganism? If anywhere it is in the twelfth chapter that we should look for them. This contains the strange story of the Woman, the Man-child and the Dragon. A heavenly woman is seen, and a dragon waiting to devour her child when it is born. Immediately after birth the child is caught up to the throne of God. There is war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, ending in the casting down of the dragon and his angels upon earth. He attacks the woman who flees to the wilderness. The dragon pours forth a river out of his mouth in order to sweep the woman away, but the earth helps the woman by opening her mouth and swallowing up the river. Baffled in his attempt the dragon goes to make war with the rest of her seed. I find it incredible that any Christian should have originated this story. No follower of Jesus could have represented the Messiah as caught up to God immediately after His birth. A Jewish writer might have done so, since for him the birth and career of the Messiah lay in the uncertain future. A Christian who believed that the Messiah had already come, who knew of His birth, His career,

His ministry, His death, resurrection and ascension, could not have represented the ascension as immediately following the birth. But it is not easy to believe that the chapter is of Jewish origin. The representation is not only bizarre; it is mythological. Dieterich derived it from the myth of the birth of Apollo. In itself this was a very plausible suggestion. The coincidences are close and striking, the differences such as may be readily explained as necessary to fit the story for its new function. Gunkel, however, argued that no Christian writer could have taken over from heathenism such a naked piece of mythology. It had a pagan origin, but had long before been transplanted into Judaism, and was derived by the Christian writer from that source. Gunkel believed that it went back ultimately to a myth of the birth of Marduk. No Babylonian origin for the story has yet been discovered; but Bousset has pointed out that there was in Egypt a myth of the birth of Horus parallel to the Greek myth of the birth of Apollo. Probably, then, behind Revelation xii. there lies a widespread myth which went somewhat on these lines. The dragon of chaos and darkness having learnt of the approaching birth of the god of light, who was destined to destroy him, pursues the mother that he may frustrate the prophecy. The woman escapes, helped by some friendly power, her child is born in safety and in due course slays the dragon. I do not regard it as inconceivable that a Christian writer should have borrowed a Greek myth and given it a Christian application; but I do not think that he would have borrowed a myth so glaringly inconsistent with the actual facts of the Messiah's career. Hence the transformation of the myth into Messianic dogma must have taken place, it would seem, in Judaism.*

But what if Paganism itself had a Messianic dogma? I raise this question not simply for its relation to the twelfth chapter of Revelation, but because it touches a question of great importance to the student of Hebrew prophecy, and because it has a bearing on the problem of Vergil's Fourth Eclogue. Along quite different lines Eduard Meyer and

*On the question discussed in this paragraph I have since written much more fully in *The Revelation of John*, pp. 32-39, 300-303.

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Gressmann have argued for the existence of an eschatological scheme in the pre-prophetic religion of Israel, itself borrowed from abroad. Meyer collected some Egyptian prophecies of calamity followed by deliverance. Gressmann collected features in the Old Testament, descriptions of the future which he regarded as attesting his thesis. It is questionable whether Meyer's instances will bear the weight of his theory. Dr. Lange, of Copenhagen, found in *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, prophecy of this type distinctly Messianic in character. But Dr. A. H. Gardiner, who has edited the work, is quite emphatically of an opposite opinion, and affirms "that there is no certain or even likely trace of prophecies in any part of the book." On Gressmann's theories I prefer to reserve my judgment. I am not at present convinced.* If a foreign source for the ideas of the Fourth Eclogue has to be assumed, we are not limited to the conclusion that Vergil knew anything of Hebrew prophecy directly or indirectly, though such knowledge was by no means inaccessible to him. It is possible, though not I think proved, that he drew on a Gentile eschatology and Messianic belief to which Hebrew prophecy may itself have been indebted.

These are illustrations of the wider question of the relation in which early Christianity stood to the contemporary Paganism. I waste no words on the question whether Jesus Himself had any contact with Greek thought. But that Greek philosophy has left its mark on the New Testament is, I think, clear. Largely this was mediated through Alexandria. The Book of Wisdom is a noteworthy example of Alexandrian Jewish theology; but this of course finds its greatest and most characteristic representative in Philo, whose importance cannot easily be over-estimated. In his eclectic system Judaism and Hellenism blended, and the effect was momentous for Christian theology. The Epistle to the Hebrews drew from the Book of Wisdom, and has very remarkable points of contact with Philo. The fundamental theory of the Epistle is derived from Jewish Platonism. The case of the Fourth

* I have discussed these questions at length in *The Roots of Hebrew Prophecy and Jewish Apocalyptic*.

Gospel is somewhat different. It opens with a doctrine of the Logos which raises several problems. In what relation does this Prologue stand to the Gospel as a whole? I assume without debate that the Prologue as it stands is an integral part of the Gospel. If so, the most natural view is that it is intended to put us in the right position for interpreting the narrative which is to follow. Harnack, however, has argued that this is not the case. The author, he believes, had little interest in the Logos doctrine. The Prologue was not intended to place the reader at the true point of view for understanding the historical record, it was rather a bait to secure the interest of readers with a turn for speculation. In this I can see nothing but a paradox, quite inadequately supported by the reasons which Harnack offers. It is true that the writer does not intrude the Logos doctrine in the body of his work, but the leading positions of the Prologue constantly reappear in the sequel. We must conclude then that the doctrine of the Logos was one of the author's primary conceptions. The question used to be a good deal discussed whether he derived it from Palestine or Alexandria. As between the two the probabilities speak for Alexandria. But here, again, new alternatives stand before us. It has recently been argued that the Hermetic literature is a source from which the evangelist drew. I mention this as a possibility which will have to be considered, though without expecting very much result. The Hermetic literature presents several problems of its own both as to date and the origin of its leading ideas.* Others are inclined to look more hopefully to the Hebrew Wisdom literature.† Two other points might be mentioned before I leave this. Norden has suggested, with the concurrence of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, that the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel was composed in imitation of the Prologue to the work on Nature written by Hera-

* I am glad to be able to refer to the first volume of Mr. Walter Scott's *Hermetica*, just published, which I have reviewed in this number of the HOLBORN REVIEW.

† See on this *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel* (1917), and *The Origin and the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1919) by Dr. Rendel Harris.

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litus of Ephesus. The other point is that it ought never to be forgotten that the Christology of the Fourth Gospel is practically identical with that of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews though they do not employ the term "Logos."

It will be clear from what I have already said that I approach the more important and much more difficult problem of Paul's relation to Greek thought and religion with no antecedent prejudice against acknowledgment of his debt to foreign influence. There is in the nature of the case no reason why anyone who freely recognises such indebtedness in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Fourth Gospel, and the Apocalypse, should hesitate to welcome the evidence of such influence in the Pauline Epistles. Paul was not afraid to become a Greek to the Greeks, nor could he have lived so many years on Gentile soil and in such intimate contact with Gentiles without being affected by the spiritual and intellectual atmosphere. And of course there are points of contact in his teaching with the finer Greek theology and ethics, which, especially to those who approach Paul from the classical side, will naturally seem cogent evidence of his debt to Greece. Nor am I concerned to deny a measure of actual indebtedness, especially in ethics. I am nevertheless very far from believing that either Greek philosophy or the Mystery Religions played any substantial part in the creation of Paulinism. When we remember that Paul had grown to maturity in a rigid and fanatical Pharisaism; that he shared to the full the Jewish abhorrence of idolatry and loathing of Gentile vice, and that his conversion did not modify this attitude; that in the Old Testament he believed that he possessed the only Divine revelation, and in the teaching of the Rabbis its authentic interpretation, we must recognise how unsympathetic with Hellenism a character and an attitude so moulded in its flexible period was likely to be. And revolutionary though his conversion to Christianity was, there is no reason to think that it changed him in this respect. Conscious that in his union with Christ he had received the Divine Wisdom he counted all this world's wisdom as foolishness. He had been initiated into the only mystery in which

the secret of the ages, hidden even from angelic principalities and powers, had been revealed to men. In those tiny bands of men and women in whose ranks not many wise or wealthy or noble were to be found, mean and contemptible by all the world's false standards, he saw nothing less august than the Church of the living God, the Temple of the Holy Ghost, the Bride and the Body of Christ, at whose feet even those principalities and powers had to sit if they were to learn the manifold wisdom of God. To one who had seen the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, we must not count it strange if in that radiance the most brilliant lights of human wisdom seemed pale. If then we are to understand Paul we must approach him from the Jewish rather than the classical side. Then we must calculate the effect on a nature so moulded and set, of his catastrophic conversion and Christian experience, including in the latter the impression made upon him by the personality of Jesus and the knowledge of His teaching, and whatever specifically Christian elements may have been derived from the primitive community. Only when we are satisfied that there are elements in Paulinism which cannot be accounted for by these forces are we entitled to have recourse to non-Jewish and non-Christian sources.

In saying this I am conscious that I have a rather strong current of opinion against me. On the other hand I could appeal for support to some of the weightiest names. Harnack's repudiation of all attempts to make Paul a Hellenist I have more than once quoted elsewhere and need not repeat.* But for those who prefer, as less likely to be prejudiced, the witness of a classical scholar I quote from one

* *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, (1911), pp. 42 f.; English translation, *The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 61, (instead of "are more than disposed" substitute "are today more than ever disposed"). I may, however, call attention to an important investigation of the terminology (on which Reitzenstein builds a good deal) in Harnack's *Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und Verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche*, (1918). E. Meyer has pronounced (1923) emphatically against the theory which would make Paul a Hellenist in the full sense of the term (*Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* III., 315 f.)

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of the highest rank. In his sketch of the history of Greek literature contributed to *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, has written these sentences :

“ But Paul did not directly absorb elements of Greek culture. . . . To be sure Hellenism is a precondition for him. He reads the Bible only in Greek, therefore he thinks also in Greek. No doubt he acts as executor for the testament of Alexander, since he brings the Gospel to the Greeks ; but he is carved from a single block, he is a Jew as Jesus is a Jew. But that this Jew, this Christian, thinks and writes in Greek for the whole world and yet in the first instance for the brethren whom he addresses, that his Greek has nothing to do with any school and follows no model but, ungainly and tumultuous, bursts straight from his heart and yet is Greek Greek, not Greek translated from Aramaic like the sayings of Jesus, makes him a classic of Hellenism.” *

In all matters of this kind we must of course go below the surface. Identity of phraseology may mean little. So much depends on the general context in which they are used and close parallels may have little significance when the religious systems differ at the root. The question whether and to what extent a New Testament writer is dependent on Greek philosophy or religion is ultimately to be decided by the Biblical scholar, but no decision can be reached without the help of classical scholarship. Indeed, it may be questioned whether other consultants may not at some points have to be called in.

For the age in which the New Testament came into existence was an age of religious syncretism, and we cannot exclude the possibility that other factors than Jewish or Græco-Roman may have to be taken into account. Indeed, I have already called attention to the suggestion that the Fourth Gospel is indebted to the Hermetic writings. This brings me naturally to Gnosticism and Manichæism. It is deeply to be regretted that we have known the Gnostics very largely through the unsympathetic and often rather

* *Die Griechische und Lateinische Literatur und Sprache*, (1905), p. 157. The whole paragraph should be read.

unintelligent accounts of their opponents, the writings of the heresiarchs having been largely destroyed. The most important original sources are in Coptic. The Patristic evidence, however, is of great value, though it presents several debatable problems, especially with reference to the trustworthiness of Hippolytus' *Philosophumena* and the decision to be made between the conflicting accounts of Basilides.* But behind these questions there is the larger issue. What is Gnosticism essentially, and what elements have entered into its composition? The traditional explanation, from the rise of Church History in modern times, had been that Gnosticism was a blend of Western and oriental ideas. This theory had been put forward at a time when very little was known about oriental religions. But it maintained its ground, and when in 1885 I began to study Gnosticism I accepted without any misgiving the current theory. Somewhat later a reference in Le Page Renouf's *Hibbert Lectures* sent me to an earlier paper he had contributed to *The Home and Foreign Review* in which this theory, as it affected both Gnosticism and Manichaeism, the latter of which I was then studying, was very severely, and as it seemed to me, effectively criticised. I still think that the argument was in a large measure sound; but orientalism has for us now a larger range of meaning. After Harnack had emphasized the Greek factor and defined Gnosticism as the acute secularising of Christianity and the Gnostics as the first theologians, Anz initiated a new stage in the discussion by calling attention to possible Babylonian influence. I am now inclined to think that more truth must be recognised in the traditional view. Whether India contributed anything must still, I believe, be regarded as doubtful, indeed, so far as Gnosticism is concerned, improbable. On Manichaeism it is hardly safe to speak till the new Manichaean documents have been much more

* I have discussed this in my article "Basilides" in *Hastings ERE* Vol. II., deciding in favour of Hippolytus.

thoroughly studied.* I should not, however, have said so much of Gnosticism for its own sake, in spite of my deep and prolonged personal interest in it. For my purpose it is especially significant because, as Harnack has said, it is in Gnosticism that the leading principles of the syncretism which flourished so widely in the first century come most clearly to expression.† I hope I shall not seem to be straying from my subject in thus calling attention to Babylon and Egypt, to India and Persia. The student of Gnosticism is all the better equipped if he knows Coptic, and the student of Manichaeism if he can read Arabic or decipher the documents recovered from Turfan. But much of his material is in any case in Greek or Latin, and even though he refuses to follow Hippolytus in regarding the various Gnostic systems as examples of ancient Greek error in a new and more fantastic dress, it is classical scholarship alone which can entitle him to an opinion on the part which the Greek factor has actually played.

I need not dwell at any length on the value of Greek and Latin to all who desire to follow the course of Church History or the development of Christian doctrine. No doubt much can be learnt through translations and authoritative histories, but there is no royal road to first-hand acquaintance with the subject in the original sources. The points at issue can often not be rightly understood save through an exact appreciation of the terms employed, these terms being represented by only rough equivalents in another language.

* Manichaeism is coming into a new prominence in connexion partly with the recent discovery of ancient sources, but partly in connexion with the recent discussions of the antecedents of Christianity. I might call attention to Reitzenstein's *Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (1921); Prosper Alfarié's *Les Ecritures Manichéennes* (1918-19) and Scheftelowitz's *Die Entstehung der Manichäischen Religion und des Erlösungsmysteriums*. Prof. Burkitt's *The Religion of the Manichees* has just appeared, and I may refer my readers to my review of it in the present number. The English reader should start his study of the subject with this volume and Prof. A. A. Bevan's article in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Prof. Burkitt finds no trace of Buddhist influence in Mani's own doctrine. (p. 44).

† *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*. 2nd. edition, p. 29. The whole discussion of the characteristics of this syncretism (pp. 29-35) is most illuminating and valuable.

I may recall in this connexion the difficulties created during the Arian controversy through the inability of Latin to reproduce the Greek technical terms without blurring fine distinctions or conveying false suggestions. Indeed some of the terms underwent striking change even in the same language. Many minds are attracted by the ambition to make their own theology, either starting from Scripture, generally read in a translation and interpreted in the most amateurish way, or worked out by their own unaided powers. But in any other subject such conceited independence would win little approval. It is futile to suppose that the theology for the present day can be drawn exclusively from Scripture without reference to the problems which have emerged during the intervening centuries and have been debated, if with too bitter an acrimony, yet with great learning, resourcefulness, and skill. With these problems intellects of truly gigantic stature have wrestled, Origen, Athanasius, Augustine, John the Scot, St. Thomas, Luther, Calvin, Schleiermacher, Ritschl. We may, probably most of us do, venture to disagree with all of them. But to not one of them can we be indifferent if we would rightly understand the theologies of our own time.

But some may be saying to themselves that the programme is altogether too extravagant. The theologian, it would seem, must start with an adequate equipment of classical scholarship. He must study the Bible in the original languages, and in their Greek and Latin versions, be a master of criticism both Lower and Higher, of exegesis and Biblical theology. He must follow the history of theology and of the Church in the original sources. Such a programme it will be said may not be excessive for a Harnack or a Robertson Smith. But if it is to be really carried out it would demand much more than one lifetime. Nor indeed is this all, for he must be familiar with the vast modern literature which has grown up about the Bible and about historic and speculative theology. And to be a finished theologian, much must be added which so far has not so much as been named—Comparative Religion, the Philosophy

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of Religion, apologetics, ethics, Pastoral Theology. But it has not been my intention to suggest that such a programme should be contemplated by any to whom I have some right to speak. Theology is a very spacious field and most of us who labour in it must select some restricted portion of it for intensive cultivation. It has been my aim to show that, whether in one plot or in another, the debt of the theologian to Classical scholarship is great, and that defective knowledge of Latin and Greek must react disastrously upon his work.

The bearing of what I have said on the educational issue will be clear. I am well aware that theological students are not numerous, and that their needs cannot be unduly prominent in the planning of the curriculum in our schools. It is quite possible for a graduate to enter on the study of theology with no preliminary knowledge of Hebrew, Greek or Latin. I need not dwell upon the grave disadvantage under which such a student labours. It has long been recognised that Hebrew can only under very exceptional circumstances be learnt at school, so that the University provides facilities for the teaching of the rudiments. But the undergraduate who comes from school with no Latin or Greek behind him cannot offer these subjects as part of his Arts work and can hardly be expected to learn them independently of it. It is in the schools accordingly that this indispensable training must be given; or, comparatively late in life, the post-graduate student, when he ought to be concentrating on the criticism, the exegesis, the theology of his documents, a most exacting task in itself, will be painfully learning the rudiments of two, or it may be three, languages. That the elimination or the drastic curtailment of Classical teaching in our schools would be in other ways disastrous I am convinced, but on this I have no special claim to speak. My aim has been to acknowledge the debt of the theologian to the Classical scholar, to indicate in some detail the significance of Greek and Latin for students of theology, and from my own point of view to offer a plea against any retrenchment of Greek or Latin in our system of education.

Some Implications of the New Neurology.

BY THE REV. J. C. HARDWICK, B.Sc.

IT is becoming generally known that the neural physiology of man has in recent years been almost entirely transformed by the researches of Sir C. S. Sherrington and Dr. Henry Head. It has been recognised that the processes of nervous reaction to stimulus are far more complex than they were represented to be by exponents of the science of psycho-physics in the nineteenth century.

The older investigators held that an impulse once started in the end-nerve which receives it from outside the organism travelled unchanged to the highest receptive centres, and evoked a response corresponding in quality and degree to the sensory attributes of the physical stimulus. This view is now recognised as highly misleading. Between the primary stimulus and the corresponding sensation lies a whole hierarchy of processes. Between the original stimuli and the terminal centres there is interposed a series of processes whereby impulses are modified, sorted, regrouped, and either facilitated or repressed.

All this intervening complex of "integrative" process (as it is termed) takes place apart from any direct participation of consciousness. In fact it would appear that certain discriminations between *sensa*, between degrees in the same kind of *sensum*, heat, cold, pain, intensities of colour and sound, taste and smell, certain rejections and selections, which we might suppose to be the work of consciousness, are in reality performed by unconscious nervous process.

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Thus the new neurology establishes a principle which may be styled that of the economy of consciousness. Consciousness emerges only where it has to perform some indispensable function which cannot otherwise operate. Where there is no need for consciousness, it remains dormant. Like the head of a large business firm, it is called upon only in cases of emergency, and confines its attention to the supreme control of the concern.

Another important principle established by the new neurology is the presence within the organism of what may be termed a hierarchy of processes—"a functional hierarchy in which one form of activity is dominated by another standing higher in the evolutionary scale," and the lower levels are of a more strictly mechanical, or reflex, kind than the higher levels. At the lower stages "the response [to stimulus] is rigidly pre-determined within certain limits; there is little choice, and the answer is physiologically inevitable." But ascending from these reflex and co-ordinating neural mechanisms, we reach those higher centres which underlie sensation. "Here the rigidity of response, so characteristic of reflex activity would be disastrous. The limited freedom of the lower levels must be expanded, so that the physiological reaction may become less inevitable and more elastic; for we are dealing with impulses which are capable, under favourable conditions, of exciting consciousness."*

Thus the unconscious reflexes are subject to a selective control which is mechanical and unconscious; but these controls in their turn are controllable by processes to the activity of which consciousness is an adjunct. In other words, in the human organism, which is itself a microcosm, is displayed an evolutionary scheme of nervous process. There exists there a hierarchy of processes, the lower and more rigid being earlier, from the evolutionary point of view, than the higher and more elastic. And it is with the higher

* Head in *Sensation and the Cerebral Cortex, Brain*, Vol. xli. (1918), part ii. Reprinted in *Studies in Neurology* (1920).

and biologically more recent processes that consciousness is associated. As Sir C. S. Sherrington says, "It is significant that, although the reflexes controlled are so often unconscious, consciousness is an adjunct to the centres which exert the control."*

This new conception of the nervous system as a complex mechanism consisting of superimposed control systems, the highest of which are (1) latest from an evolutionary point of view, and (2) characterised by the crucial quality of consciousness, raises an interesting problem in phylogenesis. The difficulty of this problem is recognised by Sherrington. Towards the close of his notable address to the British Association in 1922, after specifying certain aspects of animal mechanism "the how of which, despite many gaps in our knowledge, is fairly explicable," he refers to certain other aspects which "we are, it seems to me, despite many brilliant inquiries and inquirers, still at a loss to understand." "The steps of the results are known, but the springs of action still lie hidden." Among these as yet unexplained aspects he includes not only the shaping of the animal body, but "the conspiring of its structural units to compass later functional ends."

Here Sherrington must have in mind that integrative action of the nervous system which is his own special province. And the problem is not only one of development, but of a particular kind of development, *i.e.*, the adaptation of a lower type of structural unit to serve a subordinate purpose in a more complex type of organism. In his *Integrative Action of the Nervous System*, in chapters iv. and vi. on "Interaction between Reflexes," and on "Compound Reflexes," he shows how, as a matter of fact, the more complex nervous reactions are built up from simpler, more restricted, and therefore more primitive mechanisms; and how nervous control in the higher organisms "is exercised mainly in the perfecting and readjusting of manœuvres of ancient heritage."

* *Integrative Action of the Nervous System*, p. 388.

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Indeed, the whole problem centres in the consideration of how this control works, and in what it consists. Sherrington himself says that "no exposition of the integrative action of the nervous system is complete, even in outline, if this control is left without consideration." And he adds that "reflexes ordinarily outside its pale can by training be brought within it." *

This remark may contain a key to the interpretation of the development of nervous process. The range of control can apparently be extended; and this extension takes place whenever a new skilled movement is acquired by an individual. Thus it would appear that our own experience gives us the key to the modification of old, and perhaps to the development of new, process. If we can, in our own experience, secure the readjustment of existing processes to meet new requirements, we provide an example of function influencing structure—a thing which it may be very difficult to understand, and impossible to explain in terms of physico-chemical mechanism, but which may for all that be an actual event.

It is true that Sherrington, to whom the implications of any admission of "volitional" control are quite clear, will have none of it. The checking or releasing of the lower functions by the higher neural centres is done "with such variety and seeming independence of external stimuli that the existence of a spontaneous internal process expressed as 'will' is the naive inference drawn." †

Whether the inference is "naive" is a matter open to question. Sherrington admits that the analysis of volitional control of reflexes has not proceeded far, and suggests that some extension of the principles already displayed in mechanical interaction between reflexes may be operative in this control. "There we saw reflexes modifying each other, and the more complex reactions being built up from simpler and mere restricted ones. Some extension of the same pro-

* *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

cess should apply here also." But it seems doubtful whether the attempt to explain volition in terms of interplay between reflexes can carry us very far; and it may possibly be nothing more than another attempt to reduce something to terms of something quite different, to which as a matter of fact it is irreducible.

As against Sherrington it might be possible to urge that though we cannot understand volition, we can nevertheless experience it, and that it may be legitimate to interpret organic development in terms of our own experience, which experience may give us the key to that development just because it sets us at the "growing point" of evolution. To neglect it may be to overlook the one hint which our experience gives us as to the process of organic development.

If the development of the organism be explained in terms of volition, its mechanical aspects would have to be regarded as "lapsed" volitions—*residua*, so to speak, left behind as traces by past, and now used as instruments by present, volitions. They are now merely the raw material for further volitions. Indeed, "the mechanical as such is simply the indifferent." *

It may be urged against this view that volition is characteristic only of organisms high up in the evolutionary scale, and of comparatively recent development; and that, therefore, volition can have played no part in the development either of lower organisms or of the "processes of ancient heritage" in higher organisms. It is true that volition as we experience it ourselves is characteristic only of the higher animals, and perhaps only of man. Yet volition, as we know it, may reasonably be regarded as the more advanced species of a genus which also includes less developed species. That authority on the evolution of mind, Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, has expressed the opinion that "definite purpose is the most developed species of a genus called Conation. . . . In the lowest stages it is perhaps no more than a felt lack or un-

*L. T. Hobhouse in *Contemporary British Philosophy* (ed. Professor Muirhead), 1924, p. 177, note.

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easiness which stimulates whatever be the characteristic of an organism or an organ to a higher pitch.*

A further objection to the introduction of volition as a causal agency might be that it involves us in some theory of interaction between body and mind ; about which no satisfactory theory has ever been, or ever will be, devised. We hesitate to enter that labyrinth ; and perhaps there is no need to follow Descartes into it if we decline to accept his dualism of body and mind. The problem may take another aspect if it be recognised that " we should not distinguish mind and matter as two substances, but teleology and mechanism as two modes of action."† The mechanical mode may be the more universal, and the vast majority of events may take place in accordance with it ; but " the mechanical is simply the indifferent," and it may be, as Lotze suggested in an often-quoted passage, " absolutely universal in extent, and at the same time completely subordinate in significance." And although only an infinitesimal minority of events (we include all physical events) are teleological, yet it is these that are significant, and it is these that have created the machinery by means of which all events, mechanical and teleological alike, take place. *Natura naturans* creates and utilises *natura naturata*.

It is true that even teleological behaviour can be explained in terms of the mechanisms in which it is displayed. But such would be a *post eventum* explanation in terms of stimulus and reaction. All events—even teleological events—when they have taken place, are patient of this " mechanistic " interpretation. But when an event has taken place it belongs to the series of physical events ; its characteristic quality—its indeterminateness—has evaporated. We can explain it, but it is no longer *it* that we explain.

Thus the new neurology, in so far as it exhibits the nervous system as a series of controls diminishing in mechanical rigidity as we ascend in the scale, seems to shed some light upon the problems of organic development. And, in spite of many difficulties, the interpretation which the facts suggest is a teleological one.

* Aristotelian Society Symposium : *Are Physical, Biological, and Psychological Categories Irreducible ?*

† L. T. Hobhouse in *Contemporary British Philosophy*, p. 176.

Dr. Selbie's "Psychology of Religion."

BY THE REV. F. C. TAYLOR, M.A., B.D.

The Psychology of Religion. By W. B. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.,
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1924. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THIS volume is the first in a new series of Oxford Handbooks of Theology, and it is significant of a new emphasis in such matters that the approach to a theological series should be through psychology. The present volume is intended chiefly for students of Theology, and in this is perhaps to be found the explanation of a certain distribution of emphasis to which we shall have to refer later. But it certainly deserves the wider publicity that its author hopes for it. The ground covered in preparation for this volume is extensive, comprising the leading works on the subject not only in English but also in French and German. We miss, however, any reference to Dr. Drever's very thorough analysis of *Instinct in Man*, the consideration of which would have strengthened Dr. Selbie's treatment of the emotional and allied factors of mental life; there are also various papers in recent numbers of the *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, (particularly some on Volition) that would have helped the exposition. The book abundantly deserves the Bishop of Gloucester's description, in his editorial note of introduction to the series; it is indeed a "wise and sober review of the subject." It will be a useful guide to many who wish to know what is being done in these matters; and they need not fear that the author will leave them some time before the most interesting developments of recent years begin, for Dr. Selbie is as familiar with the latest contributions as with the more remote.

In these days one takes up a book on psychology with some trepidation. One may find almost anything inside—biography, reminiscences, physiology, biology, general reflections on life, Higher Thought, "Uplift," or many other things. It is for this reason that one is grateful for a book like Dr. R. H. Thouless's excellent *Introduction to the Psychology of Religion*, which is content to keep with some strictness to the narrow path of definitely psychological treatment. We wish Dr. Selbie were also of the company of the elect. The voice of the apologist can sometimes be heard underneath that of the psychologist, and the result is not always happy. We are quite sure that the well-deserved criticisms of Freud's and Tansley's summary dismissal of God as a "projection" would gain in effectiveness if rather less stress were laid on man's native religious impulses and the trusting of his faculties. There is a certain looseness of terminology that strikes us as regrettable in a book of this standing—man's "religious nature;" "higher nature" and "lower nature;" "the spiritual sense;" our "religious sense;" "making real the ideas;" "restoring the balance of the faculties;" these and other similar phrases give a sense of vagueness that detracts from the value of the book. It would have been better if Dr. Selbie could have thought of some other word for the over-worked, and by now discredited, word "faculties." We admit the difficulty of finding a handy word for the general processes of mind; but, in view of its evil tradition and hopeless vagueness, "faculty," is perhaps the worst word that could be used. In common with the best modern experts Dr. Selbie repeatedly emphasises the active elements of consciousness—emotion, will, conation, etc. But we wish that the old "idea-psychology" did not insist on showing through as it does—"volition is the holding of an idea in the centre of consciousness by an effort of attention;" "As ideas are translated into acts they obtain new power;" "conversion . . . is brought about by a change of ideas;" etc. It is quite possible to use this form of description. A few years ago it would have been inevitable, for there was no other suitable. But, in the light of recent work, such

descriptions give a wrong emphasis and obscure some things that ought to be brought out. The inadequacy of this approach is shown by McDougall in his recent *Outline of Psychology*. His remarks on the "Idea Psychology" are perhaps worth quoting:

"The great rival of the faculty theory was the *theory of ideas*. This theory had a most varied and influential career in both philosophy and psychology; and though no one has ever been able to make of it a consistent and intelligible theory, its influence still lives on." * . . . "My own opinion is that any service performed by these confused and confusing fictions (namely, the "ideas," . . . etc.) is far outweighed by the vast mass of confused and loose thinking which they have engendered. They should be sternly banished to the psychological museums." †

We do not, of course, suggest that McDougall is to be regarded as an inspired leader in psychology, great as his contributions have been. But his contentions here seem to be sound. That he does not stand alone is evident from the following sentences from Drever: ‡

"An idea as mere cognition has no motive force at all. But of course an 'idea as mere cognition' does not exist; it is an abstraction. . . . An idea will have motive force in proportion to the affective factor in its meaning, *i.e.*, it will have motive force in proportion to the motive force of the 'interest disposition' it arouses, and dependent upon this, or in proportion to, and dependent upon the motive force of the emotional tendency evoked."

We suggest that there is an approach to psychological questions shown here to which Dr. Selbie does not allow anything like its due value. This is especially clear in the treatment of Belief. Dr. Selbie is conscious of an emotional factor in belief, but seems to admit it rather grudgingly. (*e.g.*, "Belief is often a matter of values as well as of fact,

* McDougall's *Outline of Psychology*, p. 13.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

‡ Drever's *Instinct in Man*, p. 244.

and emotional conditions cannot therefore be excluded." "In all matters of belief it seems impossible to escape from emotional and temperamental factors." It is true that he recognises that belief is active. ("To believe in God is not merely to accept the fact of His existence as we would accept the truth of a mathematical proposition. It means also that we are prepared to act on such belief. In other words religious belief involves practice.") But the facts require even more than this. Belief is through and through a conative attitude, in its genesis, its continuance, and its results. It is hardly even a case of accepting a belief and acting on it. The action is the body with which the belief clothes itself; the relation between the two is not that of cause and effect, or that of fact and implication, but more nearly that of body and soul.* As a psychological description the chapter on "Belief in God" seems to us rather inadequate.

Another group of terms that are frequently used includes "herd-instinct," "gregarious instinct," "group mind," and "subconscious mind." The treatment here seems to be somewhat uncritical. It is unfortunate that these terms have become so popular, for their use tends to obscure some very real issues. It is exceedingly doubtful, for instance, whether the gregarious instinct can bear the weight put upon it, even in animal life. (See on this point an article in "*Mind*," by S. B. Ward, July, 1924.) It certainly cannot in man. As applied to man "herd instinct" is a loose blanket term that covers a large number of complicated and subtle relationships. While on this point we must confess to some surprise at the undue respect with which Dr. Selbie treats certain semi-popular writers on Psychology. Trotter's book on the Herd Instinct is an ingenious attempt to apply the conception to human life, but its psychological importance is very small. Le Bon's work on the Crowd has even less value, and its fallacies have, we should have thought, been by now suffi-

* Beliefs as active dispositions in the sense described above develop and deposit a certain "skeleton," which becomes part of the structure of mind. These are the "Beliefs" of popular language. See also McDougall's *Outline*, p. 376.

ently exposed. And Dr. Tansley's excursion from his own field of biology into psychology gives a description of mental life that we can only regard as deplorable. It is unfortunate that some readers of Dr. Selbie's book will get the impression that these writers are authorities on the subject.

To examine the book more in detail. The fifteen chapters fall into three fairly clearly marked divisions. Four chapters deal with the general nature of religion, psychologically considered. Three others deal with special classes and aspects. (Religion and the Individual; Religion and Society; and Religion and the Psychology of Children and Adolescents.) There are five chapters on matters of special religious interest—Conversion, Prayer, Sin and Repentance, Mysticism, Immortality. The chapter on Belief in God might well fall into this section though it comes earlier in the book. There are in addition two chapters on the New Psychology, one, in the earlier part of the book on "The Unconscious in Religious Experience," and the final chapter on "Religion and the New Psychology." It indicates the thoroughness with which Dr. Selbie has done his work that there is hardly a phase of the religious life that will not be found at least touched on somewhere in these chapters. The skill with which the material is massed is also worthy of very high praise. To discuss Magic and Religion from more than one point of view in less than ten pages is quite a feat of selection and compression. There is not space to discuss in detail the numerous interesting points that this book raises. One or two matters only can be mentioned.

We are glad to see that Dr. Selbie makes considerable use of Marett's very suggestive discussions in the treatment of Magic and Religion. The difficulty, in these darker parts of primitive religious life, is to trace the steps by which diverse practices and attitudes were separated out from an early undifferentiated whole. Marett's is the most careful account we have seen; but an interesting attempt to trace the rise of spirits from an early impersonal "mana" is made in Coe's "Psychology of Religion." The most profitable way of looking at Magic seems to be to regard it as depending upon

a "normalistic" attitude to life. It is not certain how far Dr. Selbie would adopt this, but what is apparently the same conception is used by the late Dr. Rivers in his recently published FitzPatrick Lectures on "Medicine, Magic and Religion."

The discussion of Feeling in religion is a good illustration of Dr. Selbie's balanced treatment. But although it is customary to assume that feeling is most active in the earlier stages of religion (Dr. Selbie himself says that "it goes without saying"), we confess to being a little sceptical. We are, of course, thinking of feeling as emotion (what the psychoanalysts call "affect"); not of mere hedonic tone. Feeling seems to be closely associated with the instincts, and there is some reason to think that it depends upon obstruction in the channels of discharge. That is to say, every instinct tends to work itself out in action. If this tendency is checked a state of tension is set up which is felt in consciousness as "emotion." The theory is worked out by Drever. McDougall treats it somewhat contemptuously, though his own theory seems still less satisfactory. If we can regard feeling thus as dammed-up affect there seems no reason why it should be more present in early than in later religion. Early man lived a life in which cultus played a large part in his religion, and he was fairly active. The regions in which we should rather look for feeling in religion are those in which there has been a breakdown of the traditional cultus with no satisfactory substitute; or where immediate action is not possible. It is some confirmation of the position that in this country "feeling" is most in evidence in those branches of religion that have a bare form of cultus and have not seen the need for a close alliance between religion and ethics. Feeling is also a marked feature of the religion of youth when things are felt that cannot be, as we say, "expressed." It is not easy, and perhaps not possible, to discover much about the emotional states of primitive man, but at any rate, Dr. Selbie's rather summary dismissal of this matter hardly does justice to its complexity.

The two chapters on "Religion and the Individual" and

"Religion and Society" ought to be taken together. It would probably have been even better if they could have been treated within one chapter as two phases of one fact. The discussion of religion, first from the individual and then from the social point of view, tends to throw an undue emphasis on each in turn, and betrays the author into some questionable positions. For instance, the emphasis on the social factor makes him speak of the "group mind" as though its existence were an established fact (*Cf.* page 150. "There is such a thing as a group mind resulting from the co-ordination of a number of individual minds, made by them and yet dominating and directing them.") This goes too far. One of the most careful discussions of the group mind is to be found in Muirhead's and Hetherington's "Social Purpose," and they refuse to go further than admitting that society reproduces the structure of a mind and will. It cannot be said to be "a mind" in the sense in which McDougall, for instance, would so describe it. McIver's "Community" is more cautious still. But if we get the social emphasis a little unduly stressed in this chapter the individual receives rather more than his due in the previous one. In this chapter, Dr. Selbie has in mind the excessive emphasis on society found in the school of Durkheim, and he rightly maintains, as against them, that religion can never be resolved merely into a branch of sociology. There is in religion a specifically individual form of experience. Especially is this manifested in the sense of sin and in mysticism. Further, the great discoveries in religion have been made not by men collectively, but by outstanding individuals, such as the Hebrew prophets. All this is sound, and Dr. Selbie does well to attempt to counteract what he regards as the modern tendency to submerge the individual in the group. But his zeal surely carries him too far when it makes him say that "In prayer (the worshipper) is concerned to establish a relation with the divine, which is purely for his own ends, and to ask for boons which relate simply to himself and his needs." (Dr. Selbie does not mean us to assume, as this isolated sentence might suggest, that

all prayer is selfish, but that it is always an intensely personal transaction. But is not even that, by itself, to go too far? Is there not always the social reference, explicit or implied? Or take the following sentence in this chapter—"Conversion again is a purely individual process." But is there such a thing? Coe's discussion of conversion emphasises the fact that, although it is an individual process, in the sense that it takes place within an individual mind (there are no other minds), there is at every point the social reference. The matter may be summed up perhaps as follows. Religion is not exhausted by merely sociological accounts. There is always more than that. This Dr. Selbie emphasises and it is quite sound. Secondly, religion takes place in individual experiences. This is true, but by itself not particularly important. All experience is of this kind. Dr. Selbie seems to get too much work out of this conception. It does not entitle us to use the word "individualistic" when all we mean is "taking place in individual minds." In the third place, persons, individuals, vary in their apprehension of values; and advance is due to those who see further and more than their fellows. This also Dr. Selbie emphasises, but it does not make the pioneers individualists; it may actually make them less so than they were. For there is a fourth consideration for which we have looked in vain in this chapter, *viz.*, that religion, in its most genuine expressions, is an actual losing of oneself in something higher. It is this aspect that is fundamental for religion and it is one of the great merits of Bosanquet's little book, "*What Religion Is*," that it brings it out so clearly. "We are saved, if we must have a word, from isolation; we are saved by giving ourselves to something which we cannot help holding supreme." "And so you can be good though you are not good, because as you stand, you yourself are not real. By worship and self-surrender you repudiate and reject your badness, and will and feel yourself as one with the supreme goodness." "What is aimed at is not to be pre-occupied with yourself *at all*; not to be pre-occupied with your own weakness or littleness, any more than with your own good-

ness or cleverness." Of course, we all know what are Bosanquet's prepossessions, but he seems to put his finger here on what, however it be stated, is an essential part of the experience of religious people from the time of the Apostle to the Gentiles to to-day. No adequate psychology of religion can omit this feature of the religious consciousness.

On one or two features of Dr. Selbie's discussion of the "New Psychology" and the Unconscious we have already touched. He does well to warn us that the pretensions of this new method are not to be taken at their face value, and that psychology has no authority to pronounce on questions of ultimate reality. But on the whole, we find the discussion a little disappointing, and not without some marks of confusion. The word "complex," for instance, is capable of at least four meanings—which is some reason for its use being discontinued. It may mean (1) The same thing as a sentiment: (2) A repressed psychological mass, a morbid growth; so McDougall and Hadfield: (3) A psychological mass held together by emotional adhesion, not morbid; so Tansley and Hart: (4) Any psychological mass or net-work. Now these four uses are not only not distinguished here, but there is some confusion between the morbid and the normal (*i.e.*, between (2) and (3) above. The other senses are not referred to.) To say that, "Complexes at best represent what is one-sided and abnormal in man's psychological development," is only true of one use of the word, and that not the one that Dr. Selbie has illustrated by quotations from Tansley. Again, the discussion of the unconscious seems always to be overshadowed by the use of the word made familiar by William James. But this is a very different thing from that of Freud or Jung. Freud's distinction between the fore-conscious and the true unconscious is nowhere brought out. Nor does such a statement as the following correctly represent Freud's position—"Freud has shown very clearly that forgetting is not the unconscious process that we think, but that it is generally motivated." Is not Freud's position rather that it is, not "generally," but always "motivated," but that it is also unconscious? The unconscious has a life

of its own largely independent of that of the conscious mind. This may be mythology, but it is Freud. What we miss, however, in the treatment of the "New Psychology" is any plain indication that Dr. Selbie appreciates the promise of the new methods of investigation. At present we can see little but the immense masses of absurdity and of mud that have been thrown up. But already there is the indication of fresh discoveries in such a book as the late Dr. Rivers' *Instinct and the Unconscious*.

Our general discussion has been mainly critical. But we are not unmindful of the value of Dr. Selbie's work. He has given us in a small space a very valuable survey of the whole field of modern psychology and its bearings on religion. If, somewhat greedily, we find ourselves asking for something more and something other than this, it is partly because we are conscious of the immense amount of work waiting to be done in the psychological exploration of religion; and partly, because there are some from whom we should have expected very little and not gone away disappointed!

The Human Factor in Foreign Missionary Propaganda.*

BY THE REV. C. P. GROVES, B.A., B.D.

THE present century has witnessed a steady development in the systematic prosecution of the foreign missionary enterprise. The situation to-day is stated concisely in figures supplied by the recently published *World Missionary Atlas* (March, 1925), where the growth of Protestant Missions in the last quarter of a century is illustrated as follows :

	1903.	1911.	1925.
Foreign Staff -	15,288	20,333	29,049
Native Staff -	72,752	102,948	151,531
Communicants -	1,235,303	2,344,829	3,613,407

In the support of this campaign the Protestant Societies raise an annual income of nearly fifteen million sterling, nearly ten millions of which is contributed by the United States and approximately three millions by the British Isles. There are 826 Societies contributing to this result. Statistics, however, are not capable of measuring all the advance that has been made, unless we deliberately define progress as "such improvement as can be verified by statistics." In two specific directions marked progress has been seen. There has been increasingly a drawing together of the missionary forces on the field, sometimes in the pursuit of a common policy in the different denominational areas, and sometimes

**Christian Missions and Oriental Civilisations.* By MAURICE T. PRICE, Ph.D. Shanghai, China. 1924. 16s. English Agents : Messrs. Probsthain & Co., 41, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

in actual co-operative work, more particularly in the provision of literature and in higher education. The writer was a representative with missionaries of other Societies in Nigeria at a Conference with the Government on educational matters, when the one Roman Catholic representative, turning to the Protestant members, said, "You are really one"—an unsolicited tribute to the unity of policy which four neighbouring Protestant Societies had achieved. Another direction, and one of the greatest importance, in which development has taken place has been in the nature of the propaganda itself. It was but natural that the first contact of Christian missionaries with a heathen people, the moral and social evils among whom would largely fill the picture at first, should produce indiscriminating condemnation of their life and faith. More intimate knowledge and deeper study, however, while not reversing the moral verdict, have at least revealed elements of value that the wise propagandist will seek to conserve. Where this is discovered, a change in the nature of the propaganda follows. The modern studies of anthropology and comparative religion have done much to produce the modification that has meant increased efficiency.

The situation produced abroad by the activities of foreign missionaries on the scale and with the increasing efficiency already noted is far from being a simple one. The considerable extension of the missionary front, and the lapse of time which has revealed more clearly the meaning of its cultural and religious invasions, have been the two controlling conditions in space and time under which has arisen a more modern situation that is highly complex. It becomes more and more important to study the relationship of the human factor to the whole enterprise that we may make as perfect as possible the element that is under our own control. Any attempt, therefore, to investigate systematically the phenomena produced by missionary contacts can lay claim to importance with respect to its subject matter at least. *

It is in this connexion that Dr. Price's book has special interest. Its sub-title indicates the nature and scope of the work, "A Study in Culture Contact: The Reactions of Non-

Christian Peoples to Protestant Missions from the Standpoint of Individual and Group Behaviour." The progress of the missionary movement on a world-wide scale has stimulated responses of various kinds. It is the author's purpose to examine these in the light of the most recent psychological research, classify the responses made, and estimate as precisely as possible the psychological setting of each type of response. Dr. Park, of the University of Chicago, who commends the study in a foreword, states: "The thing that is unique about this volume is its point of view. It regards the missionary enterprise as a natural phenomenon and, for the first time so far as I know, seeks to describe it in terms of a natural process—a social psychological process, to be exact" (p. vi.). The author, who studied sociology at Chicago, has resided for several years in Shanghai as editor and educational adviser. He has thus had the advantage of experiencing at first hand the effect of the impact of the Christian culture of the West, mediated through Christian Missions, upon the civilisation of the Far East. While this has doubtless contributed a note of reality to his discussion, it has not limited his outlook to the land he knows. A bibliography of sixteen pages testifies to his wide range of research, and the titles bear witness to the high standing of the authors he has consulted. Such authoritative productions as the Reports of the World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh, 1910) and the International Review of Missions, such authorities as Farquhar on religious movements in India, Warneck on animistic heathendom, and Robinson, Cary, Du Plessis, Richter and others on the historical side are a sufficient guarantee of the sources of information. Two appendices set forth at length the psychological procedure.

The discussion does not attempt to reach any definite conclusions; the aim is rather to mark out the field, assemble and classify representative data, indicate the problems that emerge, and emphasise the cautions to be observed in the handling of them. The treatment is thoroughly scientific, grounded in the inductive method. Great care has been taken to supply complete references to authorities for every case or

statement quoted by means of bibliographical notes that follow each chapter. The laborious research that has gone to the production of the volume is indicated by the fact that one chapter has 100 and another 121 references indexed in this way. There is reference to a study of the psychology of the propagandist which Dr. Price hopes to take up in a further volume. This is a highly interesting book.

It is clear that before the material can be set down in any intelligible order, the main categories into which it falls must be decided. Those selected are :

(1) First impulsive reactions, or initial temporary responses.

(2) Indifference, or lack of any permanent response.

More permanent responses :

(3) Resistance, or passive opposition.

(4) Counter-attack, or active opposition.

(5) Connivance and tacit co-operation, or passive receptivity.

(6) Readiness to join the new group, or active receptivity.

"This is a cross-section view, each category designating only one stage in a changing process ; for, if the missionary teaches or preaches long enough, he will soon secure all these types of reaction " (pp. 2-3).

It is not possible to do more here than indicate some of the questions considered. We select two as illustrative of the problems that emerge on the foreign field, and as capable of analysis by the psychological methods here suggested.

There is the problem of the nature of the stimulus provided by the missionary. He is sent to take the Christian faith, but actually he takes far more. He is a foreign missionary in more senses than one. He is not only foreign from the point of view of his home constituency ; he is foreign to the community to which he has gone, and it is this aspect that produces a whole crop of consequences, few of which were probably foreseen. He is a "multiple stimulus," and this fact complicates the simple witness to his faith that in

most cases he would be content to give. To begin with, he is of a different race and colour in many instances; this may produce a certain attitude towards him before he has spoken a word, sometimes even before he has been seen, if Dame Rumour has been busy in advance.

“The unsophisticated African entertains aversion to white people, and when, on accidentally or unexpectedly meeting a white man he turns or takes to his heels, it is because he feels that he has come upon some unusual or unearthly creature, some hobgoblin, ghost, or sprite; and when he does not look straight in a white man's face, it is because he believes in the ‘evil eye,’ and that an aquiline nose, scant lips, and cat-like eyes afflict him. The Yoruba word for a European means a peeled man, and to many an African the white man exudes some rancid odour not agreeable to his olfactory nerves” (Quoted, page 3).

The present writer has been told by negro boys in Nigeria of the very unfortunate first impressions they received of Europeans. One boy said, “My father used to tell me that they have many eyes round their heads, so that if you try to escape they would see you and kill you.” Many believed that white people were ghosts. Such ideas are apparently the result of endeavouring to interpret the new and unfamiliar in terms of past experience. When familiarity makes a closer contact possible, the hunger of curiosity may still be the impelling motive. Complicating the situation is the alien culture which the missionary brings with him in a greater or less degree. His dress attracts attention, and his general mode of life may make him an object of great interest. He needs to be on his guard against the supposition that all the people that come together when he speaks have merely come to hear him speak. The possession of a gold tooth has been known to excite keen interest in the preacher who owned it. The fact that the missionary in most mission fields is the bearer of educational advantages introduces a further element, probably the dominant one, that attracts, though this is not true of the initial stages of pioneer work; the significance of education must to some extent, however crudely, be appreci-

ated. The political factor enters in many instances, and the missionary is sometimes regarded as a political advance guard or convenient outpost of his Government. We have known missionaries among a primitive African people who have preferred not to wear the khaki so convenient for travel in the tropics, solely on account of this confusion.

"Bishop Cameron, of Capetown, says, 'Another social—or perhaps rather political—hindrance is the idea in the minds of many of the heathen natives that Christianity is a foreign religion, and that the missionaries are in some way or other officers of the British Government.' " "The opinion has been very generally entertained among the Chinese that the professors of the Christian religion become the subjects of the country to which the missionary belonged, and would not, therefore, publicly connect themselves in any way with the Chinese authorities." (Quoted on p. 72).

Dr. Price acutely points out that "Great Britain's prohibition of German missionaries from India and English mandatory regions for five years after the signing of the Versailles Treaty in 1920, combined with the activities of British commercial agents in the wake of British missionaries, may cause some more persistent suspicion on the part, at least, of non-Christian countries" (p. 72). It should be noted, however, that the discrimination against German missionaries has now been to some extent removed. The missionary may thus be a stimulus in many different ways to the people around him; some may react to one, some to another of the points that arouse their interest. Much care is required in evaluating the responses, more particularly in the early stages of work in a new area. For the sake of the true unity and stability of the new Christian group he seeks to establish, the missionary, while accepting, as being of some value, every type of response that may lead to ultimate approval, cannot rest content until there is an appreciation of the spiritual nature of his message.

A second set of problems centres in the fact that the people to whom the missionary goes as a propagandist are not in-

dividuals to whom he can appeal, but members of groups more or less well defined, with an inherited social system and culture of varying degrees of development. Thus, granted that the missionary at last succeeds in disentangling from the other elements that complicate his situation as a foreign propagandist his essential spiritual appeal, he discovers at once that on the other side the situation is complex too. If he as a propagandist appears in many different relationships that qualify him as an individual in the eyes of his hearers, so does the individual to whom he goes. The strength of the group influence over the individual will vary according to the strength of the emotions involved. In China the practice of ancestor worship illustrates the strength of this group influence in the limited circle of the family. For the son to become a Christian means a refusal to show that filial piety to his parents when they have departed this life that the traditional filial obligation demands. The whole strength of his filial devotion, therefore, is brought into play by the pleading of a father who sees the loss to himself of his son's attitude, but cannot appreciate the new outlook that has transformed that son's conception of the value of the tradition. It is much more difficult for us, who live in Western lands where the freedom of the individual, thanks to Christian teaching, has been so widely recognised, to understand the "pull" of the group when emphasis on individual responsibility has never been made. In Africa the tribal unit provides a larger group in which the individual is integrated. Religion for the African is so bound up with the tasks of his daily life, that conversion cannot but mean serious social changes. The first Commission of the Edinburgh Conference reported :

"The tribes of Africa are organised generally upon the basis of despotic rule, and among them there is found a prejudice against Christianity on the ground that it destroys the power and influence of the chiefs, that men who become Christians are rebels against their native superiors, and that it is impossible to live consistent Christian lives while maintaining the inherited connexion with the native authorities.

It is again the native Christian who proves by his life, much more intelligently than the missionary by his preaching, that native rule is consistent with Christian confession" (Edinburgh Reports, Vol. I., *Carrying the Gospel*, p. 324).

But it will not be the same native rule. Moreover, any breaking away from traditional custom is regarded among an animistic people as criminal to the extent to which they believe in the power of their ancestors, whose customs are in question, to visit them with heavy penalties for their disloyalty to the past. Warneck states the case strongly on the basis of his experience in the East Indian Archipelago:

"This complicated tradition that has ruled, unchanged for centuries, lies like a curse on primitive peoples, and kills every moral movement. Should any scruple of conscience emerge, it is stifled at once by this fatalistic strait waistcoat. Their conscience is a signpost whose writing has been obliterated. The heathen are like stamped coins with one single image and superscription" (*The Living Forces of the Gospel*, p. 130).

It is clear that any appeal to do a new thing made to a member of such a group will have to reckon with the power of the group over the individual, and the strength of character of the individual in being willing to take an independent line of action when a case for doing so has been made out to him. We are, of course, purposely restricting the field of discussion to the human factors involved. The situation we are considering is a constantly changing one, and this complicates the problem. The stimulus of the propagandist will in time produce a reaction in the group itself. It may occur, broadly considered, in one of two ways. The group may become disintegrated through the contact. To take an example of how easily this may occur among an African people, the development of a country by means of railways and motor roads, and the transference of members of native groups for new construction, for service at new trading stations, and so forth, produces an intermingling of the population that tends to obliterate the old tribal distinctions, and to weaken the bond that held the individual to his group.

Missionary experience in many lands illustrates the greater ease with which individuals are won when adrift from their home groups; more converts are won abroad than at home, more in cities than in the villages, in cases where the group holds its members closely knit. Converts among Jews are rare, but a comparatively large percentage are baptised abroad; Chinese converts outside China seem easier to win (*Carrying the Gospel*, pp. 249, 275).

The working missionary in Africa to-day will probably find his best opportunities of dealing with the individual who may thus be held by a powerful group influence, presented in four ways. First, he has an opportunity before the individual is fully absorbed into the group, that is, while he is still a child. This states, from one point of view, the tremendous significance of the educational opportunity presented to Christian Missions in Africa to-day. Later, when he enters the group, he has an already established connexion with the Christian missionary, and if the group persists, it may nevertheless be gradually transformed. The second type of opportunity is the occasion when the group fails the individual, as, for example, when a medical missionary effects a cure in a case where his group was powerless to help. He has tangible proof that something of real value is to be found outside, and he may readily look again in that direction with a lively sense of favours to come. A third opportunity comes when the help of the group is removed, as in the case of travel; this has been mentioned above. The fourth opening is presented when the group itself shows signs of disintegration. It is an opportunity that at the same time carries a responsibility, the seriousness of which it would be hard to exaggerate, for nothing less than the moral order of that society, primitive though it may have been, is involved. It is an opportunity that, to the man who sees it, spells "Make haste." We have dealt at some length with the case of the group loosening its hold, because it is this type of change which is found in Africa to-day. But the group may stiffen as the result of contact with the propagandist, and so consciously assert its influence over

its members. This is seen in those religious reform movements in India of which Dr. J. N. Farquhar has given the classical account. By means of defensive propaganda the hold of the group upon its members is strengthened. But what cause produces such a stiffening in the group? Dr. Price suggests :

“Our hypothesis as to the essential nature of the individual and group processes would suggest an opposing response when the results of propaganda endanger the present satisfaction of certain bio-psychological urges, or, endanger the circumstances, possessions, customs, sentiments, or beliefs, functioning as satisfiers,—either one, or all taken as a whole.” (p. 260).

The group which is most intensely hostile to any attempt to weaken its hold upon its members is, of course, that of Islam. The later appearance in history of the faith of the Prophet, its historic conflicts with Christian Powers, the memory of a period of domination in India among Indian Moslems, these and other factors intensify the opposition of the group to Christian propaganda. The method of controversy has been almost entirely abandoned by modern missions in Moslem lands for the acting of the Christian life ; “Deeds, not words,” is now the watchword. No non-Christians are so shy of Christian education as are Moslems.

“The Muslims have been very chary of subjecting their children to the risk of contagion in our schools, and they often delay their public secular education for years, in order that their religious instruction may be first attended to by private tuition or in their own schools, thus handicapping them to some extent in the battle of life.” (Quoted on p. 40).

The Christian missionary, seeking to win converts from family, tribal, or religious groups is faced with a further difficulty beyond the actual resistance of the group itself in seeking to retain its members. It is that he is not merely seeking to win members to a new group—the Christian Church—but to personal faith in a Master which shall issue in a new way of life. The whole conception is a new one, and this

greatly complicates his task. It would be comparatively easy on every Mission field to organise churches merely as new groups, thus producing a transfer of loyalty from one group to another. With such a transfer the Christian missionary can never rest content, and it is just here that there comes his hardest task. We are limited by our subject to the consideration of the human factor, but were we indeed restricted to that in reality the task would be impossible of achievement.

Meanwhile every effort must be made to equip the propagandist as completely as possible, and towards that end we welcome studies such as this by Dr. Price. His own interest is that of the psychologist engaged on a new field of research; those engaged in the preparation of missionaries, and missionaries in their own self-preparation, will find a study of this work exceedingly stimulating on the problems of the field, and helpful in pointing out, though not intentionally, many pitfalls of the inexperienced enthusiast. We are not limited to psychological processes in our resources for the missionary propaganda, but it is through those processes that the expression of the resources at our disposal is made. The more, therefore, we can understand them, the better we may be able to carry our message.

On the Solution of Unemployment.

BY THE REV. PERCY JACKSON.

The Solution of Unemployment, or, The Social Credit Theorem of Major C. H. Douglas, M.I.M.E. By W. H. WAKINSHAW, M.A. Andrew Reid & Co., Newcastle on Tyne. 10s. net.

SINCE the book giving us our present topic was written there has happened a swift change in British party politics. Mr. Baldwin, with a huge majority, which, as he has nobly acknowledged, confers upon him a terrific responsibility—"to whom much is given, of him is much required"—is conceivably in power for a not inconsiderable period. He has already given evidence that he is in pursuit of a purpose not less humane than that of any of his predecessors. He is backed, moreover, by some, at any rate, who have a similar conception of the statesman's high duty. At the Ministry of Labour he has one who himself has slept in the casual ward; at the Board of Education he has a Minister who uncompromisingly endorses the commendable aims of the late Labour minister in this office. At the Exchequer!—perhaps that is the key position. And who is sufficient to delineate the potentialities of Mr. Winston Churchill there? At any rate we may be sure that "Winston" will not be a more docile servant of the financial hierarchy than Mr. Philip Snowden, who averred that the City Bankers were ready to erect a statue to his honour.

Is it conceivable then, that for a little while a sufficient body of British freemen can forbear the pother of minor party criticisms, and give themselves a period of concentrated

thought, detached from the slavery of party slogans, upon the abiding problems that persist through every change of government, and which threaten to become more grave with every advance of mechanical contrivance, and with every development on the part of other trading nations?

So swiftly are things changing, that ideas which six months ago were almost taboo are now freely ventilated, and finding endorsement in all sorts of places. If, less than a year ago, one suggested that there was a vital connexion between monetary issue and control, and unemployment, the likelihood was that he would be dubbed a pitiful crank; or else that the matter would be fobbed off with a nod and the reminder that we must give ourselves to "the really serious" contentions of the hour, be they protection, free trade or nationalization. That the time has passed for whispering of currency questions in a corner the following extracts from recent papers may sufficiently indicate.

The *Times* of Dec. 12th, 1924, reporting the "No More War" Congress, gave room for the asseveration of Prof. Soddy:

"Behind Parliament, behind even the throne, there was a great unseen power which could make war and peace, and render a nation stagnant or prosperous—the power of finance. . . . In overthrowing autocracy, democracy had absolutely forgotten all about money, *and that the secret of power was the control of currency*. If money again were genuine instead of counterfeit; if it were issued by a public authority for use for exchanging the products of industry, for enabling people to purchase instead of being used for usury; if it were used abundantly to keep pace with the progress of science instead of being held by bankers, the major problem of our internal disorders, our unemployment and our poverty, our class hatred at home, would disappear."

At the National Convention of Liberals, held after the debacle of the last election, Dr. Macnamara, greatly daring, remarked:

"There were more people on the unemployment register to-day than there were this day last year, and this day four

years ago. What was hoped would be but a passing emergency seemed to be hardening into a permanency. The problem was to find work for one million more people. . . . There was only one way to do it, *and that was by using the public credit* for schemes of national development." (*Times*, Jan. 30, 1925).

Unrepentant, though he seems to have had but scant official backing at the Convention, he returns to the theme in a letter to the *Times* of March 12, 1925, headed "Unemployment—The Wasting Human Factor." In the course of his analysis of the situation he treats of the common reply given to discussions upon our social disorder, which had recently been offered in a House of Commons debate, "When Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland tells us that industrial peace is the real cure, he puts it too high." Does anyone recognise in that plea the general voice of the British pulpit? "Peace and goodwill in industry," has probably been more frequently echoed the last twelve months than ever before in the history of the world. Was it not Dr. Jacks a little while ago who was moved by the spectacle of the *abundance of goodwill and its apparent paralysis* before the tasks of the time? Dr. Macnamara asks how is it that the great schemes for national development hang fire? Everybody is pressing for reduction of taxation. And he remarks, "You cannot adequately finance development schemes *out of revenue* and at the same time reduce taxation. That is the dilemma." That is true whichever party happens to be in office. "What is the way out?" he pertinently asks. "*Use your credit*," he retorts. A simple phrase enough; its full exposition will require many treatises. If first we understood what "credit" was, and then *to whom it properly belongs!*

Dr. Macnamara continues: "Use your credit. It has been restored and maintained by very heavy imposts upon the taxpayers. Let it now be utilized to promote work which will, while adding to the productive capacity of the country, restore and maintain the human factor in industry. Without this, the best organization, the latest machinery, and the shrewdest planning (and it might with equal truth be added

'the utmost goodwill') must come to nothing in the end. If you do not go ahead on the lines I am trying to indicate, tens of thousands of our young men will have drifted perilously near incapacity for steady continuous work, and thousands of your craftsmen will either have gone abroad, or have lost their skill. This is the thing that ought to dwarf every other consideration if people could only be brought to see it."

That it is not all moonshine is fairly evident from one or two recent public utterances of Sir Alfred Mond. Speaking at Carmarthen on March 16, 1925, Sir Alfred declared :

"It was time the callous acquiescence in the present state of affairs should come to an end. Why should we accept as an act of necessity, almost as an act of God, the unemployment in our midst." . . . "He would say," continues the report, "that industrial unrest was largely the result of mistaken policy. He would like to see the Chancellor of the Exchequer summon up courage in the forthcoming budget, and follow his own line *instead of the conventional line to which he would no doubt be advised!*"

What was in his mind we may perhaps deduce from his statement at the National Liberal Club on March 25th, when among other things he said :

"We were extraordinarily shortsighted in the way in which we used our national credit for Imperial development. We kept on peddling out little schemes on the basis of what the revenues of the countries could stand. *We were not putting the credit of Great Britain behind the development of the countries of the Empire.*"

He instanced the need for large power stations, development of waterways and transportation possibilities in India.

The next day, in the unemployment debate in the House, he was explicit to this extent :

"The present position ought to make any Government feel that risks must be taken, even though they offended against the orthodox views of those who thought the world would come right, or extinguish itself, which was far more

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certain. The time had come when the nation should use its credit to develop this country and the Empire."

The last remark was greeted with cheers. It would be interesting to know from what benches? Pressed later by the President of the Board of Trade to say whether he was speaking for the Liberal party he rejoined, "I do not profess to speak for anybody except myself"—a remark the import of which may not readily disclose itself. It is not yet safe, the powers of finance being what they are, for responsible men, especially if there is any prospect of their coming into office, to pledge their party to credit and currency reform.

That others are on a similar trail will appear from the following notices. *Times* report (March 31, 1925) of I. L. P. proposals for submission to the Annual Conference at Easter. Under the heading of "A Banking Council" we read, "A second report deals with the Socialization of Banking and Credit, and states that the monetary system and currency policy of Great Britain require drastic remodelling in the light of post-war conditions."

A similar significance attaches to the "Revolutionary Proposal," of Mr. G. N. Barnes, reported in the *Times* of Feb. 12, 1925:—

"An immense improvement in the production of goods would follow if those engaged in industry had a sense of pursuing a common purpose. . . . He was against anything in the nature of a revolution which was simply going to upset things and divide *existing* wealth. The question is, not the division of existing wealth, but the production of new wealth and a fair distribution of that wealth." *

"They would have to get rid of the idea of Capital running industry, and get another idea into their heads, that labour had got to pay for the use of capital, and retain the surplus for itself. That is a very revolutionary proposal."

* Cf. the closely similar passage in "A Crusade against Poverty, A New Approach." (*Primitive Methodist Leader*, Jan. 1st, 1925).

These citations are enough to warrant the assertion that somehow or other the money problem underlies the industrial, however currency reformers have been scouted heretofore. Of national publicists perhaps outstanding prominence should be given to the sustained advocacy of the Editor of *The Spectator* in this matter. Mr. Wakinshaw in his book makes several acknowledgments of the advanced line Mr. St. Loe Strachey has taken.

"He has frequently suggested that there should be a representative and powerful Currency Commission *which should hear all sides*, and apart from its practical recommendations, also serve as a great educational force which should equip us once and for all, as an Empire, with sound ideas and permanent principles in Finance, instead of the fickle and tangled fallacies of to-day."

In October, 1924, Mr. Strachey ventured a series of articles on "A Winning Programme for Unionists." His proposals were infinitely ahead of any other manifesto presented to the public by any party or by any other popular organ.

"We believe that much might be done to increase that sharing in the profits of production by the working classes which we so greatly desire. We desire it not as a point of expediency, but as a matter of justice and right. We should like to see *the State use its credit* to help the formation of Guild Companies. . . . The Guild would undertake, by hiring the necessary capital, to set themselves to work. For example, why should not a well-organized body of skilful colliers take over a coal-mine and work it for themselves? The immediate answer is that they could not do so because they have no capital. But why should they not be able to *borrow capital on their prospective coal-getting capacity*, just as an individual speculator now borrows on the prospective revenue he intends to derive from a new business? He gets credit from financiers because they believe his new business or invention is going to prove lucrative. Why should not a Guild of Colliers borrow money, as it were, on the asset of themselves alone? Each workman out of a body of a hundred is worth some £700 or £800 as a piece of human machinery. Why should not a well organized group of a hundred colliers be able to borrow

a substantial sum on the aggregation of their personal assets? If the answer is that the Bankers would be terrified of so novel a proposal, then we would say, 'Let the thing be done by loans from a workmen's Bank such as the Labour Unions have begun to create out of their funds in America.' But if that, again, is too novel a proposal let a governmental experiment be made under the Safeguarding of Industries Act. *The Government, in a word, should use the national credit to help men to set themselves at work.*" (*Spectator*, October 25th, 1924).

One is tempted to comment, if only some government, of any party, had applied such a principle heretofore, say, to the Housing Question how different had been our present position! And it would not have been necessary for our best artizans to have crossed the seas for a job, and have left the country bereft of skilled workmen to execute the work now we have decided we want it done!

In September, 1924, Mr. Strachey wrote in the course of an article, "Is Unemployment Inevitable?" "What we want is deep, honest, and above all, practical inquiry into the uses of gold, both as a medium of Exchange and as a standard of value. Next we must inquire what substitutes there are for gold in both these respects. Thirdly, we must find out what are the dangers of adopting these substitutes. Personally, I believe that gold has had its day, and that at present we are sticking to a very expensive and ineffective organization of Exchange, and one which has had a rather lurid past. *Further, I believe firmly that the first nation which has the courage to abandon that system and to adopt new and reformed methods will greatly benefit thereby.* Credit and currency, whether written on paper or on the very expensive substance, gold, *are not per se riches, but only media of Exchange.* The media have only one ultimate object, aim or use, and that is, to convey goods in the metaphysical sphere as trucks and waggons convey them in the material world."

The *impasse* to which we have come is that we have the inheritance of numberless generations of discovery and invention, we have a mastery over the resources of nature our fathers never dreamed of, we could have in a few weeks the shops stored with all sorts of desirable things, yet some-

how, for some derangement or maladjustment in the media of exchange, neither can we set the unemployed to make the things we want, nor can we secure the benefit ourselves of what is just simply waiting to be used. As Prof. J. M. Keynes said, "The majority of those who are studying the matter are becoming agreed that faults in our credit system are, at least, partly responsible for the confusions which result in the *paradox of unemployment amidst dearth*" (*Nation*, February 21st, 1925).

It may be said, But this is not Mr. Wakinshaw's book. Mr. Wakinshaw wrote the main portion of his treatise in the summer vacation of 1924. His book has already been scoffed at abundantly. "I distrust these panaceas," says one of his most friendly reviewers. All sorts of bogeys are trotted out to discredit the ideas he ventilates.

What is really pitiable is the pass to which men are driven working aloof from these proposals altogether. Mr. W. L. Hichens, of Cammel Laird & Co., Sheffield, has won a wide respect for his benevolent intentions. His opinions are here quoted because they are characteristic of the mass of speakers who engage publicity by their utterances on the industrial question. And in saying these things no one dreams of impugning his honesty. Addressing the Industrial League and Council, he said :

"If they wanted to increase the standard of living by increasing the number of producers . . . there was a difficulty, and it was that our population was too large to be self-supporting. . . . The trouble was that the world was poorer to-day than it was before the war and had less money to spend in buying goods." (Innocent of the idea that if you have the goods there is no human or superhuman reason why the money to facilitate their exchange should not also be in being). "Either it was possible to maintain wages and *have a large percentage of unemployment, or they could reduce wages* and have a smaller amount of unemployment. Another difficulty was that we were suffering from a lack of capital." (*Times*, November 14th, 1924).

The last phrase is really a beauty. Only a little while ago the position was that our warehouses were choked up

with goods, the only thing wanted being buyers (with money in their pockets). Our present capability for production, says Lord Milner (*Observer*, January 7th, 1923), "has increased within the last century a hundredfold." He points a very different moral:—"But can it be said that this immense addition to the power of production is reflected in a corresponding improvement in human well-being?" And he concludes his first article, "Toward Peace in Industry," with the statement, "As compared with the great and rapid growth of our capacity of production the growth of prosperity among the mass of the people has been lamentably slow."

If precise figures are more conclusive as to our poverty or capital, then let these be considered. "Our lendings to Overseas Countries, including those within the Empire, were last year just over 130 millions sterling." (*Times*, City Notes, January 28th, 1925). Sir L. Worthington Evans, addressing on March 18th, 1925, a Chamber of Commerce dinner party, said, the actual figure of what we had *lent abroad* was not known, but it was over £3,000,000,000. Three thousand million pounds. That Mr. Hichens should say, "we suffer from a lack of capital," does not evidently tally. Yet this is the sort of thing that is continually being dinned into the ears of people who are concerned to find a way out of our troubles. That Mr. Hichens personally is so charming a gentleman, and his honesty of intention so transparent, but makes his statements the more serious because they tend to engage a larger credence.

Most of the quotations cited above date from a time subsequent to Mr. Wakinshaw's going to press. Hard things have been said of his analysis. And yet it is apparent that among thoughtful men in all the main parties of present day politics, his ideas are being reiterated, earnestly and insistently.

We are surely going to hear a great deal more on the subject of Credit, its Power, its Control, its proper ownership.

Before closing the present paper there is one caution that must be ventured. The idea of creating currency for financing production is not so difficult to master. The banks do it every day. Said Mr. McKenna in Jan., 1925, "I am afraid

the ordinary citizen will not like to be told that the banks or the Bank of England can create or destroy money. . . . A bank loan creates a deposit, and therefore it creates money." That is new money, not somebody's money that has been deposited in its charge for the while. That is where so distinguished an observer as Mr. G. Bernard Shaw is utterly at sea. He has said, "When a bank gives you credit, what it really gives you is the solid commodities represented by the current balances and deposits of its clients." If that were so it would be utterly unnecessary for Mr. McKenna to say, as he has repeatedly, "the Bank *creates* money; it would only amount to a re-shuffle."

The citations already given indicate clearly enough that a large body of thinkers, of all shades of political belief, are well aware that the creation of money or currency is, in itself, easily feasible. The question that ultimately emerges is, to whom does this newly manufactured money properly belong? And who should be the proper beneficiary of its service? The creation of new money *without any check or safeguard* simply means the dilution of all money previously in existence. It becomes at once clear that merely to launch a propaganda for more currency, though it issue in higher wages and more money in everybody's pocket for the while, is just to bid for inflation. Prices will mount up and will not be slow to keep pace with the new money issue, and we are where we were.

It is at this point that Mr. Wakinshaw has a distinct contribution to make. As a disciple of Major Douglas, whose theorem on Social Credit he seeks to expound, he introduces a factor we can neglect only at our peril, a peril *not* obviated even if the whole Banking System were nationalized. The task of social ameliorization, not to say social justice, makes necessary alongside of the plentiful supply of money *the regulation of price*. To many it will appear a fantastic proposal. It has evidently commended itself to Mr. Strachey.

"Allied to the land policy we (as Unionists) advocate, is the policy of lowering the cost of living for the working man without lowering his wages. . . . *There are methods of doing this, through the use of State Credit*, which we, though

Anti-Socialists, would be perfectly willing to adopt. . . . We believe the National Credit *wisely used and without inflation* (i.e., always with an eye upon the production of goods) may be fraught with immense benefit to the community—both to the owners of Capital in the ordinary sense and to those who have their capital in their strong right arms. . . . *This can be done* without resort to that attempt to obtain abundance through an artificial scarcity which is involved in Protection.”—(*Spectator*, October 11th, 1924).

If, after this, any reader is disposed to believe this is not the pursuit of a will o' th' wisp, he may care to consider the following presentation. The aim of everybody in business (and this is not a declamatory statement in the least) is to *get more money out of the pool than he puts in*; in other words, to make a profit. Multiply the operation a million times (as, in fact, it is multiplied) and there quickly appears the prospect of the pool being dried up. I shall not pursue my business if it ceases to be profitable. Handling Mr. A.'s goods and passing them on (whether I be a shopkeeper or an industrialist), I naturally want some profit on my operations. A million folk in business have the same natural desires. Observe this has nothing to do with the profiteering scare. Under the most reasonable, even under a self-denying ordinance, it is equally true. If all of us, in business or industry, are taking out of the pool more money than we put in—where does the new money come from to keep the pool from becoming a mudbank? *As things are*, the situation is only capable of relief by new loan money continually being flooded into the pool,* which means that everyday industry and commerce in the sum total is more and more hopelessly engaged in debt. Which is exactly the situation at the moment. And were the supply of new loan money not forthcoming, say, for three months, we should come to an *impasse*. Either there would be a complete collapse, or we should fall back upon the primitive custom of barter, which means this, that given every endeavour to foster fair trading, industry is in-

* The amount of new money supplied by new influx of gold is at present practically, if not literally, nil.

evitably falling into the hands of those who hold the monopoly of the creation of the new money or credits. That is, civilization is weekly becoming more and more the mortgage holding of the financial powers. On this Mr. Wakinshaw has furious things to say, many will think them unbelievable, despite the very careful citation of indubitable authority for his statements. The way out is the creation of a national credit which represents the aggregate production of the community, less the cost of the community's maintenance. The difference or net gain is properly an acquisition belonging to society. Out of the national credit so created grants should be made actually to lower selling prices; the greater the nation's production and the less its maintenance cost, the greater the social dividend to be distributed among the nation. Major Douglas conceives this social dividend as best distributed at the shop counter and taking the form of a *rebate in price*. If the national product is double the national consumption then prices of goods at the shops shall be to the consumer one half. As production gets under way again, as it speedily would, through the enhancement of each individual's purchasing power, and as invention proceeded on its course, multiplying output at still reduced costs, the social dividend would grow. It would thus be the natural aim of all classes of society to increase output. The ca' canny idea (whether in capital or labour) would no longer have any *raison d'être*. On the other hand, it would at once become everybody's direct interest to cut out waste and uselessness of all sorts. On the same principle, through the operation of the Douglas Price Factor, if it should happen that industry slacked off, so that the margin of production beyond consumption was reduced, then that state of things would accurately reveal itself in the diminished Social Dividend. In any case, what is aimed at is (1) that we should be able to live up to our capability of producing life's good things, and (2) that this production should be carried out at the minimum expense of human labour and hardship, and (3) that the product created should not be denied a market because folk have not the money to buy.

Mr. Wakinshaw, an old Oxford student, son of the well-known Wesleyan minister of the same name, has put society in debt for his fearless exposition of the mysterious workings of high finance. May one hope that, in various study groups, room may be found for the serious consideration of this treatment of our most serious problem in modern industry? His volume is hardly a book for dabblers. It will arouse many a lively contention. Some may discern in its pages the clue for which they have long sought, heretofore in vain.

Lest, however, it should be thought, even granted the vision, that the rest is easy, students of social credit may well take to heart Mr. Keynes' unusually pointed comment in the *Times* of March 26th, 1925 :

“Thousands who advocate the deliberate management of our credit system, from the point of view that our credit money represents not gold, but the actual working capital of our industries, must not be in a hurry ; for they are proposing a big change. The reformers are impugning an orthodoxy and must expect, therefore, at this stage to be met with ‘moral’ objections, with ‘psychological’ prejudices, and with appeals to the immutability of human nature as exhibited in the fashions of to-day. At present, to debate monetary reform with a City editor (or an ex-City editor) is like debating Darwinism with a bishop sixty years ago. But even bishops—so why not City editors ?—move in the end.”

Editorial Notes.

I spoke in my Editorial Notes for April, of the great loss we had sustained in the death of Baron von Hügel. I first met him in connexion with the Army and Religion Committee of Enquiry. Apart from occasional days in London, the Committee had three extended meetings, the first at Hatfield, which Lord Salisbury placed at our disposal, the second at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and the third at Farnham Castle, the residence of our Chairman Dr. Talbot, then Bishop of Winchester. At the last of our meetings the Baron, through very serious illness, could not be present. He could not join to any extent in the Conference, which was largely conversational, owing to his severe and distressing deafness. But his contributions took the form of monologues poured out at a torrential pace which taxed our panting stenographer to the uttermost. They were enlivened with slang which formed a queer contrast to the general quality of his diction. An old friend of his told me subsequently that he had deliberately introduced this feature into his style to mitigate its obscurity, and certainly it did illuminate his argument. Generally, of course, these talks were concerned with points we were discussing; and in addition to what he learnt of our own debates, he was in possession of the vast volume of evidence on which our report was based. Once he held up our investigations and discussion because he wanted to explain to us why he could not join in our devotions. Naturally the orthodox Roman Catholic would have needed to give us no explanation; but his Modernist position might have been taken to imply freedom from the conventional Roman attitude in this respect. His father was Austrian ambassador at Florence and Brussels, his mother was Scotch, and on her side he told me that he had several Presbyterian ministers in his ancestry. His deafness was a sequela of typhus fever, which also for fifteen years incapacitated him for any serious intellectual work. It is all the more remarkable that, with these

handicaps, he came to be one of the foremost living authorities in his own field.

Though we rarely met, we corresponded a good deal and interchanged articles and books. In spite of his father's nationality, his sympathies in the war were with the allies, and one of the first things he sent me was his striking volume, *The German Soul*, which his mixed nationality made him specially qualified to write. The width of his learning was astonishing. He had devoted much time to Biblical problems and the first work of his that I read was his correspondence with Prof. Briggs entitled, *The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch*. But his greatest work was done in theology, especially on its philosophical side. His appreciation of mysticism was shown by his great work *The Mystical Element of Religion*, which was a study of St. Catherine of Genoa and her friends, but which took in much more than biography. Side by side with the mystical element in religion there are also the institutional and the philosophical. He felt that Protestantism, for all his sympathy with great Protestant thinkers, was less satisfactory than Romanism, because it depreciated the institutional element. His liberal sympathies came out especially in his whole-hearted appreciation of Troeltsch, whose work he did much to explain and commend to English readers. It is regrettable that health did not permit him to deliver his Gifford Lectures; but it is cause for great thankfulness that the work is sufficiently advanced for publication.

I last saw him on an occasion momentous in itself and deeply interesting to us both. The University of Oxford had resisted longer than any University the removal of the sectarian restrictions which hedged about the Divinity Degrees. But it is the way of Oxford when it yields, to yield handsomely. It was decided that the first Doctor of Divinity under the new scheme should be the Principal of Mansfield College, Dr. Selbie. The degree conferred on him was the ordinary degree, since this entitled him to the academic privileges of the doctorate which, for a resident in Oxford, are valuable. The next step was to celebrate the opening of the Divinity Degrees to others than those in Priests' Orders in the Church of England, by inviting a number of scholars to accept the Honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The Church of Scotland was represented by Prof. James Cooper, and Sir George Adam Smith represented the United Free Church of Scotland. To this Principal Skinner might also be reckoned, though he had for a good while been in England. Mr. St. John Thackeray, the well-

known Septuagint scholar, was an Anglican layman. Baron von Hügel was a Roman Catholic layman. I was an English Free Churchman, also a layman, and, curiously, the only Oxford man among the six, a point which I mention to emphasise the generous catholicity of the selection. Shortly before the ceremony Baron von Hügel sent me a letter which, coming from him, contained what I regard as the most gratifying and valued compliment I ever received. This I may not quote; but he closed his letter with the expression of his gratification that he would receive the degree in the company of two such friends as Dr. Skinner and myself, and a scholar whom he held in such esteem as Sir George Adam Smith.

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Of the six three have been taken from us. Prof. Cooper, who was seventy-four at the time, was the first to go; Baron von Hügel died on the 27th of January, 1925, in his seventy-third year; and now Old Testament scholarship has sustained a very severe loss in the death of Dr. John Skinner. He was born on July 18th, 1851. Like so many more distinguished Old Testament scholars he was a pupil of A. B. Davidson. He held two pastorates in the Free Church of Scotland and came to England as Professor of Old Testament and Apologetics (an odd combination) at the Presbyterian College, London, in 1890. He migrated with the College from London to Cambridge, and in 1908 succeeded Dr. Oswald Dykes as Principal. I had prized his work, especially on Isaiah in the "Cambridge Bible," for several years before I met him. But I did not make his personal acquaintance till 1906, when I lectured on Jeremiah at the Westminster College Summer School with Dr. Skinner in the chair. I was the guest of the Principal, but I was also fortunate in seeing a good deal of my Old Testament colleague. We met on several occasions in subsequent years, but I saw most of him I think in 1916, when we were both staying at Goathland. He was then busy on his revision of the second volume of his commentary on Isaiah, in which I was also specially interested, partly because I had undertaken to do the work for the "International Critical Commentary," and partly because the Servant of Yahweh problem, which had been much in my mind for many years, was also prominent in his book. We were not in agreement as to the interpretation of that figure. We were united in rejecting the individual interpretation in all its protean forms and identified the Servant with Israel. But whereas I took the Servant to be the empirical Israel, which had died in

the Exile and was to be raised to life at the restoration, Dr. Skinner identified the Servant with the ideal Israel. I had myself been an adherent of this position, because the alternative view seemed to me exposed to insuperable difficulties. But I was very conscious of the serious objections to the view that the Servant was the ideal Israel, and it was with relief that I learnt from Giesebrecht how to escape from the difficulties which had previously seemed to me insuperable. I discussed the question in my *Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, and it was this discussion which Dr. Skinner selected as representative of the theory, and subjected in his revised edition to a searching criticism. I have often recommended students, to whom I have been expounding my own view, to study carefully Dr. Skinner's examination of it and his presentation of the rival interpretation. I may add that I regard his two volumes on Isaiah in their revised form as much the best complete work on Isaiah accessible to the English student. But his outstanding exegetical work was his volume on Genesis in the "International Critical Commentary." It is out of sight our best and fullest work. It had two great advantages over Dr. Driver's exposition, apart from the fact that it was based on the Hebrew text. It was much fuller, and it showed far deeper marks of Gunkel's influence. Gunkel's commentary on Genesis has always seemed to me to belong to a very small class of exegetical works of the highest rank, in which I should place alongside of it Duhm's Isaiah, and Cornill's Jeremiah.

It was with the deepest interest that I learnt from him that he was, to use his own expression, poaching on another of my preserves. That a scholar so equipped was to give us a volume on Jeremiah was to me a quite unexpected piece of glad tidings. The volume, which is entitled *Prophecy and Religion*, is one of the most sympathetic and penetrating of the studies devoted in recent years to the greatest of the Prophets. It is one of the most notable of his contributions to the interpretation of the Old Testament. It is not necessary for me to say anything of his early work on Ezekiel, but I must mention his important study entitled *The Divine Names in Genesis*. This contains a most searching and convincing examination of the extraordinary attack, made by Dahse in particular, on the place given to the distinction in the Divine names by defenders of the documentary analysis of the Pentateuch.

He was a man of the highest integrity, both moral and intellectual. In some ways he reminded me of old Honest in the *Pilgrim's*

Progress; he lived up to that character even when conventional smoothness would have been more diplomatic. Not, indeed, that he was discourteous, but he would not praise with insincerity, and his praise when it came was all the more precious. He took a high place among the great Old Testament scholars of Britain. Yet he was very modest about his own work, and has spoken of it to me with a really touching humility. As we should expect, religion was in his case free from all ostentation, but it was the deepest and the dominating element in his life.

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Since I sent my Notes on Baron von Hügel and Dr. Skinner to press, British theology has sustained another severe loss in the death of Prof. Burney. He had to undergo a very slight operation but did not recover from the anæsthetic. I had known him since he came up to St. John's College, Oxford, from Merchant Taylor's School. This was one of the very few schools where Hebrew was still taught, and he had the good fortune, like several other of our eminent Hebraists, to learn the language from C. J. Ball. He took all the University scholarships and prizes on his subject and First Classes in the Honours School of Theology and the Honours School of Semitic Studies, was appointed Fellow and lecturer in Hebrew at his own College; and finally he was made Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the University. In his earlier days he always struck me as limited in his outlook and interests. On the philological side he was thorough and exact; but he seemed too much the mere Hebraist, too little interested in the wider aspects even of his own subject. His *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, published when he was about thirty-five, was excellent in its scholarship and careful in its criticism. In the latter respect it owed very much to Stade, a debt fully acknowledged in the Preface. But a comparison of this Preface with that to Driver's companion volume on Samuel shows an almost painful imitation of the great Regius Professor of Hebrew by his docile disciple. It looked as though the younger scholar scarcely dared to trust himself on his own feet. It would be ungracious to touch on this, if it had been the last word in the story; I do it simply to point the contrast. When, fifteen years later, he published his notable volume on *Judges*, with which his *Schweich Lectures* should be bracketed, no one familiar with the earlier volume could be other than amazed at the advance it registered. The scholarship was of course first rate, but there was a range of knowledge, a grasp of the

critical and historical problems, and an independence of judgment, which made the volume not only a solid contribution to our exegetical literature, but also one of the outstanding discussions of the early history of Canaan and of Israel. It might not unfairly be objected to it, that the connexion of some its discussions with the text of Judges was slender or indeed remote; but the student could only be grateful that the editor had conceived his task in so liberal a spirit.

The difference is not quite easy to explain, but he himself affirmed that the first-hand study he had made, during the previous fourteen years, of the Babylonian and Assyrian language had revolutionised his outlook upon Old Testament Studies. He confesses a great debt to Driver, not only for abundant help given in the preparation of the book itself, but for all that he had learnt from him in method and thoroughness of scholarship. He also pays unstinted tribute to the help his old schoolmaster Dr. Ball gave him when he began to grapple with Assyriology.

In some ways perhaps his volume, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, was, although much slighter, a more original and striking piece of work. It has not convinced Aramaic experts. It was criticised by Dr. Burkitt, Dr. Box, and especially by Mr. G. R. Driver. And although Prof. Torrey had independently reached the same conclusion, his proofs were different. But those who refused to admit that the Fourth Gospel was originally written in Aramaic were usually prepared to grant that Dr. Burney had established the fact that it was written by a man who *thought* in Aramaic.

His premature death at fifty-six has removed a scholar from whom great things were still to be expected. I hope that he may have left much in a sufficiently advanced stage for publication, but Old Testament and Semitic scholarship in this country has sustained very serious losses recently by the death of such first-rate exponents as Dr. G. B. Gray, Dr. Skinner and Dr. Burney.

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The centenary of R. M. Ballantyne's birth fell on April 24th of this year. Such an anniversary would not be normally appropriate for celebration in our pages, but a sense of gratitude impels me to say a few words about him. The rigid Puritan abhorrence of fiction kept novels out of my own home when I was a child. There were some Sunday School stories, which were intrinsically a very poor substitute; and I was fortunate to get *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a copy of my own from the Sunday School, when I was six or seven,

and later I had *The Holy War*. But my destitution may be judged from the fact that somewhat later, when living away from home, between the ages of eight and ten, I found *The Wide Wide World* and *Ministering Children* of absorbing interest. But by a piece of great good fortune *Robinson Crusoe*, and Charles Reade's *It's Never too Late to Mend* were among the few books in the house where my brother and I lodged, so that one immortal classic at least in addition to *The Pilgrim's Progress* went into my self-education. I got great pleasure also out of *The Swiss Family Robinson*, though a later generation would probably take this as one more proof of the Egyptian darkness in which I lived. This, I may add, was also a Sunday School prize, which I still possess, though it was read to pieces by two of my younger brothers. It so happened that some of our intimate friends were related to a London publisher, and he sent the children a parcel of books among which were to be found Ballantyne's *Coral Island*, and *The Gorilla Hunters*. They were lent to my mother, who was rather more liberal in her attitude than my father, and in this way I came to read them. They gave me great delight, as I had at the time read nothing quite like them, and at a later point in my school-days I read quite a number of Ballantyne's books. They were in fact very popular at the time, as good books for boys were far less numerous than to-day. I believe that although many of them are to-day practically unread, a few of his best have still a certain vogue. It used to be said that he made his evangelicalism rather too prominent in his stories, and probably the criticism was correct. But he was far from going to the length of Michael Baxter who would regularly take the opinion of his colleagues in the office of the *Christian Herald* on the question whether each particular instalment of the serial story had enough Gospel in it, and if not to introduce chunks of religious matter into the narrative bodily. Ballantyne's star will no doubt set, but his memory will be kept alive by Stevenson's tribute in the sonnet he prefixed to *Treasure Island*.

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I am afraid that in these degenerate days it would be impossible to say that every school-boy was familiar with the names of Liddell and Scott; but in the days when Greek was more widely studied few names were more familiar. The small Lexicon was the constant companion of boys when they began to read Greek authors, and from it they passed on to the large Lexicon, the Liddell and Scott proper. I still possess my own copy of the small edition,

badly worn and repaired, which I used nearly fifty years ago. Later on, my headmaster urged that I should procure the large Liddell and Scott. It was an expensive book for us to buy, as it was published at 36s., but it proved invaluable and was in constant use. This also is still on my shelves though I long ago added to it the eighth edition which was published in 1898. This is, for some years to come, still likely to maintain its position in general use. But for a long time it has been recognised that the whole work demanded revision, and revision on a far more thorough scale than has for several editions been attempted. It was necessary, first of all, to deal with the large mass of new material, both inscriptions and papyri. Anyone who is familiar with Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the New Testament* will recognise how much recent discoveries have enriched the lexicographical material; though obviously a work limited to illustrations of the New Testament vocabulary leaves a large amount of it untouched. In addition to the incorporation of the results reached by epigraphy and papyrology, a great deal of fresh work has been done on the old matter. The fruits of prolonged technical study in medicine, botany, mathematics, natural history, astronomy, astrology—fields which present many difficult problems to the Editor of a Lexicon—need to be included. And even in subjects which lie much more within the scope of Greek experts, especially literature and philosophy and the later Greek writers, a great amount of work has been done in recent years. Accordingly it was decided some twenty years ago to prepare a new edition. It was hoped that Mr. Arthur Sidgwick would edit it; but his duties as a teacher prevented this for a time, and then his health failed. It was not till 1911 that the work was definitely begun. The Delegates of the Clarendon Press invited Dr. H. S. Jones, a Greek scholar of great eminence and competence, to undertake the work, which it was thought at first might be completed in five years. But it was soon realised that a far more drastic revision was necessary, in fact, that the Lexicon would have to be largely rewritten. The war, of course, interrupted progress in this, as in so many other enterprises, and when we consider the vast amount of preparatory labour which has been undertaken, and the drastic character of the revision, I am inclined to wonder that the first part should now be in our hands. This would not have been possible had it not been that Prof. Jones has for the last five years had the assistance of Mr. R. McKenzie, and that a very large number of experts have contributed in the most generous and

unselfish way to making the work as perfect as possible. The editor says that the new edition "is the work of many hands, and represents a great sacrifice of leisure, and an earnest devotion to Greek learning on the part of the present generation of scholars." To this tribute to the work of his helpers the delegates of the press add a comment as to the editor's own share in the work: "But the friends of Greek learning will not forget that he has himself shouldered by far the greatest part of this gigantic burden, and that very few living scholars would have been equal to the task." It is hoped that the book, now far advanced towards completion, will be issued in ten half-guinea parts, and that the last of these will be in the hands of students at no distant date. It is not anticipated that it will be so much longer than the eighth edition as in view of the mass of additions we should naturally expect. The eighth edition contained just under 1,800 pages, the new edition will probably contain a little short of 2,000. Moreover, the page in the new edition contains one line shorter than the page in the eighth edition, and although the print actually looks smaller, the old edition seems to get a trifle more in the space than the new. It has accordingly been necessary to gain space in other ways. Much more use has been made of abbreviations, greater conciseness of expression has been studied. The modes of reference to authors and books have been systematically shortened. Patristic and Byzantine literature has been excluded, and the limit of date beyond which the literature is not treated, has been roughly fixed at A.D. 600. In this way also not a little space has been gained. The real qualities of the Lexicon can, of course, be adequately appreciated only after prolonged and constant usage; but it may be said at once that it is a triumph of exact and brilliant scholarship, of colossal labour, and wonderful organisation. That 200 large pages of closely printed matter in double columns, and with so much Greek type and an immense number of references, demanding so high a standard of accuracy in the production of the copy and the reading of the proofs, should be sold for half-a-guinea, is in our present conditions a wonder of cheapness. The Delegates recognise that, even if a large number of copies are sold on publication, the return will be far from adequate to the outlay, which they estimate will probably approach £20,000. It is, therefore, much to be hoped that this generous enterprise will be widely supported. Publication by instalments will make it easier for many to purchase by the subscription of an occasional half-guinea. But those who are willing

to subscribe for the whole work at once may secure it by the payment of four guineas.

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One of the effects of the war which has excited a great deal of attention is the cost of books. It is a subject which is of special interest to the readers, and especially the ministerial readers, of the HOLBORN REVIEW, as they have the well-deserved reputation of being, in proportion to their means, among the best of book buyers. It has had a special interest for me, since the price of books is constantly forced upon my attention, as an editor, and also through my duties in connexion with various libraries. We certainly went through a rather dark period a few years ago. Even then, however, while I was naturally struck by the high prices I was also much impressed by the difference between publishing firms. I viewed it from another angle, again, as an author, or editor, of books. It was interesting to see how cheap reprints had to be abandoned because, although the initial cost of setting up the type had been left behind, the expense of paper, printing off, binding, advertisement, carriage and distribution had advanced so much. The sevenpenny bound novel rose to 2s. One very interesting case to myself was *Peake's Commentary*. It was published at half-a-guinea net. Even before the war it would have been a very cheap book at that price. I estimate that it will not contain much less than a million and a quarter words, and 12s. 6d. even before August, 1914, would not have been an unreasonable price. But for the war, however, the price would have been far lower. We were fortunate in this, that although much of the type had to be set up after the war began, a great deal of the type-setting had actually been done before the cost of printing rose to the alarming height which it reached. It will be remembered that shortly after publication the price was advanced to 12s. 6d., at which, as prices ruled at the time, it was almost incredibly cheap. But I noticed, in several instances, that publishers found it necessary about that time to advance prices; and, indeed, at one time, they were so fluid that it was difficult to say with certainty even what one's own books were costing at any given moment. Fortunately for the purchaser, the very high prices, which at one time made the purchase of books almost prohibitive for slender purses, have largely gone; though it is true that in many instances books are much dearer than they were twelve years ago. For example, the sevenpenny novel seems to have disappeared for good. Another interesting point, on which I must not linger,

is the cost of foreign books. This was greatly affected by the rate of exchange. At one time German books were almost fabulously cheap. I was much impressed with the number of books produced under the circumstances. In some cases, print and paper were execrable; but this was by no means invariably the case, though I could give instances in which a new edition of a book would be briefer than its predecessor, because some of the matter which could best be spared had been omitted, owing to the difficulties of publication. Prices, however, began to rise again, and German books now, at any rate in my own subject, are anything but cheap. French books never dropped in price to anything like the same level, but they are still very cheap.

I should not have called attention to this had it not been that Mr. Stanley Unwin, the head of the well-known firm of Messrs. Allen & Unwin, sent me a sixpenny pamphlet he had written, entitled *The Price of Books*. I had been interested in the original articles which appeared in the *Nation*, and I welcomed the reprint. I recommend all my readers to acquaint themselves with it. The purchaser of books as a rule is quite ignorant as to the costs of production, distribution, advertisement, author's remuneration. Mr. Unwin briefly and clearly explains the actual situation under each head of expenditure. Paper, he says, costs about one and two-thirds what it did, printing nearly three times as much, binding double or more than double. When all three are taken into account, the production of new books costs on the average more than double, but less than treble, the 1914 price. In distribution, one of the big troubles is the large discount demanded by the booksellers. This is a decisive factor in fixing price. Advertising is also extremely expensive, especially in the daily papers. Then there is the author's royalty to be paid, or his remuneration whatever form it takes; while the publishers' working expenses are probably never below 18 per cent., and in most cases are nearer 25 per cent. If a publication is to be economically self-supporting, he argues that as a rule the published price must be fixed at not less than three times the cost of paper, printing and binding. And if the cost of distribution has to be increased, then the price might have to be four times instead of three times the cost of production. As a matter of fact, however, in spite of the great increase in production, distribution, and advertisement, the price of books, apart from the cheapest books, has not been proportionately advanced. He then examines the view that we are suffering from over-production, and proceeds

to point out that the real problem is under-consumption, that is insufficient sales. On this he says some plain words: "Most people have not yet learned to regard books as a necessity. They will beg them, they will borrow them, they will do everything, in fact, but buy them. People who would be ashamed to cadge for anything else they wanted, who will unhesitatingly pay 8s. 6d. apiece for a dozen gramophone records, or 12s. 6d. each for stalls at a theatre, will think twice, if not three times, before spending even 5s. upon a book which will last a lifetime." I am glad to think that this is not addressed to readers of the HOLBORN REVIEW. For many years it has been one of our most cherished objects to stimulate the purchase of the best books. Mr. Unwin has himself spoken generously of our efforts in this direction and quite recently we were gratified to receive a letter from the manager of one of the most famous publishing houses in the world, in which he said, "Not all reviewers are so conscientious as those who review for the HOLBORN REVIEW!" But we hope our readers will themselves be stimulated to cultivate in those who are under their influence the ambition to form and use such a library as is suited to their circumstances and intellectual equipment.

Discussions and Notices.

The New World Missionary Atlas.

It was a statesman who counselled us to use big maps. For those who plan the strategy of the Kingdom of God, and for those who follow it, the same counsel is needed. They will do well to use the big maps of the new Missionary Atlas.* It is a bracing experience to set some piece of Christian service in which we are concerned, in its world-setting. It saves us from presumption and from despair. It gives us a sense of proportion. These maps are good reading—under a juniper tree. They show, as few things can show, that there are thousands who have not bowed the knee to Baal.

It is excellent to be devoted to one Society, but it is a wanton impoverishment of that service, if we do not set it in relation to the service of the other Societies. The advance of the Christian host will be made, as the advance of the hosts of Science has been made, through the toils and experiments and adventures of a thousand individual scholars and servants, who at the same time keep in close fellowship with one another. If we find it hard to do more than follow the story and share in the work of one Society, we can, at least, keep the others in hail by the use of these maps.

The New World Missionary Atlas might very well be used as a book of devotion by those who have a concern for the world-wide Kingdom of God. Christians are pitifully restricted in their range of helps in the devotional life. Maps might keep their courage and hope running clear, and guide them to walk humbly with God over the fields of the world.

This is the third Missionary Atlas to be published since the beginning of the century. In 1903 the first was issued; in 1910 a statistical Atlas of Christian Missions was published for the

* London, Edinburgh House Press, 1925, price two guineas.

Edinburgh Conference; this was revised, enlarged, and issued in 1911 as the "World Atlas of Foreign Missions." But between 1911 and the present day there have been many changes. The War brought about many disturbances, not only in the political world, but also in the missionary scene. Nor has mission enterprise been limited within its former bounds. New methods and agencies have been adopted. The growing co-operation between the Societies has had a profound influence, which must find expression in any adequate maps, or statistical summaries. Nor can the uprising of the native Churches be forgotten. Sir Michael Sadler, among the significant pieces of "social engineering" in the present age, has numbered the modern organisation of foreign missions. It is a penalty paid for vitality that former maps and figures lose their value. The new Atlas is remarkably up-to-date. It is based upon the reports of the Societies issued in 1923; the scene, therefore, under review can be dated generally at the close of 1922. Everyone who examines the book will be astonished that so vast a task should have been completed in so short a time.

The maps are by John Bartholomew of Edinburgh, and better maps there are not, than those which bear his name. Many workers have given their service to the preparation of the statistics and summaries, but it must be gratefully acknowledged that if Edinburgh has provided the maps, the United States through the Institute of Social and Religious Research, has gathered and grouped the invaluable material which goes with the maps.

It is an Institute which conducts and publishes studies and surveys, and promotes conferences for their consideration. In the preparation of the Atlas, it has been able to use the unrivalled experience and knowledge of Professor Harlan P. Beach, and Mr. Charles H. Fahs.

The value of the tables of statistics and the descriptive notes can be proved only after they have been used by many hands. But if an act of faith may be justified from all that is known of its editors and from a partial testing, we believe that the book will triumphantly pass the ordeal.

The maps themselves have a value for those also who are not primarily concerned with mission operations. There is one of the world, for example, which shows the density of population; a look at Japan, China and India, followed by a look at Australia, shows in a flash the problem of the Pacific. There are also maps showing means of traffic, principal languages, commercial cultivation, and many other human interests.

Maps, when they are set the task of showing missionary work, have inevitable limitations. A station may be shown where the missionary has his base; but not the many little centres of work which he visits. Nor can the maps be counted a complete rendering of the Christian impact upon the non-Christian world. There is no adequate representation of Roman Catholic Missions. This is not due to any desire on the part of the Editors of the Atlas to ignore these missions, but for other and quite sufficient practical reasons. The Roman Church, we are happy to know, is preparing this year a complete Atlas and summary of its own great missionary service. Besides these things, it is impossible in an Atlas to show all the outgoings of the Church in the Field. From this Atlas, for example, nothing could be learned of such work as the Japanese Pastor Kagawa, has done in Kobe.

But within its range, it will do, we believe, all that an Atlas can do. To test its character, no better course could be taken than to read what is said of Turkey. Here we find ourselves in the post-Lausanne scene, and the changes which have followed, briefly but adequately, described. The last date to which reference is made is October 27th, 1923, the day when the Republic was proclaimed. In the section concerning Turkey, headed "Religion," the authors add:—"Though by the deposition of the Caliph, Church and State have been separated in Turkey, Mohammedanism of the Sunni form remains the State religion. An effort to modernise Mohammedanism purging it of some of the worn-out superstitions, is in progress. The Christian sects of the country, Greek, Orthodox, Armenian and others, have in the past represented political groups as well as religious divisions. The Patriarchate of the Greek Church in Constantinople was an important political office. Hereafter, all such political influence will be restrained. Religious liberty by the new laws of the land is guaranteed to every subject. Time only will tell how applicable this may be to those Moslems who wish to accept Christianity." There is much here in a very small compass.

There are many ways into the romance of the modern missionary enterprise. Through biography and treatise, through the hearing of the living word, and through travel, it is possible to enter into its heights and depths. Here is another way open. Here those who are at home may learn to wonder at the audacity and energy of the pioneers of their Faith; they will see their good works and glorify the Father in heaven, and rejoice to mark the advance of the inevitable Kingdom.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

The Adult School Movement.

THE original intention was that this history should be written by William Charles Braithwaite. His many engagements made this impossible; thus the task has fallen upon Mr. Currie Martin, who had been called in to assist Mr. Braithwaite. The story covers a period of considerably more than a century; the first Adult School of which there is record having been started in Nottingham in 1798. This owed its origin to a member of the Methodist New Connexion, William Singleton, and one of the ends sought was to train teachers for children's Sunday Schools. It is interesting also to note that William Smith, doorkeeper at a Wesleyan chapel, was the means of starting the first Adult School in Bristol. He had attended a Bible Society meeting at which it was stated "that a large number of people had been found in the course of visitation, who not being able to read, were unlikely to be benefitted by the possession of the Bible." He verified this, and then proceeded to find a remedy. The movement, however, owed most to Quakers. Mention is made of Edward Worsdell, of York, "a man of high culture and acute and keen intellect." "He was a type of manhood which the Adult School has frequently attracted, and to whose influence it owes incalculable debts of gratitude." This statement placards a prominent feature of the movement. Members of the Society of Friends, with culture and persuasive personality, have always been available for leadership and service. It is only necessary to mention William White, W. C. Braithwaite, Arnold S. Rowntree, Barrow Cadbury, George Newman, and F. J. Gillman, amongst a host of others.

The story of the movement is told in this volume first in its general aspect, and then its various developments are reviewed in detail. This method has advantages although it involves repetitions. Of the manifold activities in various spheres of life and thought that have gathered around the movement little can be said; the book must be read for record of these. It is greatly to be desired that it should be read. It is an inspiring story of faithful pedestrian services offered in a spirit of high devotion. Mr. Currie

**The Adult School Movement: Its Origin and Development.* By G. CURRIE MARTIN, M.A., B.D. With an Introduction by SIR MICHAEL E. SADLER. Pp. xviii., 435. With twenty illustrations. London: National Adult School Union. 1924. Price 5s. net; limp cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Martin says: "It is the company of thousands of self-sacrificing, loyal, patient, untiring men and women throughout the country that gives the movement its power." At first the aim was to enable men and women to read. When this was accomplished they were dismissed. The proposal to teach writing was greatly opposed. It was held that "Divine assistance could not be expected in learning to write." This complaint came from those who held the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of Scripture. There were other vagaries. A "good" library is reported by one School—"it is free from novels and injurious poems." One class of young men passed a resolution "not to get married until they can furnish a small house or suitable apartments with the necessary domestic requirements, including the wife." The schools had their vicissitudes, but naturally their scope broadened, until organization became necessary. Their prevailing principles have been "the reverent study of the Bible as the central feature," and "the School to be worked on democratic, unsectarian, and non-party lines." W. C. Braithwaite once said: "In our schools we have the method of Socrates, coupled with the dynamic of Christ, an irresistible combination." Women have had a prominent part in this work. An early account says: "The ladies commence the work with commendable alacrity, as if suitably impressed that, as woman was first to take of the forbidden tree, so she should now be the first to apply to sin-sick souls the leaves of that tree of life which is for the healing of the nations." The early classes for women had a rule of silence. A teacher who could get no response asked the reason. "Well, sir, you see," came the explanation, "you do all the talking, and we do all the thinking."

Education Acts and the war have affected the work of Adult Schools. Yet they have their place in the religious life of the nation, and the Churches have much to learn from this movement, and much to contribute to it. Mr. Currie Martin thinks that the line of advance will be by smaller groups of a mixed character, with larger scope given to young people, and missionary enthusiasm finding practical expression both in this country and abroad. At present the strength of the movement is in the Midlands. We commend this interesting record to all who are concerned that evangelism and education should march together in winning Christ's kingdom.

J. C. MANTRIFF.

The Study Circle.

The Christian "Way."

Preliminary Note.

The New Testament has a doctrine of perfect love, and Methodism also has this doctrine. She used also to have the practice of it.

To many ears, not unduly sensitive, the phrase "Entire Sanctification" or "Christian Perfection," has come to be associated with a certain narrowness of outlook (of all ironical things!) and unctuousness. Yet few doubt that in the rediscovery of what Perfect Love really is lies the one hope of the Church and of the world. The Fellowship of the Kingdom is giving itself to an attempt after this kind of study, in the hope that it may be led into this kind of practice. At this stage the enquiry is admittedly the greater part: we are as yet explorers. But the subjoined programme, which will be considered at the Fellowship of the Kingdom Conference in July, bids us look first at our Lord, then at Society, and finally—and frankly—at ourselves.

THE CHRISTIAN "WAY."—ITS SOURCE AND MEANING FOR TO-DAY.

I. *What can we learn from Jesus Christ about the Way?*

(a) HE KNEW THE WAY.

1. Although life is confusing and baffling, He never lost His way. *cf.* ἀμαρτάνω. So he spoke "with authority" (Matt. vii. 29, Luke iv. 22.)

2. The word "Way" is a metaphor which in the last resort depends upon one's belief in God: John xiv. 1, 6. Consider our Lord's belief. Although He had no knowledge of modern science and was untroubled by present-day problems, He had to meet the difficulties of His own age: *cf.* John ix. 2, 3. In face of such facts as cancer, earthquake, and other evils not consciously caused by us, can we accept His teaching about God's Fatherhood, *with all that it implies?* (*cf.* Matt. x. 29, 30; Luke xv. 10.) Or do we in practice limit our belief?

(b) HE SHOWED THE WAY.

1. He lived in perpetual awareness of His Father's presence (John xvi. 32)—yet he gave much time to definite acts of prayer, sometimes protracted (Mark vi. 46, Luke ix. 18, vi. 12). What was the point of this? Was it to shut out the world and focus Himself upon God in a way which he deemed essential for Himself? He instinctively sought God in prayer. For many of us the act of prayer is difficult. But do we *need* God? Are regular acts of prayer essential to all Christians, or luxuries for great souls?

2. "He loved everybody." Did He? Cf. Luke xiii. 32. What about the Pharisees? Matt xii. 34. Does love include denunciation of persons as well as of things?

3. In Him we see the paradox of One Who lived consciously and perpetually in the realm of the eternal (cf. Spinoza) and yet was completely at home among men and in this world. He knew God as no saint has ever done, yet He attracted sinful men and women as we cannot: Luke vii. 37, xix. 3. Can it be that real holiness (and not its spurious or lopsided imitation) is the short cut to the hearts of our fellows—the really practical way?

4. Many references make clear His love of outward beauty: Matt. vi. 28, xvi. 2, etc. Is this an essential to the Christian life? Cf. Phil. iv. 8.

5. "The Kingdom" was His watchword, and for that He lived and died: Matt. xxvi. 28, Luke xii. 50. Was this part of His unique mission, or something in which *all* His disciples are expected to follow Him?

(c) HE IS THE WAY.

1. Two expositions of John xiv. 6. (a) "This means that apart from conscious, personal faith in Christ, nobody 'comes to the Father.'" (b) Matt. xxv. 31-46. Both cannot be true. Which is?

2. He was not slow to emphasise the importance of Himself—Matt. xi. 28, xvi. 13-20, Luke xxii. 19, John xiv. 6—though He was meek and lowly in heart. Does this insistence upon Himself mean that He is of world-wide significance, so that, *known or unknown*, He is the only Way by which any man comes to the Father?

II. *What does Christ's Way mean to-day?*

(a) FOR SOCIETY.

1. In any consideration of this problem we have to remember:

(a) That in the main Society is based on competition and not on co-operation. (b) That an exaggerated sense of nationality dominates the modern world. (c) That the unity of the Catholic Body of Christ

is broken, and the Church is divided into many separate Communion. (d) That no nation is wholly Christian.

2. Do you agree with these statements?

3. Do you believe that there is a Christian Way in commercial, industrial, social, national, and international, as well as in individual, affairs?

If so, can you enunciate any great principle that ought to govern these? Phrases such as "the way of Love" are too vague: is Matt. vii. 12 too vague?

4. What causes and practical policies are there in modern life to which Christians as members of Society ought to commit themselves?

(b) FOR THE INDIVIDUAL.

1. *Activity.* Are we to adopt it as our main principle that we are to act in and with our fellows, persuading them, leavening them, though the result fall far short of the ideal? Cf. Matt. xiii. 33. Or are we as Christians to go out beyond Society, paying the price if necessary? Matt. xvi. 24. What do we really think Christ wants us to do? Cf. 2 Cor. vi. 17.

2. *Character.* Describe your ideal Christian man. Must he love e.g., sport, music, nature, children?

3. What is the weakest point in the average Christian to-day, the thing that most needs remedy? Conduct? Character? The devotional life? What, therefore, ought to be emphasised most by the preacher?

4. "We are all psychologists nowadays." Does this make it easier or harder to believe in the Grace of God as an enabling and a transforming power? Phil. iv. 12, 13.

Are we right in assuming tacitly (as we do) that in any crisis it would be the "I" of to-day who has to face it? Or is it practical to expect "unexpected" help from God, either in our personality or in our circumstances? 1 Cor. vi. 9-11, 2 Cor. xii. 10.

III. *Getting There.*

1. Probably most of us as we confront the challenge of Christ's life, and the other challenge of the problems of our time, feel that we have scarcely begun to serve or be like Christ. Can we see how to do so better?

2. Look first at the New Testament Christians. What were their ways into Christ? Through preaching (Acts iv. 13, 1 Cor. i. 18), through fellowship in various forms (Acts ii. 42), by baptism (Acts ii. 38), by the laying on of hands (Acts vi. 6). All these pre-

suppose a nucleus in whom the Spirit dwelt, and by whom He could be transmitted: cf. the Rite of Ordination, "*Mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Christian Minister and Pastor now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands.*"

Has any Church the Spirit in this measure?

3. Does this mean that the recovery by the Church of a "filling with the Spirit" is her first task, so that she may be able to *communicate* the intensity of her experience of Christ? If so, how should she set about it? By prayer? Or will she recover Him only as she tries with a new earnestness to win men for Christ and to establish social righteousness?

If you believe the former, how will you start? How will you get the men of your Church to pray? If you believe the latter, where is the impetus for such service to be found?

4. Is there any way, whether of prayer or of action, by which a man can find God in Christ more intimately, can keep that experience of Him, and can be used more powerfully?

Have you found anything? Do you expect to find anything more?

K. HARLEY BOYNS

SPIRITUAL HEALING.

April 2, 1925.

THE EDITOR, THE HOLBORN REVIEW.

Sir,

In an article entitled "Spiritual Healing," appearing in your April issue, the statement is made, "The real originator of the teaching of Christian Science was Phineas P. Quimby." This statement is not true, as is quite apparent to anyone who understands the teachings of Christian Science sufficiently to demonstrate them, and who is familiar with the statements of Mr. Quimby in his own writings.

Mr. Quimby was a magnetic doctor and manipulated his patients. When Mrs. Eddy asked him how manipulation could benefit the sick, he answered "Because it conveys electricity to them." This is sufficient to show the vast difference between Christian Science, which is based on the allness of God, Spirit, and the material system which Mr. Quimby claims to have originated, which was based on magnetism, hypnotism, and the belief in human will-power. It was after Mr. Quimby's death in 1866 that Mrs. Eddy discovered the

fact that God, divine Mind, was the divine principle of the universe, and that it was a knowledge of God that healed the sick and reformed the sinner, as it had done in the days of the prophets, Jesus, his disciples and the early Christians.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES W. J. TENNANT.
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

To this letter Mr. Grensted has made the following reply :—

I have of course no wish at all to belittle Mrs. Eddy's positive achievement, from which I believe that we have much to learn. But the connexion with Quimby's thought is too close to be accidental. In his later years he abandoned his crude "magnetic" methods, and thought that physical symptoms of disease depended upon a distorted consciousness. He writes, "I deny disease as a truth but I admit it as a deception, started like all other stories without any foundation, and handed down from generation to generation, till the people believe it, and it has become part of their lives. So they live a lie, and their senses are in it." This is surely one of the mainsprings of Mrs. Eddy's thought. But I am quite content with your correspondent to refer your readers to the *Quimby Letters*.

QUARTERLY REPORT.

Matter intended for insertion in the Quarterly Report should be sent to the Rev. W. E. Farndale, 10, North Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead.

"*Fellowship of the Kingdom*."—Among the many study circles now in being throughout the country an important place must be given to the various branches of the Fellowship of the Kingdom. The origin of this organisation is authoritatively set forth in a most interesting booklet under the title of *The Fellowship of the Kingdom* written by the Rev. K. Harley Boyns, and published at threepence by the Epworth Press, London. Beginning in 1917 with devotional group meetings on the part of a dozen younger Wesleyan ministers, the movement developed into a two day's retreat in 1919, and then a week's conference of eighty members at Swanwick in 1920, each having been preceded by local study and service on the part of its associates. In June of 1924, two hundred met at Swanwick. Of these 123 were ministers, and 76 students from various colleges.

The collegiates included men from Richmond, Didsbury, Handsworth, Hartley, Belfast, Cambridge, and Glasgow. "Ministers at work in the homeland rubbed shoulders with missionaries on furlough, an Anglican speech in conference was followed by that of a Primitive Methodist, and a Bulgarian student shared a hymn book with an honoured Wesleyan supernumary." Lists of devotional topics for group study have been issued which can be obtained at the price of one penny each from the secretary, the Rev. J. A. Chapman, M.A., B.D., 6, Kenwood Park Road, Sheffield. No 4 in this series entitled *The New Testament Experience of God in Christ*, has been specially helpful. In addition to these study papers a dozen pamphlets have been written, issued by the Epworth Press, 25-35, City Road, E.C.1., at threepence each. Of these that on the *The Group* would be of service to any thinking of inaugurating Study Circle work in their neighbourhood.

"*The Christian Way*."—At the Swanwick Conference of the Fellowship of the Kingdom held June 29th to July 4th this year the topic for discussion was "The Christian Way: its Source and Meaning for To-day." During the previous twelve months groups dealt in corporate thought and prayer with this subject, in preparation for that conference. It is felt that this theme would be of considerable interest to many who may not be linked up with the Fellowship, and we have, therefore, had pleasure in arranging with the Rev. K. Harley Boyns, the editor of the Fellowship, to write for the HOLBORN REVIEW a Study Outline which will be found in the earlier pages of the present number. We warmly thank Mr. Boyns for his contribution, which is particularly in line with our great Methodist heritage of doctrine and practice.

"*The Quest*" —*Newcastle-on-Tyne*.—Through its secretary, the Rev. Lancelot Brown, this Circle reports a good session. Five meetings have been devoted to a study of the Sermon on the Mount on the basis of Prof. J. A. Findlay's Outline given in the HOLBORN REVIEW of April, 1924. The Revs. H. Davison, J. W. Collingwood, L. Brown, J. R. Quine and J. G. Soulsby, have in turn dealt with the various sections of the Sermon. The series proved a great success. For other meetings Prof. Hocking's "The Meaning of God in Human Life" was treated in seven divisions by the Revs. J. E. Storey, G. W. Taylor, W. Duffield, J. C. Sutcliffe, W. H. Harrison, J. B. Wanless and A. Watson. The Copec Reports on Education and Leisure have been summarised and appraised by the Revs.

J. Graham and E. B. Wilson. There has been a capital attendance, and much keenness in debate.

Merseyside Circle.—At the April meeting of this Circle the Lord's Prayer was the subject of a discriminating paper by the Rev. A. Lowe. Following on the study of Webb's *History of Philosophy*, the Circle is now taking Joad's *Introduction to Modern Philosophy*, (Oxford University Press), and found the first chapter on "Modern Realism" to be most provocative. Special arrangements were made for the May meeting which we trust to be able to report next quarter.

W. E. FARNDALE.

Current Literature.

Christus Veritas. Pp. xiii., 285. 1924. Price 10s. net. *Christ in His Church.* Pp. vii., 156. 1925. Price 3s. 6d. net. By WILLIAM TEMPLE. London: Macmillan and Co.

Christ's Revelation of God. By WILLIAM TEMPLE. Pp. 63. London: S.C.M. 1925. Price 1s. 6d. net.

WHEN Dr. Temple became the Bishop of a diocese so large and exacting as Manchester, some who rejoiced that the episcopate had been reinforced by an administrator so efficient and so energetic, may yet have wondered whether the price was not too high if it involved the withdrawal of one so well equipped from the ranks of contributors to philosophical and theological literature. His strength and time are sorely taxed by his official duties, and the burden which the Presidency of Copec entails is itself not light; but it is cheering that he should have produced so substantial a volume as we possess in *Christus Veritas*. It is a worthy companion to *Mens Creatrix*, and does in the realm of theology what its predecessor did in the realm of philosophy. In fact, the later work builds on the foundation already laid in its predecessor. Theism and the Christian standpoint generally are assumed; though this is not to say that no contribution is made to the theistic or the Christian case. But it is as a theological construction that it must be judged. It would be quite impossible in our space to follow this closely packed and well-knit argument. The first part investigates the structure of reality in the four grades of matter, life, mind, and spirit, showing how each grade finds its fullest significance and its expression as it is taken up into the grade above it. The lower grades symbolise what is more than themselves; the universe is sacramental. He goes on to discuss Value which he makes his central principle. He describes it as "a system of experience in which a subject free from inner causes of change finds satisfaction in an object which (therefore) it does not seek to change." The consciousness of absolute value and its absolute obligation is "a direct awareness of something ultimate in the universe," which is a knowledge of God, and by vast multitudes experienced as such. This leads to a discussion of religious experience. The second part discusses The Nature of Man, History and Eternity, and The Nature of God. With the third part we

reach the central positions of the book. The testimony of the New Testament to the Godhead of Christ is exhibited and accepted. Then the problem of the Incarnation is faced. The complete reality of the humanity is affirmed; but the Bishop refuses to accept a kenotic theory which seems to him to involve something approaching mythology. God the Son added His human career to the other work of God. It is recognised that this leaves the difficulty with regard to the mode of His consciousness unsolved; but to every theory there are grave objections, and this theory has the advantage that the difficulty arises at the point where it ought to arise, since we can have no knowledge about the mode of His consciousness. This section is completed by a chapter on The Holy Spirit and the Church. In the fourth part the new light is considered which is thrown upon God by the Incarnation. In the next part there is a corresponding chapter, "Man in the Light of the Incarnation," but before this is reached the question has to be discussed how our view of history is affected by the knowledge that the eternal mind or will is such as is revealed in Christ. Finally, we have three chapters, Worship and Sacraments; The Atonement; and Love Divine: the Blessed Trinity. Great prominence is given to the sacramental principle, especially the Eucharist, which is said to be "the heart of Christian worship." Transubstantiation is set aside; what we actually have is transvaluation. Consubstantiation has the right devotional value but is nonsense. The doctrine of the atonement is put in what many will regard as too subordinate a position, but the discussion of it is excellent. We have read the book with great admiration, and hope that at some points the author may return to expand his compact discussion into something fuller.

Christ in His Church contains the Bishop's primary charge. It deals rapidly with a series of problems both theological and practical, The Nature of the Church; The Doctrine of the Incarnation; Miracles; Sacraments; The Twofold Character of the Church of England as both Catholic and Evangelical; the Relation between the Church and the State; the Church and Democracy; and the Church and World Politics. We have read it with great interest and very large agreement. The other volume contains the addresses given by the Bishop at the Manchester Conference of the S.C.M. last January. He starts with what our Lord presupposed, goes on to speak of what He taught by speech, and finally expounds what He taught by action. The lectures are excellent and cover a good deal of ground in a simple popular way. In both of the smaller books not a little is said which finds its fuller statement and defence in *Christus Veritas*.

The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus. By E. J. JENKINSON. Pp. 160. London: the Epworth Press. 1925. Price 5s. net.

THE author is a pupil of Prof. J. A. Findlay who has helped him with his advice and written a preface to the book. The volume contains a convenient and pretty full collection of *agrapha*.

Passages in the canonical Gospels are not excluded, if they are no part of the authentic text, such as the last twelve verses of Mark, the Pericope Adulterae, the man who worked on the Sabbath Day (we greatly doubt the interpretation put upon this famous incident) and minor manuscript interpolations. An account is then added of the Gnostic Gospel of Barnabas, and parables are quoted from it. A longer chapter is naturally devoted to sayings in the lost Gospels, special prominence of course is given to the Oxyrhynchus Logia. Mr. Jenkinson rather boldly asserts that they have every appearance of being authentic. We note that the author is attracted by Dr. E. A. Abbott's suggestion that the disciple known to the high priest who introduced Peter into the palace was Judas. This is in fact a much older suggestion which found practically no acceptance. Dr. Abbott defends it very skilfully, though we still regard the general view as more probable. A number of sayings are collected from the fathers, and the closing chapter quotes a number preserved in Mohammedan literature. The book is intended for the general reader, but students also will find it serviceable to have the material brought together in this convenient form.

Aspects of the Way. By A. D. MARTIN. Pp. xi. 171. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1924. Price 6s. net.

THE name of the author is already familiar to our readers through the articles he has contributed to our pages. One of the foremost Congregational preachers, he has, we hope only for a time, been compelled by ill health to abandon the pulpit. Certainly, this is not all loss if it means that he can give himself more fully to writing. The present volume is described in its sub-title as "Meditations and Studies in the Life of Christ." Its Prologue is a study of the story of the shepherds, and it closes with an Epilogue entitled "The Way," based on an article contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* for April, 1914. The rest of the book is devoted to the Life of Jesus. Three chapters treat of the period before the ministry, three more are concerned with the Baptism, the Temptation, and the Transfiguration. We pass on to His defence of Himself against those who criticised His attitude to sinners. Mr. Martin next studies the working of the Mind of Jesus, with stress on the unity and consistency of it and His clear, direct vision of God. The chapter on "The Cup" is a study in our Lord's Passion, as the final reaction of the Divine in human life against sin. And at the close there is a suggestive chapter on "The Ascension." This is but a bare catalogue of topics, and it conveys no idea of the qualities of the work, nor of the interesting interpretations which are continually offered. The author has kept his eye steadily fixed on the subject and has meditated deeply upon it. Constantly he strikes out new flashes of suggestion. The strength of the book lies partly in the imaginative reconstruction of the scenes, partly in its felicity of illustration. But it owes much to its style. The author has a sensitive literary instinct, and a keen appreciation of the value of words.

all too rare among preachers. And with these qualities there goes an exegetical tact and a spiritual insight which make the book profitable as well as delightful. We hope it will be widely read ; it will inevitably kindle expectations of further work from his accomplished pen.

L'Enigme de Jesus. By PAUL-LOUIS COUCHOUD. Pp. 67. Paris : Extrait du *Mercure de France*. 1923.

The Enigma of Jesus. By PAUL LOUIS COUCHOUD. Translated by WINIFRED WHALE. With an Introduction by SIR JAMES FRAZER. Pp. xv., 111. London : Watts & Co. 1924. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Courte Histoire du Christianisme. Par ALBERT HOUTIN. Pp. 128. 1924. Price F.4.50. *La Sibylle.* Par TH. ZIELINSKI. Pp. 127. 1924. Price F.4.50. *Le Quatrième Evangile.* Par HENRI DELAFOSSE. Pp. 234. 1925. Price F.7.50 F. Rieder.

M. COUCHOUD is a medical man, who has devoted himself to history and archæology. In Japan the problem of Jesus was presented to him when he had already begun to doubt the historical existence of Buddha. Investigation convinced him that Jesus also is mythical. The French pamphlet, of which *The Enigma of Jesus* is a translation, presumably indicates the line that will be followed in the larger work he is preparing. The negative case has been argued by J. M. Robertson, W. B. Smith and Drews ; but the overwhelming opinion of experts, including those who have broken entirely with traditional Christianity, is emphatically on the other side. Sir James Frazer, with his profound knowledge of anthropology and the history of religion, has again and again emphatically repudiated the theory that Jesus never lived. He lets his friend down very gently in the sentence, "To me, I confess, it seems to create more difficulties than it solves." The case presented is fragile in the extreme. It is commonly held that if the authenticity of the chief Pauline Epistles is granted the historicity of Jesus follows. Drews denies the historicity but admits that the Epistles *may* be authentic. M. Couchoud believes that they are authentic, but denies the historicity. Loisy, accepting the historicity, has pared down the authentic material in the Gospels to a very slender nucleus of fact. M. Couchoud thinks that the criticism may legitimately be pushed a little further, and the central figure be relegated to the realm of myth. But there is one definite piece of evidence, as we have often pointed out, which really settles the question. No Messianic movement arising out of Judaism could have put forward as its Founder and Lord a *crucified* Messiah, unless it was forced to do so by His actual crucifixion. That mode of death was accursed by the Hebrew Law. There are other convincing arguments, but the value of this is that we could infer the historical existence of Jesus even if we had not a single Gospel.

The other three volumes belong to a series edited by M. Couchoud. In a very brief volume M. Houtin, specially known by his *La Question Biblique*, and his life of Père Hyacinthe, has written a history of

Christianity. He is not in agreement with his editor, and says that without Jesus the history of Christianity would appear to him as completely inexplicable as that of Islam without Mohammed, or Pythagoreanism without Pythagoras. His attitude on the problem of origins is nevertheless quite advanced. The sketch of the history itself, is from the wider point of view, badly proportioned. The author was a Roman Catholic, and it is difficult for him to get away from his natural preoccupation with the fortunes of the papacy. Less than half a page, for example, is given to Methodism.

Prof. Zielinski has put together three essays on the religion of antiquity and Christianity. He argues from the fact that the Gentiles accepted, while the Jews rejected, Christianity, that there was a preparation for Christianity in paganism. The question of actual borrowing he leaves aside, he is concerned with the psychological preparation. The ancient religion prepared men's minds for Christianity. The real Old Testament for the Church was the ancient pagan religion. This is illustrated from a study first of the god-made man, that is Apollo, the man who became a god, that is Heracles, and the mother of the Saviour, that is Alceme. The second essay sketches the cult of the Pythian Apollo, and the mysteries of Isis, Attis and Demeter. The third treats of the Sibyl and the end of Rome.

M. Delafosse starts from the conviction, which he takes to be a critically assured result, that the fourth Gospel is a fiction. He devotes a long discussion to an investigation of the origins. His theory is, that like the rest of the New Testament literature, the Gospel has grown by a process of stratification, corresponding to the crises through which the faith itself passed. He thinks that two conflicting tendencies are present in the Gospel. The original document was composed by a Marcionite, it was then worked over by an interpolator who was an opponent of Marcion's heresy, and in place of the Docetic Christ, presented a Christ of flesh and blood. He adds a new translation in which the two strata are indicated by distinction of type. The Marcionite stratum is itself composite. The original appeared about A.D. 135, and it was completed a few years later. The Catholic redaction cannot be earlier than about 170, and it was only at this stage that the identification of the author with the Apostle John was made.

The Religion of the Manichees. By F. C. BURKITT. Pp. viii., 130
Cambridge: at the University Press. 1925. Price 6s. net.

THIS welcome volume contains the Donnellan Lectures for 1924. We have more than once called the attention of our readers to the existence of Manichean documents found near Turfan in Turkestan. Unfortunately, no complete documents have been discovered, we have only scraps. These would be unintelligible by themselves, but our knowledge of the religion from other sources throws light upon them, and they, in turn, add to our information. Moreover, Mr. Mitchell deciphered a manuscript containing Ephraim's *Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, and Professor Burkitt edited the

work after Mr. Mitchell's death in France. He attaches much importance to it, in spite of its defects, because it is written in Syriac, the language which Mani generally used; and he agrees in the main with Ephraim's view that Mani's heresy was largely compounded from the religion of the other two heretics named in his title. For the sources we have a most valuable guide in Prosper Alfarié's *Les Ecritures Manichéennes*, published in two volumes in 1918-19, to which Prof. Burkitt pays a just tribute. We do not know what view he takes of the late Mr. Legge's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*; we did not form a very favourable opinion of it ourselves. Two other recent publications to which Dr. Burkitt does not allude are Reitzenstein's *Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium* and Scheftelowitz's *Die Entstehung der Manichäischen Religion und des Erlösungsmysteriums*. All of the sources from which our knowledge is derived are enumerated and estimated by Prof. Burkitt and by a critical use of them he reconstructs the main lines of the system—its radical dualism, the invasion of the realms of Light by the Powers of Darkness, the capture of a portion of the light and its imprisonment in matter, the means taken for its redemption by release and return to the kingdom of light from which it came. Since the goal of history was above all things the restoration of the imprisoned light, the difference between Manichaean and Christian ethics is not inaptly expressed by the author: "Christianity is concerned with persons, Manichaeism with things." We have no space to deal more fully with this important work, but we have read it with the keenest interest and sympathy and with much admiration for the amazing erudition and critical dexterity and judgment which the author displays.

Hermetica. The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. Edited with English Translation and Notes by WALTER SCOTT. Vol. I., Introduction, Texts and Translation. Pp. 549. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1924. Price 30s. net.

Select Passages Illustrating Mithraism. Translated with an Introduction by the Rev. A. S. GEDEN, D.D. Pp. vi., 87. London: S.P.C.K. 1925. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE former of these is the first instalment of a very important work. It is to be completed in four volumes, the second and third are to contain the commentary, the fourth will be devoted to Testimonia, Appendices and Indices. Two types of literature circulate under the name of Hermes Trismegistus. One consists of occultist writings dealing with alchemy, astrology and magic, and this class the editor dismisses from consideration as rubbish. The other class, with which the present work is concerned, contains religious and philosophical writings. This corpus of writings, after enjoying a very high reputation both among the early Fathers and at the revival of learning, sank into disrepute as Neoplatonic forgeries. It commanded the attention of philologists and theologians when in 1904 Reitzen-

stein published his *Poimandres*, which opened the series of his notable works on Greek and Iranian mystery-religions. He placed the Hermetic literature in the first century A.D. at the latest—a date considerably earlier than the accepted period. Sir Flinders Petrie, in a paper which we heard him read at the Oxford International Congress of Religion, and then in his little book, *Personal Religion in Egypt*, contended that it originated several centuries before the time of Christ and betrayed strong Indian influence—a most improbable view. Mr. Scott regrets that a man who had done such excellent work in his own department should have strayed into a field in which he does not know his bearings. Mr. St. George Stock's article in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, which curiously contains no reference to Reitzenstein except the bare mention of his book in the bibliography, assigns the literature to the period between A.D. 313 and 330. Mr. G. R. S. Mead's elaborate work in three volumes, *Thrice Greatest Hermes*, was reviewed by us on its appearance in 1906. He hailed Reitzenstein's conclusions with enthusiasm; and his work, although deeply coloured by the author's theosophical beliefs, was written in the spirit of modern scientific research. Kroll, in 1914, argued that, while certain of the documents might be placed at any time after Philo, some, including the *Poimandres*, cannot be earlier than Numenius (A.D. 150-200). Heinrici's posthumous work, *Die Hermes-Mystik und das Neue Testament*, was edited and published by von Dobschütz in 1918. The literature is of course interesting for itself; but it is of special importance to determine the relation in which it stands to the New Testament. The chronological question is here crucial; but the question must be independently investigated whether any actual relation can be traced between the two literatures. With the fullest recognition of Reitzenstein's great services, the tendency of recent discussion has been rather strongly against his views on both points. St. George Stock and Kroll bring the literature down, the former into the fourth century, the latter into the second. Mr. Scott comes to the conclusion that while some of the documents may have been written before the end of the second century A.D., probably none were as early as the first. But most, if not all of them, were probably written in Egypt in the third century A.D. As to the second point, while Heinrici finds many passages parallel to New Testament passages, he finds little that is borrowed from the New Testament. Kroll asserts that there is no trace of any influence of Christianity, and Mr. Scott is in close agreement with this. We have devoted so much space to the general questions because they are so important and so much has been made of them; and it seemed desirable that our readers should know the direction in which the discussion is moving. We have accordingly left little space in which to deal with the book itself; but we hope to return to it in connexion with the later volumes. What we have in the present instalment is above all a critically edited text, with a full textual apparatus, a trustworthy translation, which with texts so difficult is most welcome, and an elaborate introduction. In the preface to the

new edition of Liddell and Scott, Prof. H. S. Jones acknowledges the care with which, for the purposes of the Lexicon, Mr. Scott had worked over the magical and mystical writings including the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and adds that his notes dealt very fully with the difficult words often found in these sources. Such studies must have been of peculiar value for the task he has undertaken, and their fruits will no doubt be abundantly seen in the commentary to which we shall look forward with great expectation.

In this connexion we are glad to call attention to Dr. Geden's little book containing a translation of a selection of passages illustrating Mithraism. The relations between Christianity and Mithraism have also been prominent in recent discussion. Dr. Geden admits that references to Mithraic doctrine in the Pauline Epistles or the Apocalypse are not impossible, but considers the evidence inconclusive. On later Christian writers Mithraism probably exerted an unconscious influence; but the two religions were not in intimate contact, and the Christians apparently failed to recognise the seriousness of Mithraic rivalry. A rapid discussion is given of the origin of the religion, its diffusion, its sanctuaries, symbols and worship, its decay and disappearance. Quotations are translated from the Avesta, classical writers, and Christian Fathers, and a brief introduction is prefixed to each. Dr. Geden has rendered a real service to students by collecting and translating these passages and by his excellent introduction.

A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek. By J. P. POSTGATE, Litt.D., F.B.A. Pp. x., 96. Published for the University of Liverpool by Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

GREEK accentuation is a notoriously difficult subject and a very large number of those who learn Greek are shaky on the accents. If English pronunciation of Greek followed the accents they could be much more easily remembered. Under present conditions it is practically impossible for most students to remember them. Prof. Postgate, who is one of our most distinguished classical scholars, has tried to present the subject as a rational system, not as a collection of empirical rules. The exposition of the subject occupies most of the book; it is, of course, too technical for detailed reference here. But in a closing chapter we reach the practical problems. Our own pronunciation misrepresents the Greek accentuation, and so does the modern Greek pronunciation which is ruinous to metrical quantities. The difficulties of getting back to the ancient way are formidable, as we find it extremely difficult to keep the accent and yet not sacrifice the quantity. Some practical guidance is given for correctness in accentuation and a conference of teachers and examiners is suggested.

The Golden Treasury of Modern Lyrics. Selected and arranged by LAURENCE BINYON. Pp. xi. 369. London: Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE Golden Treasury was intended to contain the best English songs and lyrics down to 1850, except that poets living in 1861, when it was published, were not represented. The present work continues the original Golden Treasury and carries it down to our own time. The range of selection has been limited to the British Isles, and undoubtedly there will be much difference of opinion as to those actually chosen. When we say that eighty-seven poets are here represented it will be clear that no account of the contents is possible. Nineteenth century poets of the era of Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Morris, Swinburne and the Rossettis find a place here. But we come down to poets of the present day. No two people, however competent, would make the same selection. But whether we approve all its inclusions or omissions we can unhesitatingly say that Mr. Binyon has brought together much that is beautiful and precious, and the publishers have produced the book in a most attractive form.

Charles Dickens and other Victorians. By SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-
COUCH, M.A. Pp. vii. 240. Cambridge: at the University Press.
1925. Price 10s. 6d. net.

WE have here another collection of Cambridge lectures to which the author has added a paper on Anthony Trollope, whom he regards as one of our greatest English novelists, and perhaps the raciest of them all. Five lectures are devoted to Dickens, three to Thackeray, one to Disraeli, and one to Mrs. Gaskell, the two latter being preceded by a chapter on the Victorian Background. The lecturer's characteristics are familiar, the range of his knowledge, the Catholicity of his taste, his unaffected and contagious enthusiasm for great literature, his informality and habit of digression which run at times to excess. And then the lecturer has the advantage not only of being a practised literary critic, but also himself a novelist. The chapters on Dickens show the author's qualities at their best. The amazing world of characters, with laws of its own to suit them, is carefully analysed. He fully acknowledges that Dickens could write a shocking style, but will not allow that his prose was careless. His plots were carelessly constructed and yet he was over-anxious about them. But he accounts him the greatest of English novelists, and among the greatest of all the greatest European novelists. On Thackeray the lecturer is briefer. He emphasises his Anglo-Indian connexions as more important for his work than is generally recognised. He examines Merivale's saying that the two key secrets of Thackeray's life were disappointment and religion. Apart from his domestic affliction, he thinks that we cannot speak of him properly as a disappointed man, and, while he was really devout, he was never racked by spiritual tortures. His snobbery he admits and indeed underlines; and his cruelty to poor, unfashionable, uneducated people is scourged. But his prose is magical. In construction he was often feeble, his range of invention in plot was as limited as his range in characters. He was far too diffuse, but the rhythm of his prose has rarely been surpassed. In the lecture on the Victorian

Background the author depicts the horrors of the industrial revolution, especially so far as children were concerned. Of Mrs. Gaskell he writes with insight and whole-hearted enthusiasm. He recognises that Disraeli is a great figure in literature but he writes on him with discrimination.

Studies in the Life of the Early Church. By F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON. Pp. 263. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS book is, as its title indicates, not a history of the early Church, (such the author has already given us), but a series of sketches of different movements and aspects. The volume is intended for the general reader and does not go deeply into anything; it is, in fact, rather scrappy. On the other hand it brings together the most necessary information on a large number of topics and thus forms a useful companion to the ordinary history which follows the chronological development. Among the topics discussed are the attitude of Christianity to Gnosticism, the relations between the Church and the Empire, the persecutions, the controversy of Christianity with other religions and the disputes within its own borders, the organisation, the discipline, the worship and the doctrine of the Church. Special chapters are devoted to Eusebius, to Constantine, to the Roman catacombs and to the early diffusion of Christianity. The book has been rather carelessly written. Incomplete sentences, shipwrecked syntax, and misprints are all too frequent. But it gives an interesting popular statement of the subject.

Piracy in the Ancient World. An Essay in Mediterranean History. By HENRY A. ORMEROD, M.A. Pp. 286. Published for the University of Liverpool by Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a new issue in the series "The Ancient World," edited by Prof. Peet. The subject is a fascinating one, and the author, who is Professor of Greek at Leeds, is admirably equipped for dealing with it. For us piracy is of interest chiefly as a theme of romance; but from the dawn of history till our own day the Mediterranean has been infested with pirates almost continuously, apart from the palmy days of the Roman Empire. The conformation of the Mediterranean coast is peculiarly helpful to pirates. The book opens with two general chapters; then two chapters are devoted to piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean and one to piracy in the Western Seas and the Adriatic. A special chapter is devoted to the pirates of Cilicia, whose evil activities were successfully terminated by Pompey. The closing chapter deals with piracy in the period after Pompey's campaign; and the story is rounded off by a brief account of the pirate in classical literature, especially in the late fiction which is represented by Heliodorus. Prof. Ormerod has made an excellent contribution to the literature of Ancient History, bringing together in a convenient and interesting form a large number of facts from a wide range of reading.

The Roman Questions of Plutarch. A New Translation with Introductory Essays and a Running Commentary. By H. J. ROSE, M.A. Pp. 220. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1924. Price 12s. 6d. net.

PLUTARCH'S *Roman Questions* is important for students of Roman religion, but not very accessible. Philemon Holland translated it, his version being delightful English but far from faithful as a rendering; and the modern edition of it, to which Dr. Jevons prefixed an important introduction, is now out of print, though we have long numbered ourselves among its fortunate possessors. There is no good critical edition of the Greek text. Prof. Rose's volume is therefore welcome as a new and faithful translation. But it is much more than this. In addition to a careful and learned treatment of the sources from which Plutarch drew, and an examination of the critical problems, we have a chapter on Plutarch's Attitude towards Religion. But we are specially grateful for Prof. Rose's valuable reconstruction of the oldest stratum of Roman religion, to which is appended a special investigation of certain difficult problems. The commentary is full of good matter. Naturally much use is made of the anthropological material for parallels and explanations of various customs. Prof. Rose has cast his net wide and brought together much curious and interesting information. Plutarch's own explanations are often fanciful or absurd, but this is not of any particular importance as we are in a much more favourable position than he was for interpreting the meaning. Prof. Rose seems to criticise the Hebrews as narrow, because it never occurred to them that Chemosh or Baal might be Yahweh under another name. But there was ample reason for this, and the identification in the long run would have proved disastrous. But he is quite incorrect when he says that till the time of the authors of Jonah and Malachi it did not occur to them "that Yahweh could possibly care anything about any nation except Israel." The Second Isaiah is the outstanding example to the contrary, but he does not stand alone.

EDITOR.

The League, the Protocol, and the Empire. By ROTH WILLIAMS. Pp. 174. London: Allen & Unwin. 1925. Price 5s. net.

THE Protocol has received a shrewd blow in its rejection by Great Britain. Yet the last has not been heard of it. Its ideals survive. The question of "security and disarmament" is beset with difficulties. Custom and prestige, as these find expression in naval, military, and, now, the new air force establishments, are formidable barriers against change. The author of this book is an enthusiast, but he writes with knowledge, and is aware of the weaknesses of the Protocol. War is a calamity, and he pleads the necessity for showing that the proposals of the Peace Treaty are more than window dressing. The Protocol deals with a problem the League

was intended to solve. It is not something superimposed on the League covenant, but a necessary development, and can be amended to meet the British position. Rejection, with no alternative proposals, leads to disaster. It is not possible to give a summary of this book. A detailed statement of the case for the Protocol is followed by Appendices, in which the full text is given, and other relevant Articles. The treatment is informing and interesting.

How to Enjoy the Bible. By ANTHONY C. DEANE, M.A. Pp. 188. London: Hodder & Stoughton. n.d. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Literary Genius of the Old Testament. By P. C. SANDS. Pp. 123. Oxford: Clarendon Press (Humphrey Milford). 1924. Price 4s. 6d. net.

THE value of the Bible as literature is the main topic of these books, although both writers are interested in other aspects of Scripture. Canon Deane's volume is in the useful "People's Library." Within small compass he appraises the whole Bible, including the Apocrypha. Suggestions are given concerning methods of reading. The style is discursive. Veneration for the A.V. of the N.T. leads to depreciation of other versions, including the R.V., although admission is made that other versions are necessary to capture the atmosphere of the original. Wise words are used concerning the format of our English Bible. If these bear fruit many hindrances to the Bible's wider use will disappear. The view is put forth that John's Gospel, published late, was written early, its substance being a day-to-day diary. Mr. Sands' topic is the Old Testament, but one chapter deals with the New Testament and shows that the Old Testament style persists there. His purpose is "to analyse the main literary features of the Old Testament, to examine some of the most popular stories and poems, and the grounds upon which we admire them as literature." Canon Deane mentions the disastrous effects of learning tedious lists of kings and other historical events from the Old Testament. Mr. Sands, who is Headmaster of Pocklington School, introduces a better way which has been successful in his own work. Illustrations of the passages chosen are produced from the classics, both ancient and modern. Acknowledgment is made of help from *Peake's Commentary*, especially from Prof. Hudson's article on "The Bible as Literature." It is a capable book, necessary for modern teachers.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement. By the Rev. YNGVE BRILIOTH. Pp. xv., 357. 1925. London: Longmans. Price 16s. net.

THIS important volume is the work of a Swedish Lutheran pastor, lecturer in Church History in the University of Upsala. He brings to it not only a background of theology and a wide and detailed knowledge of English Church history, but also a very valuable point.

of view. He stands outside our national prejudices, but he stands equally outside those of French Catholics and German Protestants who have written on the same subject. He has accordingly produced a book of sober criticism, in the proper sense of the word, which ought to remain one of the most valuable studies of English theology. Chapters i.-x. deal with the origins and the setting of the Oxford Movement. He shows that it derives theologically from the great Caroline divines and the Non-jurors, through Dr. Alexander Knox, the friend of Wesley. He then traces the influence, positive and negative, of Evangelicalism. The Movement was every bit as much a stirring of living religion as was the Evangelical Revival, and its passion for holiness and for conversion was one of its striking characteristics. The view of history which was another characteristic, it shared with the Romantic movement, yet "it was far more oriented to the Early Church than to the Middle Ages." Finally, he sketches the political context in which it arose, which gave it its definite form, and to some extent its hardness, and against which it was a fierce protest. This last point is fundamental to any understanding of it. Its polemical aspect is apt to hide the fact that it was not, as it appeared to be, a new discovery of long-forgotten truth. Nor was it, as Walsh and other uncritical journalists declare, a "Roman plot." The thing was rooted in English soil, and it is rather the English temperament than a theological argument, which accounts for its inconsistencies and which forms its attractiveness. The theological and practical content of the Movement Dr. Brilioth deals with in his last five chapters in a most penetrating and exhaustive analysis. His titles are "The Static" and "The Progressive Conceptions of the Church," (represented by Right and Left extremists in the Movement, but co-existing in the minds of Newman and Pusey as a dualism never resolved, and for the most part, never even recognised as such), "The Forms of Tractarian Piety," "The Doctrine of Justification," "Mysticism and Sacramentalism." The theological position of Newman is sketched with rare insight and skill, and Dr. Brilioth also does justice to the genuineness of that much misunderstood figure, Dr. Pusey. The style of the book is well suited to the matter, learned, acute, and yet interesting. Even apart from theological considerations it is in itself a good story to tell (the popularity of Newman's *Apologia* proves that), and he tells it well. We wish he had been able to deal more fully with the reaction which it produced, and we hope that at a later date he may give us an account of the Movement subsequent to 1845. But the book is to be commended to all Englishmen for a real understanding of the greatest religious movement of last century. We note his commendations of Dr. Fairbairn's book in his bibliography, and we would suggest that he add also Mr. Wilfred Ward's extraordinarily good little study in "The People's Books" (Jack).

Christian Social Duty: an Analysis. By JOHN LEE, C.B.E., M.Com.Sc. Pp. 179. 1925. London: Student Christian Movement. Price 5s. net.

Mr. LEE, author of a previous book on *The Social Implications of Christianity*, gives us here a rather gloomy study of Christian social duty, which is provocative without being suggestive. Crude individualism repels him, still more does crude State-action, and he pins his faith, somewhat vaguely, to a "consecrated Individualism . . . with the recognition of the interests of others as its basis." When we seek for a concrete illustration of this we find it in Henry Ford and other American representatives of big business. Mr. Lee sees nothing but disaster in the social legislation of the last fifty years. "The process of individual protection by law has impoverished the world. . . . It has taken spiritual romance from us and given us that type of security which is measured by Bismarckian schemes for modifying distress and poverty. It has chilled the warmth of family life, has legislated for the education of a children on uniform plans, and has controlled, and ruled, and guided us in all things, so that outside the act of prayer there is little liberty left" (p. 99). There is, we are afraid, not much depth of earth in these nine chapters, which were addressed originally to Anglo-Catholic audiences, and what earth there is is already overcrowded with the planting of other people, for the book is crammed with quotations. It is, however, a most provocative statement of the case for individualism, and will probably be widely read on that account.

The Christian Outlook, being the Sermons of an Economist. By SIR WILLIAM J. ASHLEY. Pp. 99. 1925. London: Longmans. Price 4s. 6d. net.

THIS beautifully printed and bound little volume is full of the wisdom of past study, and of faith in future progress—two characteristics by no means always found together. The Professor of Commerce in Birmingham University deals here with such subjects as Citizenship, Freedom and Service, the Duty of Thought, in a way that is most suggestive both to the Church member and to the ratepayer, even when they may dissent from his position. There are in all the sermons a strong belief in people and in democracy, and an optimistic faith in the Christian "determination not to give up the world as irredeemably bad." He has many definite things to say about Trade Unions, private property, competition, and also, in passing, about the Church of England and about Biblical criticism. (Sir William is a prominent "modern Churchman," as well as an Economic historian). We are glad that he has been inspired to collect these writings, and we hope they may have a wide circulation.

The Road to Christendom. By HILDA T. JACKA. Pp. 144. London: The Student Christian Movement. 1925. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Forces of the Spirit By FRANK LENWOOD. Pp. 172. London: The Student Christian Movement. 1925. Price 2s. 6d. net.

It is difficult to praise too highly this excellent little book by Miss

Jacka. It is a first-rate study of post-war conditions, written in good, vigorous English, sensible, fair-minded, full of facts, and with a real positive, understandable Gospel in it. No issue is avoided, there is a wholesome absence of cloudy generalities, and if anyone wants to get down to the real meaning of Christianity in a world like the present, this is the best book we can think of for him. It will discover for him the world as well as the Gospel. Miss Jacka deals in seven chapters with social, political and international facts, and their relation to the war, and she concludes that what we need is the idea and practice of "Christendom." Her sketch of the mediæval church is rather too highly idealized, perhaps, to satisfy the historian, but this part of the book is only incidental. We heartily commend this study to all young people, especially to those who are in any way engaged in the work of education, for whom it is more particularly written.

Mr. Lenwood's book is on the same lines as his earlier *Social Problems and the East*, but he here develops more the theological implications of the missionary motive. There are first of all three excellent chapters on brotherhood, wealth, and patriotism, which are well illustrated in his own lively and forcible manner. The rest of the book deals with the questions of truth, man, the Church, and the Cross, considered as factors in the appeal of Christianity to save the world, nations as well as men. The whole book is an interesting and compelling study of the place of modern missions, is full of good stories and clear thinking, and is just the book for a study circle that means business.

Both books are edited for study purposes, and have questions and a bibliography at the end. We hope they will both be read and used widely, as they deserve.

The Art of Contemplation. Translated from the Catalan of RAMON LULL, with an Introductory Essay by E. ALLISON PEERS. Pp. 177. London: S.P.C.K. 1925. Price 3s. 6d. net.

RAMON, or Raymond, Lull (1234-1315) was one of the most picturesque figures of the Middle Ages. He is known in missionary history as the man who went out in the age of the Crusades to seek to win the Moslems by love and persuasion rather than by force of arms. He was, moreover, a scholar and a philosopher. Erdmann justifies a lengthy treatment of him in his *History of Philosophy* by mentioning the fact that at one time Lull's followers were as numerous as those of Aquinas. His influence, therefore, must have been considerable. His writings, however, are by no means easy to read. By the fourteenth century the vocabulary, if not the method, of natural science and mathematics, had invaded philosophy, particularly in the case of the mystical writers such as Lull, and they were apt to seek for a formula within which all truth could be contained, and which would be self-evident to anybody. It was partly in this spirit that Lull went out to convert the Moslems. Lull wrote also a prose romance of the religious life called *Blanquerna*, which has not

yet been fully translated into English. Professor Peers, however, has already translated part of it, *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, and he now follows that up by this translation of another part, *The Art of Contemplation*. Blanquerna has been Pope, but longing for the life of contemplation, he resigns and goes into retreat. This little book gives us the method that he followed. It is in form typically mediæval in its blend of philosophy and mysticism, but its content is the eternal search of the soul after God. Professor Peers gives us a useful introduction, in which he promises at a later date a translation of the whole of *Blanquerna*.

Ignorance, Faith, and Conformity. By KENNETH E. KIRK. Pp. ix., 167. 1925. London: Longmans. Price 8s. 6d. net.

MR. KIRK has followed up his earlier book on moral theology with this work in which he treats in greater detail some questions of Christian, or at any rate Catholic, discipline. He deals first of all with the place of intention in moral action, and the efforts of the Church to allow the claims of the individual conscience to a place in a legalised system of moral theology. The question of where and when ignorance is not sin he traces from Abelard through Aquinas up to the seventeenth century. The discussion of ignorance in itself involves the question of faith, and he has two very interesting chapters on Faith and Salvation, and Faith and Doubt. The Catholic system has for long recognised the legitimate claims of those who, despite Catholic teaching, "conscientiously," as we say, refuse to accept it. It has, however, no place for eclectics who conform to some articles of belief and reject others. In his last chapter Mr. Kirk examines the situation in this respect in the Anglican communion, and comes to the conclusion that it is not so among Anglicans, because the Anglican system is one not so much of law as of custom, whereas the Roman is the reverse. This conclusion, which seems to us perfectly sound, would in our opinion render difficult, if not impossible, any attempt to argue from the Roman system to the Anglican. Mr. Kirk himself seems to feel that difficulty, and his last chapter is very unconvincing. After the time of Abelard ethics got into the hands of the logicians, and the aim was not so much to do justice to the rights of conscience as to produce an authoritative system which should be logically watertight. It is its freedom from this which gives Abelard's *Scito te ipsum* its distinction. There is, however, in the Anglican system, neither Thomism, in the sense of a thoroughly worked out system of doctrine, nor Ultramontanism, in the sense of a central recognised authority to interpret that doctrine, and so any discussion of mediæval doctrine, or of the present Roman doctrine, cannot easily link on to an examination of Anglicanism in this respect. Mr. Kirk, however, does not attempt to treat of these moral questions in themselves, but rather to find out what the Catholic Church thinks on these subjects, and he is, therefore, for the most part content to give us a catena of authorities. Within these limits it is a learned

and interesting treatise, and we welcome an examination on these lines in these days when ethical discussions are apt to suffer from the corrosive effect of psycho-analysis.

Le Christianisme et la Revolution Francaise. Par A. AULARD. Pp. 155. 1925. Paris: Rieder. Price 6fr. 50.

IN this extremely interesting little monograph, M. Aulard deals with the condition of the French Church at the time of the Revolution, and the stages which led to its "laicisation," and ultimately to its complete separation from the State. It is interesting for the light it throws not only on the events of the Revolution, but also on the persistence of "Gallicanism" from the later Middle Ages right on to 1794. The Church in France was always more Nationalist than Catholic, and the social cleavages in the nation were present in the Church too, and were the initial cause of the Revolution in both. In both a movement originally social for the redress of grievances, was captured by the intellectuals, and was crowned in the case of the Church by that astonishing "Festival of Reason" in Notre Dame.

La Franc-maconnerie. Par JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Pp. 125. 1925. Paris: Rieder. Price 5 fr.

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE lived at a time when the Age of Reason in France already seemed likely to overwhelm Catholicism. There was, however, a bridge between the arid intellectualism of Voltaire and the worldly traditionalism of the Catholic Church. That bridge was freemasonry, with its esoteric and mystical teaching, wherein a certain measure of free thought was believed to be compatible with loyalty to the Church. It has not proved to be a very durable bridge, as its present position on the Continent and in America shows. De Maistre, however, as a loyal Catholic and also a convinced Freemason, firmly believed in that alliance, and the editor of this series of modernist monographs has included this letter of his on Freemasonry which he sent to the Duke of Brunswick, a provincial grand-master, in 1782. De Maistre believed in the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, in the reunion of Christendom on a basis wider even than the Catholic Church, in the gradual evolution of societies and of dogmas towards more spiritual and comprehensive forms. He was against militarism, imperialism, nationalism and individualism, and had a horror of war. In many things he was a precursor of Comte, who constantly acknowledged his debt to De Maistre, but he also illustrates the beginnings of that movement which come to be known as "modernism," and he is a spiritual ancestor of Loisy. The value of this edition, apparently the first publication of this essay, is greatly increased by the excellent introduction of M. Emile Dermenghem:

Some Student Christian Movement Books.

The World Task of the Christian Church (pp. 239, price 2s. 6d. net, paper) is the report of the conference on international and missionary

questions held in Manchester in January last. It contains the programme of the conference, and some interesting statistics (no less than thirty-three countries were represented), and the main addresses in full. The Bishop of Manchester's address on "The World Task of the Christian Church" has first place in the book, followed by two excellent addresses on China by T. Z. Koo, the most outstanding figure of the conference, two on "India," and on "The Problem of Race" by J. H. Oldham, three on the ministry and on the Church by the Bishop of St. Albans, the Rev. David Jenks, and Prof. David Williams, two on Service by Mrs. Parker Crane and Dr. Alex. Wood, and three devotional addresses, "God in Human Life," a very powerful statement by Studdert-Kennedy, "God in Christ," by Dr. D. S. Cairns, and "Membership in the Christian Society," by R. O. Hall. The foreign editor of the *Journal de Genève* sums up the European situation in another address. The remaining address, not up to the level of the others, is on "The African and his Country." The whole forms a wonderful survey of present day problems as they affect the Christian Church, and is a very good half-crown's worth. There is an important misprint on p. 182 of "metaphorical" for "metaphysical."—*The God Man Craves*, by Dr. A. E. Garvie (pp. 64, price 1s. net, paper), is the publication, under a not very euphonious title, of Dr. Garvie's lectures on Non-Christian religions at the same conference. Here we find a short sketch of the nature of religion, and three lectures on the conceptions of Confucianism and Buddhism, of Brahminism and Hinduism, and of Islam. They are very learned and very much condensed, and yet they are readable and lucid. It is an excellent introduction to the study of religions.—*The Pilgrim's Quest*, by H. L. Hawkrigge (pp. 63, price 1s. 6d. net, paper), is a missionary play in seven scenes, written in blank verse, dealing with the search of a pilgrim for a satisfying religion. He meets a cobbler and persuades him to go with him, and the action proceeds through five scenes, in which they meet representatives of different religions, finally winding up with Christianity. It is an attractive way of presenting "comparative religion." There are suggestions at the end for acting.—*Some Catholic Methods of Prayer*, by H. L. Hubbard, and *Hints and Helps for Corporate Prayer*, by Dr. George Steven, (each 64 pp., price 1s. net, paper), are two of a devotional series which the movement is publishing "to meet a widespread request for help in the practice of the spiritual life." Mr. Hubbard's book is essentially practical, and on that side is a very useful little manual. Its approach to the subject will not, of course, help everybody, but we can warmly commend his book to those earnestly seeking to live the life of prayer, and to those whose business it is to guide others in the way. Dr. Steven deals with the very difficult subject of corporate prayer, and gives us the wise guidance we should expect from the author of *The Psychology of the Christian Soul*.—*Ideals and Realities in Europe*, by Margaret Wrong (pp. 148, with map, price 2s. 6d. net, paper). Miss Wrong is a travelling secretary of

the World's Student Christian Federation, and has, moreover, a well-trained mind. Her survey of contemporary Europe, therefore, has the two-fold advantage of her personal acquaintance with the problems and the people that are her theme, and also of her ability to see the whole in its historical and political perspectives. It is an able piece of work, sober and dispassionate, and, therefore, all the more compelling where, as in the chapter on "The Life of the Individual" she lets the facts make their own appeal. The book is full of illustrations, or as the French call them, "documents," which exemplify her statements on the post-war situation, and make them, to our way of thinking, unanswerable. We hope it will have a wide circulation. We should like to suggest an addition to the bibliography in a future edition. Mr. H. G. Alexander's book, *The Revival of Europe*. —MR. T. W. PYM has followed up his earlier book on "Psychology and the Christian Life" with a second volume, *More Psychology and the Christian Life* (pp. x. 178, price 4s. net), dealing with the applications of psychology to the practical problems of Christian living. He considers the everyday use of imagination, faith, will and instinct, and just exactly where psychology helps us, and where Christian acts of prayer and faith come in. He has some sound things to say about self-examination (pp. 74-8), and about the relation of emotion to action (Chapter 6). He has also a short chapter on Psychology in the Bible. There is not much here which will not be found scattered about in other books, but he has brought various considerations together into a context that is his own, and has thereby done a very useful service. It will be a valuable book for young people.

A. V. MURRAY.

Bernard Bosanquet. A Short Account of his Life. By HELEN BOSANQUET. Pp. vi., 152. Macmillan & Co. 1924. Price 6s. net.

ACCOUNT, rather than tribute, accurately expresses the welcome contents of this finely-toned volume. Written by the cultured wife of the great idealist philosopher, it is an attempt to show how the thinker did in actual life live his theories and his beliefs; and it performs its task with dignity, and with an almost astonishing faculty for hitting the golden mean between excessive reserve on the one side, and excessive revelation on the other. Whilst Bosanquet's special philosophy is not directly referred to, the aim of the book is to further the understanding of the written word by portraying the man who wrote it. The pages bring before us a lofty mind and a choice spirit. We see Bosanquet as a boy in his Northumberland surroundings in the village of Rock. We follow him through his Oxford days and, find him in the later part of these obviously irked by the necessity of teaching men who did not want to learn; we pass through his London days of University Extension lecturing, and of social concern with insanitary slums,

through Caterham and Oxshott to his professorship at St. Andrews; we follow him back to Oxshott, and finally to a little house at Golders Green, about which Bosanquet himself revealingly wrote: "There is a Friends' Meeting House close to, where we may find a congenial atmosphere perhaps." His was a fundamentally religious soul. He longed to be, and was for some, an interpreter and revealer of the meaning of life. His philosophy, as his wife admits, was not intelligible to many, and to others who understood it, seemed for all its stately grandeur, chilling and austere. We learn, in Mrs. Bosanquet's pages, of his indignation at the maltreatment of Mr. Johnson, the American prohibitionist, in London; for all his allowances for youth, he could admit in this affair no excuse of youth or high spirits. It is revealing to have his judgment on the things that made for the war. For long years his far-sighted wisdom will need fresh iteration: "Our natural interests and innate patriotisms will by themselves mislead us. They need some inspiration and some discipline to make the world safe for humanity."

The Price of Progress. By SYDNEY HERBERT MELLONE, M.A., D.Sc. Pp. xv., 184. The Lindsey Press. 1924. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Six of the seven essays of this volume are reprinted from, or are based upon, previous recent contributions of the author to religious thought. Readers will be glad to have in this more accessible form the three papers dealing with some fundamental difficulties and principles, particularly those concerned with the themes of suffering and prayer. Welcome also are the following three which give the same principles a more personal setting, and deal with the contributions of Athanasius, of Newman, and of Martineau. The last two papers are deservedly rescued from the oblivion of a book now out of print. All the essays are definitely relevant to living issues of the present. "Athanasius the Modernist," is the striking title of a sympathetic discussion of the principles for which that mighty champion fought in the Christological controversies of the fourth century. That this should proceed from the pen of one who would be called a Unitarian shows how superannuated some of the old labels and disputations have become. The essay with its firm insistence on the implications of the thought of Athanasius and its stress on the notion of humanity as the susceptible organ of the Divine is an eirenicon of considerable appeal. Another of the chapters contains a fine passage to the effect that there can be no true reverence for a blank inscrutability, a truth which might serve as a corrective to some of Rudolf Otto's extemer language concerning the "Wholly Apart." The contents of the book have their own unity and lead up to the seventh essay, specially written for the volume. Here the author, without naming Pratt, the American, is obviously endeavouring to find a way of freeing Protestant worship from the risks, pointed out by that psychologist, of becoming merely subjective, and so effete. Dr. Mellone discusses in a sane and helpful way the subject of Religious Symbolism, and pleads that the best possi-

bilities of the group-life and the group-spirit be called in to help the central purpose of the spiritual organisation. Group-life, he observes, is never formless. He regards the freer churches as particularly fitted to discover and use the actual concrete symbols which are available and valuable in a particular generation and age.

New Light on Genesis, or Creation During Descent in the Scriptures.

By Rev. MORRIS MORRIS, M.Sc. Marshall Brothers, Ltd. Pp. 151. 1924. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE streak of original procedure displayed by this book lies in its use of the doctrine of descent, which the author emphatically distinguishes from Evolution, to account for the stable and fixed features of successive generations of living things, and in the recourse to Divine intervention for all advance upon this otherwise stationary condition. Mendelism is the great weapon he uses to dismiss all other scientific theories, and when these are out of the way, the ingenious author proceeds to find Mendelism, with its "fixities," incapable of explaining progress, and is at once able to summon an extra-scientific cause upon the scene. It is not very original after all. The attempt to make metaphysics do the work of science is an oft-repeated but ever-wrecked enterprise. It is undertaken here once more in the hope of rescuing the verbal infallibility of the early chapters of Genesis; and in the endeavour the author not only commits himself to forced translations and special pleadings, but on p. 128 in a reference to *Peake's Commentary* so far transgresses the canons of courteous controversy as to make one reader at least lose all interest in the succeeding pages.

T. A. THOMPSON.

Psychology of Early Childhood. By WILLIAM STERN. Translated by ANNA BARWELL. London: Allen and Unwin. Pp. 558. Price 16s. net.

WILLIAM STERN, who is the author of several important German works in philosophy and psychology, has by the present volume greatly enriched educational psychology. His results are based upon a wide and deep knowledge of general psychology, to which is added a special study of his own children. He gives numerous extracts from his and his wife's diaries, which contain observations upon their children through a long period. The facts are woven together into a continuous story, yet they are grouped in a scientific way, and their bearings upon educational practice skilfully shewn. The topics considered are: the period before speech, the development of speech, looking at pictures, memory, phantasy and play, enjoyment and creative activity, thought and intelligence, effort, emotion and will, and the various forms of endeavour. On all these subjects Stern shews himself abreast of recent research, and in many respects is able to give new guidance. One can only say of the whole treatment that it is masterly. To some readers the wealth of detail will prove

fatiguing, and some of the discussions too technical, but to the earnest teacher or the psychological specialist the book will be invaluable. The present work only takes us up to the sixth year of age; it is to be hoped that it will be followed by supplementary volumes. It should be added that the translation is uncommonly well done.

Instinct, Intelligence and Character. By GODFREY H. THOMSON, Ph.D., D.Sc. Pp. 282. London: Allen & Unwin. Price 15s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR THOMSON, of Armstrong College, here gives us a summary of recent educational psychology in a compact and readable form. He is well versed in experimental methods, and their bearings upon the practice of teaching. Yet he sees the results of such methods in the light of general psychological principles. It is noteworthy that in the main he finds that experiment confirms the broad conclusions of general psychology: at least that is our impression. He considers such topics as heredity, instincts, play, the use of imagery and symbols, the transfer of training from one subject to another, the "new psychology," intelligence and achievement tests, temperament, and the learning process. On all these topics he is interesting and illuminating, though somewhat inclined to lean unduly upon mathematical evidence. One feels the uncertain and tentative nature of many of his conclusions. In particular the suggestion that character is much more a product of training than intelligence, which is regarded as mainly inborn, seems to be a mistake, due to the fact that intelligence has been much more scientifically "tested" than character. However, the emphasis upon the unity of the mind and the correlation of its activities is all to the good, and will correct any partial mistakes. The book is one to be commended to the notice of all teachers who would understand the scientific basis of their art. It is, moreover, tersely and brightly written.

The Soul of Your Child. By HEINRICH LEOTZKY. Pp. 173. Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d. net.

THE wrapper of this book states that over a quarter of a million copies of the original edition have been sold. Probably Germans have a much greater appetite for this sort of literature than other people, or possibly a lower standard. For the book consists mainly of amiable commonplaces about early education, which should be familiar to every parent or teacher. Still, they are commonplaces which need repeating in every generation, and one can only hope that, through such books as the present, they will reach a lower and wider stratum of knowledge and intelligence than heretofore. It should be said that the author has shewn a good deal of judgment in omitting many old errors, and in presenting old truths in a fresh manner. And the style is genial, humorous, and telling. The chief subjects discussed are, The Child in relation to Nature, to its Parents, to Physical Care, to the Outside World, to Knowledge, and to Religion.

ATKINSON LEE.

The Problem of Immortality. By R. A. TSANOFF, Ph.D. Pp. viii. 418. London: Allen & Unwin. 1924. Price 12s. 6d. net.

WHATEVER may be the case with the man in the street there seems to be to-day an increasing philosophical interest in the question of a future life. Apart from the symposium on Immortality issued during the war, Galloway has written a closely argued book on the subject, and Pringle-Pattison has also published a series of lectures. Dr. Tsanoff's book is larger than these and aims at giving more attention to the views of other writers than do they. In his attempt to review the notion of man's destiny held by the various schools, Dr. Tsanoff considers Materialism, Pluralism, Pessimism and recent Idealism, British and American. These are the chief; there are also discussions, more or less full, on Stoicism, Kant, Karma, etc. The method adopted is to select some representative exponent of the ideas dealt with, and to give fairly full consideration to his arguments. McTaggart is thus considered under Pluralism and Nietzsche in connexion with the "Doctrine of Eternal Recurrence." The author reveals a very wide and detailed knowledge of the writers and systems he discusses, and a neat turn of argument that makes his book, though rather diffuse, a pleasure to read. As he comes nearer to the present day his affection for his task seems to grow, and we have a very illuminating account of Royce and a discussion of Bosanquet, that is fair and well-documented, and yet brings out the weak points. As against all such writers Tsanoff wants a world that is unequivocally open to the future. (Bosanquet tries to keep the gates to the future open, but can yet declare that, "All that is includes all that can be.") Hence for him perfection is progress. He would take the idea of progress in earnest applying it to religion and to the hereafter—"To be truly desirable Heaven must be an eternal purgatory." As might be expected, the author's chief difficulty, in this optimistic construction, is with the problem of evil. We cannot agree that evil is reducible to quite such simple terms as we have here, and we feel that the problem is still heavily on our hands at the end. But we are grateful for a very careful and full piece of work, and for much stimulating discussion.

Reviews and Studies: Biblical and Doctrinal. By the REV. F. J. BADCOCK, D.D. Pp. 176. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1925. Price 7s. 6d. net.

A MISCELLANEOUS collection of papers, most of which have appeared in other forms, with no very clear bond of unity except such as is to be found in the mentality of the author. A fair number of the papers are theological, the best of these, probably, being that on "Pelagianism and Original Sin." There are others that may be called "interpretative," e.g., "The Significance of the Baptism of Christ;" "St. Paul's Apostolic Commission;" etc. There is also an interesting and carefully argued discussion on "The Cult of the Reserved Sacrament," which decides, on the whole, against the

practice. The book is hardly one that is likely to appeal very strongly to most readers of this REVIEW; the tone is more than a trifle "academic," and many of the arguments, though subtle and carefully worked out, lack reality. There is a rather naive attitude to Biblical criticism alongside of some suggestive flashes. We are tempted to feel, after reading the paper on "Christ as Seer" that there is something rather literal about the author's mind; but before we can quite make up our minds about this we come to two articles on Miracles that surprise us by their firm grip of essentials. On the whole, we are conscious of being always within a certain framework of ideas. Within that framework the discussion is competent and scholarly, and we know that the author is quite prepared to tell us why it is this framework and not another that we must have. But we feel that the really interesting things are not of this kind at all, they lie beyond frameworks, and are discovered by other methods than the methods here used.

The Challenge of Life. By L. P. JACKS, D.D., LL.D., D.Litt. Pp. vi., 112. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THAT merely to alleviate misery may defeat its own ends, that to raise the standard of living is not necessarily to raise the standard of life, that man is at home with difficulties but less than himself in ease, these are the things of which Dr. Jacks reminds us in his new volume of Hibbert Lectures. The reminder is undoubtedly necessary and the case could not, in so small a compass, be better put. But we wonder if Dr. Jacks has quite appreciated the side he attempts to correct. He writes with his accustomed charm; there are arresting ideas and telling phrases; we are interested, challenged, and perhaps rebuked. But with all that we miss the note of a genuine pity for the real but remediable wrongs of man. By a skilful adjustment of lights we are prevented (though this result is surely not what the author designed) from seeing the dark tragedy at the heart of so many lives. We are left with a sense of unreality; the facts are there but the perspective is inaccurate. This is not unduly to condemn; for many more pretentious works fail to preserve the just balance in the things of which this book treats. Taken with discrimination this little volume is a great tonic.

F. C. TAYLOR.

The Heart of the Gospel. By J. K. MOZLEY, B.D. Pp. 188. London: S.P.C.K. 1924. Price 5s. net.

Atonement. By H. MAYNARD SMITH, D.D. Pp. ix. 336. London: Macmillan & Co. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THE title of Mr. Mozley's book is well chosen, for though it consists of papers or addresses composed at different intervals during the last five years, they all deal with themes which belong to the very centre of the Gospel; indeed, they are almost wholly concerned with the person and work of Christ. The two papers dealing with

Christ's person are a rejoinder to the modernist view of Jesus, and their argument is, briefly, that the traditional Christology is necessary in the interests of religion, and of Christianity as a faith claiming to be final. The discussion of the death of Christ—a subject on which Mr. Mozley has earned the right to speak with authority—occupies larger space. Of the various papers dealing with it the first is the longest and the best. It is specially valuable in the brief, but extremely effective, exposition and criticism of typical theories of the Atonement from Anselm to Rashdall. It is when he comes to his own constructive statement that Mr. Mozley leaves something to be desired. He is evidently, as regards his view of the Cross and much else, an admirer and follower of the late Dr. Forsyth. The book is dedicated to that great theologian (along with Mr. Studdert Kennedy), and not the least valuable section of it is a long chapter on "The Theology of Dr. Forsyth," in which the main elements of Dr. Forsyth's teaching are appreciatively stated and valued. But characteristic Forsythian expressions which Mr. Mozley uses, as when, *e.g.*, he speaks of Christ "taking our sins upon Himself," immersing "Himself in all the evils of man's estate," "taking the whole cost and redeeming it," "accepting on the Cross God's judgment upon man," are not any the less perplexing when they come from his pen. They still leave us asking what fact or reality in the sufferings of Christ they can reasonably be held to represent. But this is a minor blemish on an otherwise excellent book. Dr. Maynard Smith's book is of a different kind. It is more systematic in character. Its author, now Canon of Gloucester, has been engaged mainly in parochial work for the last thirty years, and his contact in such work with educated people who were not specialists in theology, and his desire to make the doctrine of the Atonement intelligible to such people have prompted the writing of this book. Needless to say it displays wide reading and much independent thinking. Other theories of the Cross are only rarely and incidentally referred to. Canon Smith occupies himself mainly in setting forth his own view. He exhibits sin as separating us from God, reducing us to bondage, and deserving punishment, and Christ as dealing with each of those conditions. As God He comes to us with an offer of reconciliation, as Man He delivers us by His own victory over sin, and as Man He offers to the Father a reparation for our sins. The discussion is long and at many points able and helpful, but it would have been more useful still if proof-texts had been less frequently appealed to, or if, before being cited, there had been some attempt to see what permanent truth they express. With a New Testament which speaks uniformly of reconciliation as that of man to God, it is a little startling to be told that God has also to be reconciled to man. The belief too that God hates sin but loves the sinner is naturally dismissed as "at best a half truth," when love is identified, as it is by Canon Smith, with approval. When he comes also to deal with Christ making reparation on our behalf on the Cross, he commits himself to statements which many earnest-minded

people will find it difficult to endorse. The book, therefore, while valuable and stimulating, needs to be read with discrimination as well as appreciation.

A. L. HUMPHRIES.

The Philosophy of Grammar. By OTTO JESPERSEN. Pp. 359.
London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Price 12s. 6d. net.

WHEN Professor Jespersen published his fine book *Language* two years ago, he promised us another, to be called probably, *The Logic of Grammar*. He now fulfils his promise, though he gives the book a more ambitious, but a more adequate, title. The theory upon which the work is based is the contention that the weaknesses of most grammars—and how painfully imperfect the latter are, can be appreciated only by those whose lot is to teach from them—are due to the fact that they have been constructed on the lines suggested by the study of dead languages in written form. Language is a living thing, and we fully agree with the author that direct observation of living speech should have a far more important place in the study of grammar. Almost any one of the chapters would furnish more material for review than we are able to deal with in the limits of our space, so we must be content to notice one or two of the main problems discussed. There is an excellent treatment, historical and constructive, of the classification of words into “parts of speech.” The author would include adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections under the name “particles.” He thinks there is no essential difference between “on” in “he puts his hat on” and in “he puts his hat on his head.” “On” is complete in the former, and followed by a complement in the latter. Why, then, should it be reckoned an adverb in the one case, and a preposition in the other? The difference is no greater than that between a transitive and an intransitive verb. There is force in this point, and the student would be saved much trouble in parsing; but after all, some classification within the general term “particles” would be necessary, so that perhaps not much is gained. The discussion of “abstract” and “concrete” is excellent, and that of the tenses, for which the author proposes a new scheme, equally good. The erudition of the work is excelled only by its liveliness: the author seems to be acquainted with scores of languages—living and dead. His knowledge of English extends to subtle points of dialect, and to see a Danish professor catch Barrie tripping in his Scotch is diverting. Two small points call for correction. “Housewife” in the sense “needle-case” is not obsolete, nor is the first vowel in “precept” short. The book renders invaluable service to teachers of grammar, and will be found helpful by logicians in dealing with those problems where it is impossible to draw a sharp line between their respective domains.

Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty. By G. R. DRIVER, M.A.
Pp. 88, with 31 plates. Oxford University Press. 1924.

THIS is the third volume of the *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*

edited by Professor Langdon. Mr. Driver began early to follow in the footsteps of his distinguished father, for when he was still at Winchester he assisted in the proof-reading of Cowley's translation of *Gesenius-Kautzsch*. Since then he has published numerous articles, and made valuable contributions to Semitic lexicography, and it is a pleasure to welcome what is, so far as we know, his first book. The first part of the book contains a transcription and a translation of eighty-seven letters of the Hammurabi period, belonging to the Weld-Blundell collection. Of these, thirty-one are from the king himself. The second part contains transcriptions and translations of selected documents from the *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, which Dr. Lutz published in cuneiform.

The letters of Hammurabi show that he was indeed a "shepherd to his people." No detail of business in his Empire seems to have been too small to engage his personal oversight. These letters settle disputes as to property, give instructions as to the opening of dams, decide questions of inheritance. The king could be peremptory: he instructs one of his correspondents to make haste night and day "and reach me at Babylon within two days." Several points in the famous Code of laws that bears the king's name are illustrated. For example, one of the letters in the second part gives instructions that the temple fund of the Temple of Sin is to be drawn upon to repay a merchant who has ransomed a captive. Some details are amusing. One correspondent complains to another "the refined oil which thou hast delivered to me is not fit to smell." There are many little touches which help us to realize that life in Babylonia four thousand years ago was very like life to-day. The notes contain a great deal of most valuable philological material, and there is an excellent glossary.

W. L. WARDLE.

The Apostles' Creed, by F. WARBURTON LEWIS, M.A. Epworth Press.
Price 2s. 6d. net.

As at the First, by JOHN A. HUTTON, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton.
Price 3s. 6d. net.

The Ascending Life, by RICHARD ROBERTS, D.D. Student Christian Movement. Price 2s. 6d. net.

The Hill of Contentment, by FAIRFIELDS WHITWELL. Epworth Press.
Price 2s. 6d. net.

MR. WARBURTON LEWIS, one of the ablest preachers in Wesleyan Methodism, preached these interpretations of the Apostles' Creed, and they were delivered essentially as here printed. The congregations that were privileged to hear them are to be congratulated; for they must have heard a great many other similarly able addresses. Fresh, vivid, suggestive, inspiring, these sermons furnish an Interpretation of the Creed, as informing as it is practicable and edifying. One or two of these addresses, notably that on Omnipotence, suffer from an extempore delivery. While moving with remarkable ease and certitude amid the profoundest themes, the

author cannot make this form of treatment quite suitable to every subject. But in the main the book is admirable.

Dr. Hutton's volume makes a capital beginning for the series of "Little Books on the Christian Life," edited by Rev. J. M. E. Ross, editor of the *British Weekly*. The author discourses in his familiar and delightful way on the various names by which the followers of Jesus were designated in the New Testament—Disciples, Witnesses, Saints, Believers, Friends, Christians, Fools. Now from one angle, now from another, Dr. Hutton flashes light on each name, gathering wisdom and suggestion from a wide field. The method is a very direct way into the New Testament, especially when expounded and illustrated by one possessing wide knowledge, varied acquaintance with literature, and grasp of Scripture.

Dr. Roberts is a singularly able preacher. The present writer often sat with delight and profit under his ministry in London. The preacher came down among his hearers, as it were, discussed their experiences, and led them up to new faith and hope and love. Here he gives us an original and helpful presentation of the closing scenes of our Lord's life, finding in the great principle of life the secret of them all. Jesus is the Life of the World, and by that principle of life we see how He was able to transmute defeat and disappointment into the loftiest victory. And so we are taught that the main business of the Church is not dogma, but the transformation of life. The preacher will find this great little book full of suggestion. Dr. Whyte used to advise his readers to all kinds of desperate sacrifice in order to buy some book. Few will have any difficulty in finding half a crown.

Fairfields Whitwell gives, as the sub-title of this charming book, "Intimate Homilies on Humanity and Nature." On that ground only can we class the volume with the foregoing, most of which were probably preached in the first instance. In saying that this book reminds us of David Grayson we compliment the author. The little volume, however, is no echo. But David Grayson's quaint simplicity, his insight into man and nature, and his reverent interpretation of both, are all here in this "harvest of a quiet eye." Whether the author discourses of autumn, winter, cabbages, clouds, folk, the heath, contentment, beauty, or dreary days, he adorns all he touches. This is essentially a spiritual book, using the word in its finest sense. It is wonderful how the folk the author met light up the pages so full of wisdom, insight and charm.

J. RITSON.

Jesus in the First Gospel. By J. ALEXANDER FINDLAY, M.A. Pp. 317. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1925. Price 7s. 6d. net.

What Jesus Read. By the REV. THOMAS WALKER, D.D. (Lond.) Pp. 125. London: George Allen & Unwin. 1925. Price 4s. 6d. net.

THIS subject-commentary on "the loveliest as well as the most important book in the world," has all the qualities we have come

to associate with Prof. Findlay's work. One feels again and again the impact of a fresh and fertile mind on the familiar material. The author's method is to sectionalise the Gospel (five sections with prologue and epilogue), to summarise the contents of each part, and then to work through the incidents and teaching. The exposition, broad-based on close and critical study of the text, is never dull. To go through this Gospel with Prof. Findlay's book in hand would yield any preacher a wealth of suggestive material. The book abounds in fine reflections (cf. pp. 32 f. 56 f.). Cf. the rich explication of the phrase "Come unto Me," and the searching chapter on "The Little Ones." There is many a pertinent word on the modern situation; "if we could annihilate hatred as easily as we can annihilate distance, the Kingdom of God would come" (p. 168.) The author offers some striking translations and paraphrases of Gospel passages, and suggests fresh interpretations of familiar incidents, e.g., the story of the feeding of the four thousand (not a mere duplication of that of the five thousand) which he thinks represents a deliberate attempt on the part of Jesus to enter into sacramental fellowship with Gentiles. Novel suggestions are made. For example, the author hints that "My yokes are easy" may well have been the sign over the carpenter's shop at Nazareth (p. 81). There may seem at times a tendency towards the fanciful, nor will Prof. Findlay carry conviction to all when he says that the "Wisdom" of God and the "Word" of God "mean the same thing" (p. 75), the Fourth Gospel being thus found in the First. But this in no way lessens our admiration for this scholarly study which is replete throughout with stimulus and challenge.

In this book Dr. Walker already known for his substantial treatise on *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age* discusses the contact of Jesus with the literature of His time, and estimates His indebtedness and independence in relation thereto. Training at home, school, and synagogue accounts for Jesus' intimate knowledge of the Law and the Prophets. But to gain acquaintance with other writings typified by the extra-canonical books Jesus would use the facilities afforded by private ownership, book-circles, and in particular the Capernaum synagogues. The interesting suggestion is made that a religious study-circle formed the nucleus of the first band of disciples (p. 15). An Appendix to chapter i. sets forth some of the apparent connexions between the teaching of Jesus and that of books like *Sirach* and *Tobit*, etc. Not all the correspondences here adduced, strike us as particularly close, and it is doubtful in some cases whether we can safely identify as a quotation or allusion what may be nothing more than an instance of Jesus' acquaintance with the general prevailing religious ideas. Nor do we feel it to be a necessary inference from Luke ii, 46 f. that Jesus, a boy of twelve, should show "a very extensive and a very intelligent acquaintance with religious literature and opinion" (p. 20). In chapter ii. Dr. Walker provides a valuable summary of Jewish teaching, and clearly indicates Jesus' participation in the religious beliefs of His race. The best elements

in Judaism receive fair and dispassionate appreciation. Chapter iii. faces the important question of the degree of Jesus' independence of Jewish thought. Taking such points as the Fatherhood of God, the conception of the Kingdom, and Jesus' attitude to the Law, the author affords strong ground for the view that the original mind of Jesus advanced beyond the Jewish teaching of His day. As a compact, competent and popular statement of the results of recent research this book is admirably suited to its purpose.

Old Testament Legends. Edited by F. H. MARSHALL, M.A.
Pp. xxxii., 116. Cambridge University Press. 1925. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE Greek paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos, dating from about 1500 A.D., has not hitherto been published. Mr. Marshall has edited a selection (slightly more than one fourth of the whole poem) from the manuscript in the British Museum. The latter is interestingly described in the editor's Introduction, which also furnishes us with a brief summary of the legends and an account of their origin and distribution. Then follow fourteen extracts, covering the period from Adam to Moses, in which the original Greek text and a free metrical English translation are set on opposite pages. Some brief notes on the Greek text are appended, together with a Glossary of Greek words likely to be unfamiliar to a reader who has not followed the language into its mediæval and modern stage. The volume includes twenty-eight of the many quaint illustrations which adorn the original manuscript. Warm thanks are due to the editor for this careful piece of research. It has a decided linguistic value in that it presents a specimen of the popular language of Mediæval Greece, and thus contributes to our knowledge of the history of the Greek tongue, especially in that later development which has received but relatively scant attention. From the point of view of historical and general interest, it is very instructive to have in our hands a typical example of that class of mediæval religious writing which sought by the free use of picturesque legend to familiarise the unlearned masses with the main features of early Old Testament history.

An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.
By A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D., L.L.D., Litt.D. Pp. 300.
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1925. Price 10s. 6d. net.

DR. ROBERTSON'S pen is ever busy. In this volume he turns from his grammatical studies to New Testament textual criticism. Long teaching experience having convinced Dr. Robertson that there was room for a book which sought to assist in the *application* of the critical method, he attempts to show the student how to apply for himself the principles of textual criticism laid down by Westcott and Hort, whose theory he accepts in broad outline. Chapters i.-ii. deal with the history of criticism, reasons being shown for the rejection of the *Textus Receptus*, and the triumph of the Critical Text.

Chapter iii. gives an informing account of ancient books. Chapters iv.-vii. are concerned with the matter of criticism (the use of Tischendorf, the Versions, etc.). The rest of the volume is devoted to method, and discusses the transcriptional and intrinsic evidence of single readings, and the evidence of documents, single groups, families. Chapter xii. shows the critical method actually at work, and the last chapter outlines the future of the study. Facsimiles of early texts, a select bibliography and indices add to the usefulness of the book which is a competent and readable survey of the subject. It may be read to supplement but not to supplant the works of Kenyon, Nestle, Souter and Lake.

H. G. MEECHAM.

NEW EDITIONS.

In 1920 Professor Carveth Read published a striking work entitled *The Origin of Man and his Superstitions*, of which we gave a fairly full account in our issue for July, 1921. As we were then in the depths of our difficulties with printing, paper, and the price of books, the volume was printed on rather poor paper and published at 18s. 6d. Several critics thought that the two parts of the book indicated by its title were not closely enough connected to justify their publication as a single work. While not accepting this criticism, the author recognises that the two parts appeal to different readers, so a new edition has now appeared in the form of two distinct books, both published, like the first edition, by the Cambridge University Press, *The Origin of Man* (5s. net) and *Man and his Superstitions* (12s. 6d. net). The latter of these is practically a revised reprint of chapters iii.-x. of the former work. But it is on very much better paper and more attractively printed, so that in its new form the volume is considerably thicker than the whole original work. *The Origin of Man*, on the other hand, has been considerably enlarged. Its main thesis was that man was differentiated from the other anthropoids by adopting the life of a hunter; and thus arose the hunting pack which has its closest parallel in the wolf pack. The second volume enquires how the group held together when hunting ceased to be the main occupation, or the intervention of weapons made the pack unnecessary; and the answer given is that it was through the development of superstition. We have previously explained the line taken in this part of the work, we may remind our readers that the subjects dealt with are Magic, Animism, The Relations between Magic and Animism, Omens, The Mind of the Wizard, Totemism, Magic and Science. The theory is, of course, one that in the nature of the case is never likely to be demonstrated, but the whole discussion is fresh, stimulating and suggestive, and the book contains abundance of information.

In 1913 a Stevenson extra number of *The Bookman* was published which has long been out of print though still in demand. It has now been partially reproduced as a volume in The Bookman Library under the title, *Robert Louis Stevenson: His Work and*

Personality (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d. net). There have been slight omissions, but six essays have been added. In its new form it makes a book of 250 pages well printed and abundantly illustrated, and especially rich in portraits of Stevenson. It contains about twenty essays and poems, and a reprint of Stevenson's contribution to the *British Weekly* on "Books Which Have Influenced Me," and some verses written by Stevenson to Count Nerli, to whom he sat for his portrait. It is a welcome collection of tributes to Stevenson and reminiscences of him.

In the admirable series which bears the title "Oxford Editions of Standard Authors," we are glad to welcome a reprint of Southey's *Life of Wesley*. (Oxford University Press, two volumes, 3s. 6d. each, two volumes in one on India paper, 10s. 6d.). It is unnecessary to comment on a work which has for long been so justly famous. The present edition, it must suffice to say, has been edited by Mr. Morris H. Fitzgerald, who has prefixed an introduction, added a biographical table, inserted a few footnotes and five pages of more extended notes at the end. This edition, of course, contains the notes which Coleridge wrote in his copy and the remarks on the life and character of Wesley by Alexander Knox. It is attractively produced on good paper, and in clear type.

EDITOR.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Mr. N. Micklem has published a little memoir, *Thomas Ball Silcock of Bath* (Allen & Unwin, 1s. net). He was a convinced though not a sectarian Congregationalist, an architect and surveyor by profession, but devoting himself largely to public work, Education, the City Council, Parliament as a Liberal member. He twice became Mayor of Bath. He was a man of high and beautiful character, worthy of this whole-hearted tribute.—Some time ago Mr. John Rigg published a successful volume, *How to Conduct a Meeting*. He has now issued a companion volume, *How to Take the Chair* (Allen & Unwin, 2s. 6d. net). The matter is dealt with in the form of question and answer. Apparently everything is included that chairmen need to know for the right discharge of their responsible functions in different circumstances, and various types of meeting are taken into account.—The Rev. Innes Logan, minister of St. Columba's Church, Cambridge, has written a temperate and lucid pamphlet entitled *War and Peace, a Study in Citizenship* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1s. net). The author hates war and is deeply concerned for the success of the Peace Movement, but he is not a pacifist. He took the usual course in the war; he believes that that course was right. He speaks primarily to the ordinary man and notably to the ex-service man. He believes that there is a very large section to whom peace propaganda on pacifist lines will not appeal, but who are ready to consider the arguments for peace such as are here very ably presented. We hope the pamphlet will be widely read, not only by those who share the author's standpoint, but by militarists and pacifists.—To the Rev. Hugh Martin we owe

an excellent and authoritative pamphlet entitled *The Student Christian Movement; a Survey of its History and Growth* (S.C.M., 3d. net.) It has been reprinted from the *Congregational Quarterly* for 1914. Dr. Knox, formerly Bishop of Manchester, wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the occasion of a presentation of a memorial by about 305,000 signatories, against changes in the Communion office and alternative Communion services. This has been published in a threepenny pamphlet (Longmans) first separately (1924), then with a verbatim report of the speeches made at the interview with the Archbishop (1925). We hope it will be widely read both by Anglicans and Free Churchmen.—The third Swarthmore Lecture, *The Communion of Life*, delivered by Joan Mary Fry in 1910, has been out of print for several years. It could not be adjusted to the situation created by the war without complete rewriting. So it has been republished as it stood, in the belief that its principles are still of sufficient value to justify this. It is a welcome reprint. The author aimed at presenting Quaker ideals from the standpoint of a woman's everyday experience. She emphasises the need of simplicity and elasticity, and argues that ritual, ministers and creeds are unnecessary. In place of the limited channels of the sacraments we need to realise that matter as such is sacramental. Nature is sacramental because God is behind and within it. The Incarnation is the key to the whole structure of the universe, it is the pledge that we shall find, if we rightly seek Him, God immanent in His world.

The idea that the dominant school of Old Testament criticism has entered on its last phase is being sedulously fostered, but we fear that the wish is father to the thought. A translation of Kegel's *Los von Wellhausen* has recently been published under the title, *Away from Wellhausen* (Murray, 2s. 6d. net). The author himself has to admit that Wellhausen has rendered very great services to Old Testament scholarship; and some of the scholars whom he holds up for special admiration like Sellin and Kittel, are largely at one with Wellhausen on the fundamental critical position. So far as the history of the religion is concerned, many who hold the Grafian position to be true have for long dissented from the estimate formed by Kuenen and Wellhausen of the preprophetic religion of Israel. But the signs of reaction from the critical construction are not very serious, and against them must be set the tendency to advance to more radical conclusions. Kegel constantly attacks Wellhausen for his tone, but nothing is gained in this way, since there are numerous scholars in the same critical camp whose tone is unexceptionable.—The celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Tyndale's New Testament, has provided an opportunity for a work by Prof. E. J. Goodspeed, *The Making of the English New Testament* (University of Chicago Press, 1.50 dollars). The story of Tyndale's version and of the subsequent revisions down to the time of the Authorised Version is familiar, but it is carefully told again in this volume. From this we pass on to the work done in

the discovery and use of ancient manuscripts and versions. A specially welcome section is devoted to the private translations made between the Authorised and the Revised Versions. This is followed by a chapter on the Greek Papyri, and the light they have thrown on the grammar and vocabulary of the Greek Testament. With a short account of translations into modern English and an estimate of the present position this useful little book comes to its close.—We are glad that Major Povah's *A Study of the Old Testament* (S.C.M. in paper 2s. 6d. net) which we have previously noticed has gone into a second edition. We expressed our appreciation of it and need not do more than emphasise its value as an excellent introduction to its subject.—The Prime Minister made a great impression by the three speeches he delivered on the problem of industrial peace last March. These have now been collected in a little volume *Peace and Goodwill in Industry* (Allen & Unwin, 1s. 6d. net), which we hope will have a large circulation among members of all parties. The speech delivered by Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons on May 6th is printed first, then the speech at Birmingham of March 5th, and finally the speech at Leeds on March 12th.

EDITOR.

Seekers after the weird and gruesome of the quality which characterises Bram Stoker's *Dracula* will find satisfaction in Mr. Dudley Wright's *Vampires and Vampirism* (Rider & Son, 5s. net). This is a second edition, enlarged and revised. The many stories from a wide area bear testimony to the facility with which superstition fastens upon the abnormal. Scientific approach to the subject is not attempted, beyond some vague suggestions. If credence were given to these stories it would not be difficult to commit the community to cremation as the better method for disposal of the dead.—The novel awarded the 70,000 kroner prize, *The Philosopher's Stone*, by J. Anker Larsen (Glydendal, 12s. net), has been translated from the Danish, by Arthur G. Chater. It is modern, powerful, with arresting episodes. The characters compel interest, although not always acceptance. If life is really what is depicted here—necessary animalism predominant, with divagations in the mystical and the occult, but with sexual instinct and devilish influences always active—then the "angel innocency" of childhood and death is better.

In a review of Dr. G. A. Johnstone's *International Social Progress*, in the *HOLBORN* last October, regret was expressed that this valuable exposition of the work done by the International Labour Organisation, functioning as part of the League of Nations, was published at a prohibitive price. This defect does not apply to *The World's Industrial Parliament*, by E. M. Oliver (Allen & Unwin, 2s. net, boards). A concise account is given of the origin, composition, functions, and attainments of the organisation. One Conference (Geneva, 1921) is described in detail. Viscount Burnham, Chairman of that year, who was converted to faith in this Labour Parliament by experience of its work, writes an Introduction. Mrs.

Oliver's vivid account of this endeavour for international social justice deserves widespread attention.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

In *The Word and the Work*, to which the Bishop of London contributes a most appreciative Introduction, (Longmans Green, 2s. 6d. net), Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy, M.A., M.C., publishes a series of Lenten addresses, surely the most unusual and searching ever delivered on such an occasion. "Woodbine Willy" is outgrowing the extravagances of his early style, and writes in strong, nervous, forceful English. He intends to make people think and to give them withal a "pain in the mind." He must certainly have succeeded, and sent many of his hearers away smiting their breasts. In touch with the latest thinking of the time, the author is a new voice in the Anglican pulpit that must rouse and search and quicken the hearts of Christian people throughout the land. Preachers will find these addresses suggestive of sermons, and esteem the volume worth thrice its published price.—Readers of *Nicholas the Weaver* will be glad to have another volume of stories from the pen of Maude Robinson. *Wedded in Prison* (Swarthmore Press, 6s. net) has that curious charm possessed by nearly all Quaker stories of the olden time. This dozen Quaker tales all bear the true brand, compact as they are of romance, simplicity, genuine piety, integrity, and all the shining virtues we associate with Quakerism of this or an earlier time. The titles are intriguing: "A Pair of Oxen;" "Was it High Treason;" "A Stop in the Mind;" "A Narrow Escape;" "Given to Hospitality," and the contents bear out the titles. Illustrated by J. Finnemore this beautifully produced volume is delightful reading and would be a charming gift-book.

J. RITSON.

MAGAZINES.

The Hibbert Journal for April, 1925, opens with a pungent article on Spiritual Healing, by the Bishop of Durham, in which he examines and rejects the assumptions which underlie Mr. Hickson's theory on the subject. A related article on Religion and Psychology is contributed by Dr. W. Brown, Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy at Oxford. In a very striking investigation of the Passion narratives the Editor seeks to get behind the presentation in our Gospels nearer to the actual course of events. He protests against the common view of the Apostles as a homogeneous block. Personalities and aims must have been divergent, and they must have confronted the final peril with the feeling that they were unlikely to come out of it alive. He suggests that, as He hung upon the cross, Jesus, realising that the fate of His mission hung on the fidelity of His followers, may have charged the women with a final message. Prof. Bacon also writes on a New Testament theme, urging the importance of the observation of differences in the Gospels to counterbalance the

tendency to harmonisation. Prof. Miall Edwards suggests as a Christological formula, "One nature of the man Jesus Christ filled in all His being with the quality of God." Principal Galloway examines the relation of evolution to the finality of Christianity. Prof. Muirhead discusses the social idealism of Copec. Other articles are "Eternal Life, Immortality and Resurrection," by Mr. J. M. Lloyd Thomas; "The Supernatural," by Canon John Gamble; "The Holy Year of 1925," by Rev. E. Gordon George; "The Economic and Social Effects of Advertising," by Dr. E. Lyttelton; "Mass Production, a Worker's Experience," by Mr. R. M. Fox; "The Mind of Europe not the Mind of its Rulers," by Mr. Laurie Magnus.

The London Quarterly Review for April, 1925, opens with an article by Dr. J. A. Faulkner, "Is the Historic Episcopate Historic?" He rapidly examines the actual facts of the early development down to the time of Irenæus showing that the Episcopate, as now understood, was not established in the Church till well down in the second century. Mr. Daniel Wiseman gives a discriminating account of the philosophy of Anatole France. Dr. Thomas Stephenson writes on "The Origin of Civilisation," expounding the theory of Rivers, Elliot Smith, and Perry. Mr. Ivan Ross deals with Mencius' doctrine of human nature, finding in the view of the Chinese philosopher a parallel to Pelagianism. An instructive article on a congenial theme is "Forests and their Allies," by H. Reinheimer. Mr. H. Hogarth estimates the value of Conrad's novels. The editor gives an attractive picture of Belgium based on Cammaerts' *The Treasure House of Belgium*. In the Notes and Discussions Mr. R. M. Pope deals with Dr. Leaf's *Strabo on the Troad*, Dr. Tasker contributes a sympathetic account of Jacob Boehme, and Mr. A. Dickinson writes on "The Spell of the Brontës."

The Congregational Quarterly for April, 1925, has several important articles. We call special attention to Principal Wheeler Robinson's Drew Lecture, "The Old Testament Approach to Life after Death." Mr. H. M. Paull condemns the extensive mutilation to which hymns have been exposed. Mr. H. I. Bell has a lengthy article on Athanasius. Mr. W. Robinson, for a third of a century an L.M.S. Missionary in South India, gives a most interesting paper of reminiscences. The editor is to be congratulated on securing from Paul Sabatier an Inaugural Lecture on St. Francis of Assisi and To-day." Mr. Payling Wright seeks to illustrate the fallacy of internal evidence in criticism by an argument designed to show that on such lines the poems of James Thomson, who died in 1748, might a thousand years hence be dated by a critic in the reign of George V. Prof. C. H. Dodd discusses Canon Streeter's investigations in Synoptic criticism. The review section has been enlarged by sixteen pages.

The International Review of Missions contains a number of

educational articles. T. Z. Koo, who has attracted much attention during his visit to England, writes an important paper on "Chinese Education and Religious Work among Students." He insists that reorganisation is necessary, otherwise Christian institutions will train not the leaders of the nation but the "left overs." Mr. Oldham discusses the report of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission to East Africa. Three articles deal with religious education in India, they are contributed by the Rev. J. H. Warnshuis, Mrs. Pelly, and Mrs. Annett. Their subjects are The Making and Use of a Syllabus, and Bible story-telling. The Rev.

G. S. Stewart writes on "The Spirit of Worship and Reverence," pleading for the utter reality of worship. We commend it to congregations at home. Dr. A. G. Hogg continues his examination of Schweitzer's *Philosophy of Civilization*. With five-sixths of it he is in violent disagreement, but yet speaks of it as of unusual practical importance. G. Raquette describes Eastern Turkestan as a mission field. Mr. Charles H. Fahs gives an account of the problems involved and the difficulties encountered in producing the *World Missionary Atlas*, of which he is one of the editors, and which Mr. Shillito notices in our present issue. The review section is important as is the bibliography, and attention should also be called to the Quarterly Notes.

The Baptist Quarterly, for April, 1925, is largely concerned with Baptist matters. Mr. C. M. Hardy continues his account of former secretaries of the Baptist Union. There is an interesting reprint of J. C. Ryland's programme for his first year's work when a student at Bristol Baptist College in 1744. Mr. Seymour J. Price writes on the office of Church Secretary, and the Rev. John Wilson a searching paper on Pastoral Visitation. Mr. Hoyt E. Porter, of Moscow, deals with "Baptist World Movement from an American Point of View."

The Pilgrim for April, 1925, opens with the Editor's Notes dealing partly with the political situation and partly with the problems of Patronage and Clergy Pensions, which are at present being discussed by the Church Assembly. The urgent question, "What is Authority?" is discussed by Canon Quick. Mr. M. B. Reckitt states the conditions which govern the restoration of a Christian sociology. There are two papers on Church discipline, one by Dr. Vernon Bartlet, studying its development in the ancient Church, the other by Mr. A. L. Lilley, telling its story in the Middle Ages. Mr. Montague Fordham, author of *The Rebuilding of Rural England*, writes on Copec, Christianity and the country side. Mrs. Caillard has a congenial theme in "The New Psychology and the Human Person." The very prickly subject of "The Church and Education" is handled by the Editor himself.

The Quest for April, 1925, has a long article by the Editor on "The Enigma of Sin and Ignorance." Mr. H. C. Corrance begins.

an account of Mr. Percy Smith's *The Lore of Wharangi-Wannanga*. This is a record of the traditional teaching of the Maori priests given in "The House of Learning." Up till now it has remained secret. The work in which it is communicated is in two volumes containing the Maori text and an English translation. Prof. Langley of Dacca, writes on "Cognition in Religious Experience." Dr. Gaster translates some Roumanian legends of "Our Lady St. Mary Mother of God, and Holy John the Baptizer." Dr. Eisler publishes a paper, "The Water of Life and the Baptism of Fire in the Pistis Sophia." Mrs. Elizabeth Hall gives an account of the table-turning sittings at Victor Hugo's house between 1853 and 1855. Mr. H. A. Dallas writes on "The Bearing of Psychical Research on Science and Religion," asserting the reality of the phenomena.

The Harvard Theological Review for January, 1925, contains the continuation of Prof. G. F. Moore's "The Rise of Normative Judaism," taking the story down to the close of the Mishna. The most elaborate contribution is an article of over sixty pages by R. P. Casey entitled, "Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Platonism." Dr. Rendel Harris contributes a note on the question whether the Diatessaron was anti-Judaic.

The Journal of Theological Studies for January, 1925, is an important number. Mr. J. M. Creed publishes a notable study on "The Heavenly Man," dealing with the idea in Gnostic, Manichæan, and Hermetic literature, and with the problem whether the Iranian myth of a heavenly man lies behind the Jewish and the Gospel conception of the Son of Man. Dr. Vincent Taylor discusses the origin of Luke xxi. 20-26. He thinks it is derived from an oracle similar to that which many critics find in Mark xiii. Prof. Turner continues his notes on the Second Gospel dealing with parenthetical clauses. Dr. Stanley Cook has an important notice of Kegel's attack on Wellhausen and Dr. Welch's theory of Deuteronomy. There are several valuable reviews.

In the issue for April, Prof. Turner's notes on Mark are continued, and Dr. G. H. Dix contributes a study of the influence of Babylonian ideas on Jewish Messianism, in which the prophecies of Immanuel, the Messianic King, the Son of man in Daniel, and the Servant of Yahweh are discussed. The most important contribution to this number, is Dr. Burkitt's elaborate examination of Dr. Streeter's *The Four Gospels*. It is on the whole very sympathetic with the conclusions reached on the synoptic problem and the fourth Gospel, but much less so with the textual criticism. The writer is very critical of Streeter's theory of the importance of the Casarean texts. Dr. Stanley Cook's Old Testament Chronicle is a valuable feature; and we may also commend Dr. Tennant's reviews of recent theology and Dr. Barnes's review of Mowinkel's *Psalmstudien iii.-vi.* to the attention of our readers.

We have known *The Anglican Theological Review*, which is published in America for some years, but it is now being issued in

Great Britain, by Mr. Humphrey Milford. The price of each number is 4s. 6d. net, the annual subscription is 16s. post free. We have before us a double number December, 1924—March, 1925. Prof. Burton Scott Easton, one of the editors, has an article, appreciative but critical, of Mr. Herford's recent volume, *The Pharisees*. Mr. H. H. Gowen translates with some comment the four Pilgrim Psalms cxx.-cxxiii. Mr. Van Rensselaer Gibson writes on "The Christian Idea of Immortality." Mr. J. A. Maynard deals with "Method in the Study of Religious Ethnology." There are useful reviews and bibliographies.

Discovery for April, 1925, contains a brief article by Prof. Peet, on the recent discoveries at Gizeh. He considers that while the tomb recently discovered may contain Sneferu's body, it is more likely that it was a member of the royal family who was buried in it. A remarkable article by Dr. Russ gives reasons for concluding that an electrical force capable of moving a sensitive indicator is constantly leaving the body and chiefly through the eyes during sight. Dr. Ponder in an article entitled *Synæsthesia*, investigates the cases in which sound is seen as colour or in some cases heard as smell. A new instrument is described which locates subterranean, ore bodies or oil reserves. Mr. J. L. Baird gives an account of his system by which vision by wireless has been actually made possible, though at present the invention is in an extremely rudimentary state. Mr. C. W. Domville Fife describes some tribes of Indians in Brazil. An account is given of the invention of elastic glass.

The May number has an alarming article on the Argentine Ant, which has spread from its native haunts in almost inconceivable volume, and with great rapidity, till it has become one of the foremost pests to which mankind is subjected, and extremely difficult to cope with. Fortunately, it does not flourish in temperate zones. Prof. J. A. Thomson contributes a centenary appreciation of our debt to Huxley. A fascinating description, illustrated by pictures, is given of Miss Woodward's restorations of prehistoric reptiles, which are reproduced on postcards supplied by the British Museum and South Kensington Museum. There is an interesting account of the poisons with which the Bushmen tip their arrows. Mr. Dudley Buxton records an anthropologist's journey in Inner Mongolia. A valuable feature is the sketch of recent developments in science. This is not a constant feature but it will appear at irregular intervals.

The Expositor for April, 1925, contains the second of Dr. Adolf Keller's important articles on A Theology of Crisis. Mr. H. F. Flowers continues his studies of the Decalogue, writing in this and the May issue on the Third Commandment, while Mr. W. Robinson completes his discussion of Gnosticism and Life. Mr. Cannon whose notes on Hosea will be remembered, begins a new series on Nahum. Mr. Roderic Dunkerley works in a little cultivated field in a study on Anglo-Saxon Agrapha, *i.e.*, sayings of Jesus unrecorded in the New Testament. We are glad that in the May

number the Ten Best Books series, which has been interrupted, is resumed by Dr. T. H. Robinson, who has an excellent article dealing with the literature on Job. Dr. W. E. Beet examines at some length Dr. Oman's reconstruction of the Revelation of John, fully recognising its importance and suggestiveness, but rejecting the theory. The editor's own contributions are always of interest, and the reviews include notices of some important books.

The Bookman for April, 1925, is a Spring Special number, attractively produced at half-a-crown. Among the reviews we notice that of King Edward's Life, by Lieut. Col. F. E. Whitton and Miss Lowell's *John Keats*, by Mr. Moulton. There is a symposium on "Unpleasant Fiction," which contains a number of divergent opinions. In the May number Mr. Sampson writes on Hazlitt, and Prof. Saintsbury on Fielding. Mr. Turnbull discusses Lamb's regard for Wainwright the poisoner. Mr. A. P. Graves contributes interesting literary memories. Both numbers are, of course, rich in all the valuable characteristic features.

EDITOR.

The International Labour Review for November, has articles upon The Forty-eight Hour Week; Production and Labour in U.S. Coal Mines; Wages and Currency Reform in Soviet Russia; and Community Cultivation of the Soil in Italy. The December issue discusses The Financial Resources of Social Insurance, and Labour Conditions and Regulations in China. The January number contains articles on Social Insurance in Germany; Compulsory Arbitration in Norway; and Legislation on Annual Holidays for Workers. The February number deals with The Adaptation of Wages to the cost of living in Hungary; German Works Councils; and the Interpretation of Index Numbers. There are the usual statistics and book-notices.

A. LEE.

With its January number for this year the *John Rylands Library Bulletin* begins its ninth volume. It grows both in size and interest; at half-a-crown this sumptuously printed issue of nearly three hundred pages, with beautifully produced plates, must be the cheapest literature obtainable. Of general interest are an article by Professor Herford, tracing the influence of Shakespeare on the continent, and a brilliant lecture by the Earl of Crawford on the *Soul of Cities*. Dr. Rendel Harris has a characteristic contribution on Scylla and Charybdis, and further discussion of the sources of Barlaam and Joasaph. Probably the most important contribution is from Dr. Mingana, who deals with a Syriac manuscript which contains portions of a hitherto unknown translation of the Koran. This Syriac version has some new verses, and a considerable number of variants. Of the other articles we have space only to name Miss Cooke's *Study in Twelfth Century Revival and Reform*. The Editor's notes deal with the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Library, and embody a brief biography of the late Dr. Casartelli.

W. L. WARDLE.

THE
HOLBORN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1925.

The Women of the Wessex Novels.

By M. HOUGHTON.

NO one reading the Wessex Novels for the first time can fail to be struck by the powerful presentation of the female characters. Subsequent readings confirm the impression thus created: it is by the women above all that one remembers the novels.

Of those which are commonly held to be the greatest of Mr. Hardy's works—*Jude the Obscure*, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and *The Mayor of Casterbridge*—the only exception to this impression is to be found in the last novel. And even here it is the personality of Elizabeth Jane that is largely responsible for the shaping of Henchard's actions. It is the *negative* character of his first wife too, which directly accounts for the somewhat unique position which the hay-trusser comes to occupy. In common also with the other novels, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* furnishes examples of that submissiveness which is the peculiar property of most of Mr. Hardy's women characters, and is a quality so marked as to lend them an actual positive distinction. It is not so much that they are creatures of circumstance impelled by destiny to become (in so many cases) the chief victims in a succession of tragic events, but that they are for the most part beings at variance with their natural surroundings. The cloud of impending doom seems to overshadow them from the start, but it cannot be termed fatalistic in the sense that a Higher Power or First Cause determines the lives of these women: it

is rather their own actions which determine events, but such actions are largely conditioned by environment, to which in nearly every case the woman is ill-adapted. Even Elizabeth-Jane, at the age of eighteen, "felt about life and its surroundings—that they were a tragical rather than a comical thing; though one could be gay on occasion, moments of gaiety were interludes, and no part of the actual drama."

Instances of that great capacity in Mr. Hardy's women for showing forgiveness, which is so marked in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* find examples closely analogous in *The Woodlanders*: in the book first mentioned Elizabeth-Jane warns her step-father against Jopp, in spite of the fact that Henchard has treated her so badly; she shows real concern for him when he takes to drinking again—and in the second book, Grace Melbury shows an almost foolish readiness at the last to forgive her erring husband, Dr. Fitzpiers.

When we come to consider *Jude the Obscure*, we may question whether the title, "Sue the Obscure," might not have been applied with equal appropriateness. Sue is as complex as Tess is straightforward, and no author ever passed truer judgment on one of his characters than Mr. Hardy when he says of her that "her actions were always unpredictable," and speaks of her "colossal inconsistency." She is a mass of contradictions, a fact which largely accounts for her very lovable nature, and here again it is the man who is influenced in his actions throughout by the woman. Jude alone would hardly have earned the title "obscure"—but Jude under the spell of Sue—through what vicissitudes might he not pass, through what tortuous paths might he not wander, to what uncertain goal might he not drift? But for Sue, we should never have had that most tragic of all Hardy's male creations. Together they constitute the most vital, the most intensely moving of all his characters.

In no other woman is that sense of personality and environment at variance, more marked than in the case of Sue Bridehead. It is not too much to say that she is overwhelmed by her surroundings. The gloomy vastness of "Old Grove's House," the squalor of the registry office, the depressing

aspect of the lodgings at Christminster—all have for her an unpropitious significance. Here, too, there is a second enemy in Time: she suffers throughout in being in advance of her generation.

It is her very honesty of purpose which proves her ultimate undoing, but her creator offers us no solution to those “satires of circumstance” which surround her. There is no answer to this amazing instance of feminine complexity: her attitude to life will remain for ever a riddle. The one thing, of which we can be certain about her from the first, is that nothing but ultimate martyrdom can await her.

What a strong contrast she presents with her hypersensitive etherealised nature, to the well-meaning if somewhat coarse-fibred Arabella! The latter may repel us by force of comparison, but even here Mr. Hardy shows his genius in making us feel a pity for her which is well-nigh inexplicable.

There are many who will hold that Tess for ever stands out as the most to be pitied of all Mr. Hardy's women. But to others *The Woodlanders* gives us in Marty South a figure which commands an even deeper compassion. Tess at least did, at one time in her life, realise the fullness of love, but Marty's intense devotion was never reciprocated by the object of her affection. When she overhears the conversation between Melbury and his wife as to the future of their daughter Grace, what a world of pathos is sounded in those words of resignation, “And Giles is not for me.” What a haunting sadness is suggested by that description of Marty, lying alone in the little cottage containing the dead body of her father: hers is “the repose of a guileless soul that had nothing more left on earth to lose except a life which she did not over-value.” It is the figure of her who “was always a lonely maid” that rises to our mind's eye when we first think of *The Woodlanders*; it is the charm and tender-heartedness of Grace (of whom her father says “a perplexing and ticklish possession is a daughter”) that we recall even before the devotion and loyalty of Giles Winterbourne.

It is worthy of note that *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* is the only

one of the Wessex Novels to which the heroine's name supplies the title. One is tempted to think that Mr. Hardy himself must have regarded her as his supreme creation, so much tender care does he spend on her delineation. With what delight he introduces us to this sweet flower of girlhood! Even surpassing that exquisite little picture of the group of milkmaids at Talbothays going out to seek the garlic—surely one of the most beautiful descriptive passages ever written—is the portrait he gives us of Tess milking Old Pretty.

Tess is indeed a fitting representative of the once noble house of d'Urberville, but, like Sue Bridehead, that very purity of her soul is in a large measure the cause of her suffering. A daughter of the soil, she is endowed with a nature so rare, so splendid, that one feels from the very first that she is *bound* to suffer. Women of Tess's quality always do. Not for her act of yielding to the importunities of Alec d'Urberville does she despise herself, but because she finds she never loved him; not even to save her name and her baby's name will she marry him then. And here Mr. Hardy reveals to us in all its intensity the anguish of a soul that has come to realise the truth of words spoken once half in jest "we live not on a sound, but on a blighted world."

She is as impressionable to surroundings as is Sue Bridehead, and at Talbothays, by responding to the wholesome happy atmosphere of life on the dairy farm, bears out the author's contention that women live through humiliations. "Tess's passing corporeal blight had been her mental harvest." Beside her Clare is weak, nebulous, indefinite, and Mr. Hardy wastes little time in analysing this somewhat curious character—for we cannot dismiss Angel Clare wholly as a prig—leaving us to form our own opinion of him. In comparison, what a very human soul has that great-hearted girl Tess! It is just when her courage first fails her to tell Clare her secret that we love her most. Oh the pity of it all! When she does confess we are told that "she looked absolutely pure"—more—that "it would have won round any man but Angel Clare," but that wonderfully submissive, selfless love of Tess has been bestowed on a man whose nature is too

idealistic, almost ethereal, to appreciate in its immensity the love of a being so differently constituted. Tess and Clare differ from one another as much as Sue and Jude resemble each other. We can hear Mr. Hardy pleading for his heroine here when he says, "in considering what Tess was not, he overlooked what she was, and forgot that the defective can be more than the entire." Even Izz Huett, rival for Clare's affection, pays Tess a generous and well-merited tribute when she tells Angel that "Nobody could love 'ee more than Tess did!"

And so we see her inevitably drawn on to the final tragedy—the return of Alec, the collapse of his religious conversion. Clare's long absence, her fruitless visit to his home—ah! Tess, where indeed was thy guardian angel in all these, as in the earlier trials? And when those last few hours of peace are snatched in the face of impending doom, we feel with her that "this happiness could not have lasted—It was too much."

If it is possible to make any arbitrary distinction between the Wessex Novels in respect of their order of merit, it is not unreasonable to refer to *The Return of the Native* as the fourth of Mr. Hardy's most powerful works. Here, that susceptibility to surroundings so marked in the women characters already mentioned, is such that an inverse order of things obtains—the people are actually subordinate to the place. It is the spirit of Egdon Heath, grim, foreboding, which makes Eustacia, and over all the story we feel the personification of the heath brooding like some malignant genius, and we are convinced that it is more than ever the elemental rather than the fatalistic sense which moulds the lives of Hardy's women. Eustacia is at times the very embodiment of Rainbarrow; always a creature of moods, her surroundings have the effect of making her a character almost saturnine. How different a woman she is, for instance, when dancing with Wildeve on the green, and meeting him under conventional circumstances at her own house at Alderworth. When Wildeve says he has been Eustacia's ruin she answers: "Not you—This place I live in." She lacks the quality of sympathetic understanding which most of Mr. Hardy's other women

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possess, and is almost alone in her impatience of failure, her insatiable desire for the unattainable, her restless quest after some object unknown—so different from Tess, Grace, Elizabeth-Jane, Avice, Marty and Cytherea—to name a few of those heroines whose common virtue is their spirit of resigned content.

Perhaps in Bathsheba Eustacia finds the closest parallel, but the comparison is definitely limited by that element of caution in the character of the former, and that regard for the practical nature of affairs which alone we feel saves the heroine of that powerful drama *Far from the Madding Crowd* from an ending as tragic as befalls the mariner's granddaughter.

Eustacia stands out in clear relief from the somewhat vacillating male characters—though needless to say Diggory Venn is not included here—she is, with all her inconsistencies at least consistent in her loyalty to the man she loves: she cannot understand the duplicity of Wildeve in this connexion. No less than the women of the other novels does she command our pity; she is so conscious, not only of her own limitations, but of those to which she ascribes the working of fate. "How destiny has been against me," and "I have been injured by things beyond my control"—these, her own pathetic utterances, might well have been the verdicts given by any impartial critic.

Of all the distinctive features of Mr. Hardy's books—characterisation, dramatic conception, topographical description—the greatest variety in presentation is found under the first heading in his women. Although there is a wonderful freshness of plot in each work, and the situations can never be said to repeat themselves, here and there we do find analogies in the determination of events. Eustacia's life clearly affords one instance of this, when, in calling Damon back from Thomasin only to find she (Eustacia) loves Clym, she proves to be the means of thwarting her own prospects of happiness. We find a parallel to this in Mrs. Charmond's history, when that lady, by refusing to renew the lease on Giles's cottage, spoils the woodman's hopes of wedding Grace

Melbury, and thus leaves the way clear for Grace's marriage with Fitzpiers, whom Mrs. Charmond herself loves.

If Eustacia's ruling desire is, as she declares, "to be loved to madness," we feel it is an aspiration which can never be attained by one of her nature. She is one of those women who, under no conceivable circumstances could ever have been happy, and like Bathsheba has to accept from life a compromise against which her proud spirit chafes and as often as not rebels.

Bathsheba, too, is as weak in love as she is self-reliant by nature, but tempered by a strain of common-sense, the lack of which is Eustacia's tragedy. One picture of this generous-hearted woman in *Far from the Madding Crowd* will remain for ever in the memory of the reader, and that is, the description of her tender care for Fanny Robin's grave, the inscription of which is an affront to herself.

It is interesting to pass from the women of these later and middle period novels to those of the first book of the Wessex series, *Desperate Remedies*. We see the same meticulous care in the depiction of Cytherea Grange's external beauty as in the case of his other heroines, and, as with Grace Melbury, the author confesses his inability to describe adequately the charms of this ethereal picture of girlhood. What woman could bestow more attention on those minute details necessary for a realistic portraiture of feminine adornment? Who but Mr. Hardy could have fashioned of Cytherea's dress a garment so delicate that "crease but the very Ultima Thule of fringe or flounce and it hurts her as much as pinching her. Delicate antennæ or feelers bristle on every side." Or, to leave Cytherea for the moment, who but he would have thought of likening the formity woman's hat to "a sticky black bonnet that seemed to have been worn in the country of the Psalmist where the clouds drop fatness!" And, passing to the question of his mental analysis, what penetrating insight into the emotions of a young girl is shown by the author in his description of the effect of Springrove's love letter to Cytherea! Witness, too, that touching little scene in Miss Aldclyffe's dressing-room, when the sweet heroine, new to her duties,

makes such a brave effort to perform them fittingly. Our hearts ache for this orphan child here, just as they do when we read of the pathetic little figure of Sue Bridehead, toiling up the hill after her parting with Jude on the road to Alfredston; just as they do for that piteous spectacle of Fanny Robin walking that last mile to her death, and as they do in other instances too numerous to recall.

I think there is only one jarring episode in the whole of Mr. Hardy's books. Grim irony, stark tragedy and intense pathos surround his women in full measure, but there are others who may agree with me in thinking the description of Miss Aldclyffe's outpouring to Cytherea is the one passage which it had been wiser to omit. In contrast to this somewhat unpleasant situation is the idyllic relationship which exists between Cytherea and her brother: the brave struggle made by these two, little more than children, in the early days of their misfortunes, and their intense devotion to one another, form one of the happiest themes of this early work. All the helpless side of feminine nature is revealed with astonishing perspicuity in Cytherea's soliloquy on the day of her marriage to Marston; it calls to mind that tender touch which Mr. Hardy in a later novel, bestows on the sleeping occupants of the dormitory at Melchester Training College: "every face bearing the legend 'the weaker,' upon it as the penalty of the sex wherein they were moulded." It is difficult to understand why Mr. Hardy is still referred to as "cynical" when he has given us such exquisitely tender descriptions of womenkind; never censorious of their conduct himself, but rather setting forth their vanities and weaknesses that they may be regarded with more kindly tolerance in the future, that their actions may be judged in the light of circumstance, and their foibles the more easily forgiven. Never is he the moralist ruthlessly exposing their delinquencies, never the satirist ridiculing their weaknesses: rather is he their pleader—always there is the tacit reminder, "Remember there are extenuating circumstances, and, too, these women are so small and so helpless, it is hard for them to take part in this unequal struggle called Life."

So far from leaving a cynical impression, one would have thought that Mr. Hardy's presentation of plot and character could not have failed to produce a softening effect. No man who has been over-ready to condemn the erring ways of women can feel the same bias after reading these books. "Many of those women who own to no moral code show considerable magnanimity when they see people in trouble," and throughout his pages there runs this same almost wistful pleading for the weaker sex. Even the least enviable of them he is careful to show have their redeeming qualities, and one is tempted to imagine Mr. Hardy writing with relief those passages which go far to ennoble characters otherwise unlovely. What infinite pity he makes us feel for Rhoda Brooks, whose only concern over her diseased arm arises from the knowledge that she is losing her husband's love! Like others in the *Wessex Tales* she suffers in loving too much.

There is no type of woman who is not portrayed by Mr. Hardy with the strictest fidelity to life as we recognise it, from the humble daughters of woodcutters and hay-trussers to the Dames of High Estate. And when we read the lives of his "Noble Dames" it is the *woman* rather than the *lady* that makes appeal, bearing witness in each instance to the truth of the old statement that human nature is the same the world over. Each cameo-like portrait is set among such a wealth of plot and subsidiary characterisation that one regrets that such vignettes of aristocratic life were not expanded into novels like the rest.

The youthful follies of these ladies, their waywardness, above all their unscrupulousness when love is at stake—does not all this endear them to us just as we were drawn into sympathy with the Wessex village maidens by their wilful ways? Do not these women of noble birth suffer in love in common with the rest of womanhood, and share with their humbler sisters the same pangs of jealousy and pricks of pride? How very human they are in all their weakness! One courts the smallpox as a means of escaping from a betrothal distasteful to her; another, in order to conceal the fact of her secret marriage to a man socially her inferior,

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stoops to a deception as cunning as that to which Miss Aldclyffe resorts; a third only refrains from deserting her husband's party in the Civil War on discovering his assignation with a rustic maiden. None of them escape their measure of suffering; they have been endowed with wealth, rank and beauty, and all may go well for a time, but "what may lie behind the still and silent veil of the future none can foretell:" it is noteworthy that the only woman in this group to whom the author allows ultimate happiness is the last of these ladies of high estate—the Honourable Laura—and even she is made to endure twelve years' sorrow before being reconciled to her husband.

Those who are a little overawed by the tragic vein in Mr. Hardy's writings, and would prefer to see his women placed in happier circumstances, could not do better than make as their last selection *Under the Greenwood Tree*. Few more charming figures flit through his pages than that of Fancy Day, and though she is so full of feminine grace and charm, Dick is just as helpless under her spell as are certain men of the other novels who fall victims to the wiles of women of stronger character. And though we cannot imagine "this bright little bird" rising to sublime self-sacrifice in the cause of love or sinking to the depths of mental anguish like the more poignant figures of his dramas, she does stoop to guile as far as it is possible for one of her nature to do so, and we leave her thinking of "a secret she should never tell." What sweeter picture of youth's love and innocence can we ask for than the scene on that happy afternoon when Dick and Fancy went a-nutting?

Long in our memory let us keep this picture in this most exquisite of prose lyrics, when we grow impatient of the neurotic introspectiveness of our more modern heroines, and be grateful to Mr. Hardy that he, at any rate, has given us women who will be still worthy of remembrance when the cult for psycho-analytical outpourings is happily numbered among the things of yesterday.

Theories of Dream Interpretation.

BY LADY ROBERT SIMON.

IT is characteristic of an age which seeks after a sign, and finds evidence for immortality, or at least for some form of preservation of the personality, in the material manifestations of modern Spiritualism, that dreams—which afford tempting material to those who delight in wonders—should be absorbing much serious study, whether regarded as a revelation of the subconscious self, or as psychic experience calculated to throw light upon still deeper questions. The remarks which follow are based upon nothing more occult than common experience, upon the dream, so to speak, of the man in the street, and from this point of view, narrow or broad as it may be considered, the psychological importance of the subject seems to be a good deal over-rated.

Dreams of the normal type, whether those of natural sleep or of fever, usually resolve themselves into a kind of kaleidoscopic presentment of ideas and memories. The brain control which automatically introduces order into thought processes, and distinguishes between the real and the imaginary, between fact and fancy, having ceased to function in this respect, the limitations of actual life are wiped out, and mental images are, as it were, thrown loose before the dream consciousness which shapes them or, to keep to the simile (although it cannot claim to be an exact one), shakes them into all sorts of fantastic combinations, sometimes sad ones, for the dream may fail to distinguish between the living and the dead. But whether sad or the reverse or what-not, such dreams are as fleeting as the

kaleidoscopic pattern. Another shake, and the scene changes and different actors appear. The sense of sequence and chronology is not preserved; and incidents of recent occurrence may be shaken into old surroundings with which they never had any connexion. And the movement of dream events is as independent of will-power as are the patterns of a kaleidoscope formed indiscriminately by the movements of its particles.

Dreams of another type claim to be prophetic, or to see into events of which the sleeper has no waking knowledge; but dreaming capacity of this order is more of the nature of psychic experience, and it becomes difficult to distinguish between the dream and the waking vision. Undoubtedly the waking moment is sometimes accompanied by a flash of keen mental insight, apart from anything of a psychical nature. Writers of antiquity, Biblical and others, evidently used the word, dream, in a wide sense and as a covering term for many sources of prophetic inspiration and of revelations of the kind now attributed, almost as vaguely, to "second sight," or to "the sixth sense."

One rather curious fact seems to emerge from the waking memory of the normal dreamer, *viz.*, that whatever sense of physical discomfort or suffering is experienced, either in natural sleep or in the delirium of fever, the dream usually assigns the symptom or the sensation to some cause external to the sleeper. It is as though the dream consciousness feels impelled to account for the physical symptom by something which is happening to and not in the sleeper, and for which some outside agency must be held responsible. Probably most, if not all, dreamers, will recognise this as a common experience, and it is one which is confirmed by many investigators.

In a book entitled *The Fabric of Dreams*, by Katherine T. Craig, the following opinions are quoted :

" . . . Dreams may," thinks Addington Bruce, one of the dream investigators referred to there, "represent an effort on the part of the sleeping consciousness to interpret internal and external stimuli."

"External stimuli," says another, "that impress themselves upon the (dream) consciousness, are transformed into totally different effects. The slamming of a door becomes a mighty thunderclap, the crackling of a log fire assumes the horror of a battle, the hum of a mosquito vibrates into the rhythm of an orchestra."

Similar views are quoted by Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Chap. I. Literature of the Dream) where he cites a number of dreams,

"traceable to more or less accidental objective sensory stimuli."

But he contends that,

"Scientific investigation cannot, however, stop here, but is incited to further research by the observation that the stimulus influencing the senses during sleep does not appear in the dream at all in its true form, but is replaced by some other presentation which is in some way related to it . . ."

"And we have also," he says, "to enquire why the same stimulus evokes so many different results and why just these results and no others."

The research indicated above is exhaustively carried out by Freud, and the main conclusion reached is the emphasis to be laid on "the inner subjective stimuli as a source of the dream." His theory of dream interpretation—to which we shall return later—is largely based upon these stimuli regarded as the main determining cause. Here we note that medical science is disposed rather to find a physiological or pathological explanation of familiar types of dreams, among them the "falling dream," which has been attributed to "some slight disturbance affecting the heart action," and which, Havelock Ellis thinks, "presupposes an organic origin, perhaps a circulatory or nervous trouble, even apoplexy or epilepsy." . . .

"He 'interpreted' the large majority of his own dreams by tracing their origin to sensory stimuli, which are translated to the subconsciousness, and retranslated into dreams." "And, as regards 'dream psychology,' he holds its basic structure to be the controlling power of the emotions over the dream thought. The function of dreams is to supply

adequate theories for the magnified emotional impulses which are borne in upon the sleeping consciousness."

"All diseased organs of the human body," writes another, "impress their characteristic feature upon the dream contents."

And the "final advice" quoted in *The Fabric of Dreams*—from which the above passages are quoted—is,

"that any one having a frequently recurring dream excited by physical stimuli should consult a physician as they may be symptomatic of some bodily ailment."

Readers of Anatole France's *Histoire Comique** may recall a passage in which the association of physical stimuli with dreams is extended to the waking vision. The "docteur Trublet" (le "petit Socrate") is consulted by the comedienne, Nanteuil, on the subject of her hallucinations. To reassure her he gives an account of one which he himself had experienced at a time of great strain, "le temps le plus dur de ma vie." After hearing him, she asks:

" . . . si vraiment c'était parce qu'il souffrait du foie qu'il avait eu un vision. Il répondit qu'il pensait que le mauvais état des organes digestifs, une fatigue diffuse, une tendance à la congestion l'avaient predisposé.—Il y eut, je crois, ajouta-t-il, une cause plus immédiate. Etendu sur mon divan, j'avais la tête très basse . . . Cette attitude favorise singulièrement les hallucinations. Il suffit parfois de se coucher, la tête renversée, pour voir, pour entendre, des formes, des sons imaginaires. C'est pourquoi, je vous conseille, mon enfant, de dormir avec un traversin et un gros oreiller."

"Elle se mit à rire."

And though readers are left in doubt whether to laugh with her, the passage read as a whole, has a serious ring, and the author is not one who trifles with scientific facts. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the scientist, and especially the medical scientist, while recognising that dreams often dive into our subconsciousness, seeks for their origin and interpretation in organic conditions or disorders,

* The word *Comique*, as used by Anatole France in this title, signifies, "appartenant aux comédiens."

rather than in psychic activity. This view dates back to the Father of Medicine.

"Hippocrates wisely considered dreams," wrote Sir Thomas Browne in his *Letter to a Friend* (*Religio Medici*), "as they presaged alterations in the body, and so afforded hints towards the preservation of health, and prevention of diseases; and therein was so serious as to advise alteration of diet, exercise, sweating, bathing, and vomiting . . . "

"Even Aristotle," writes Freud, "declares it quite possible that the dream should draw our attention to incipient morbid conditions . . . and some medical authors, who were certainly far from believing in any prophetic power of the dream, have admitted this significance of the dream, at least for the foretelling of disease . . . Indeed this relation of the dream life," he adds rather disdainfully, "is placed so conspicuously in the foreground by many authors, that I shall content myself with a mere reference to its literature."

But, as Freud also points out:

"The dream is a phenomenon which occurs in healthy persons . . . and a pathological state of the organs is apparently not one of its indispensable conditions."

An interpretation of a dream dreamt by the writer, though of a trivial kind, is a fair example of the theory that the normal activity of the dream faculty consists mainly in forming new patterns out of the brain content. The dream was not only trivial but of the briefest kind as regards incident, and there is apparently no other method of dream measurement. The most complicated dream happenings may only occupy a flash of time as measured by the clock.*

A bright fire was burning in a grate, and a small black dog stood quite unconcernedly with its nose against the hot bars. It was joined by another dog who took up the same attitude. I was conscious of a feeling of distress that the dogs would soon realise their position and find themselves in

* It may be noted that the waking vision, referred to of Anatole France's "docteur Trublet" though somewhat drawn out, was noted by the latter, and proved by the condition of his cigarette, as being timeless.

great pain, and there the dream ended. Neither grate nor dogs were familiar to me but were of an ordinary kind, part of the stock in trade of the mind. I awoke with the thought: What an unaccountable dream! And then, on second thoughts, I recalled the fact that a day or two previously I had read a passage from an article† in the *Fortnightly Review* (Aug., 1921), which contained the following words," . . . if our sense of touch were different, what now is hot would seem cold, as we see this . . . in paralytics who will burn their feet without knowing it, and to whom in this sense fire has no existence." At the time only the general sense of the passage I had read was recalled, but afterwards I noted its exact words. Probably, if memory happened to serve, the origin of many dreams would be found to be as simple as this, without seeking for further symbolism.

By the school of medical psychology known as Psycho-Analysis, based by Freud on what Havelock Ellis terms the "Philosophy of the U conscious," dreams are regarded as the open door to those "unconscious factors" in the mind which it holds responsible for many disorders; and as being only capable of correct interpretation in accordance with this theory.

"Of all the material furnished by the unconscious mind," writes M. K. Bradby, in her book, *Psycho-Analysis and Its Place in Life*, "dreams are by far the most important as well as of most general interest."

And again :

"Every neurotic symptom has its origin and explanation in the background of the patient's mind and can be discovered by him through reference to that part of the mind which is active in dreams."

Another psycho-analytical writer, André Tridon, in a book entitled, *Psycho-analysis and Behaviour*, asks :

"What is it . . . that a conscious state does not give us, and which we only find in unconsciousness?"

† "The Key to Emerson."

And he replies :

“Only by studying dreams will we find a satisfactory answer to that question.”

As we have seen, one of the primary and unvarying characteristics of the dream-mind is that it fails to recognise physical sensations or external stimuli as such, but pictures them as caused by some form of active agency capable of producing, or at least suggesting, the same result, noise, heat or cold, discomfort or what-not. These mind-pictures can be described as dream-symbols, or dream-substitutes for the real thing.

Out of this dream dramatic faculty of turning sensations or sense-impressions into events, there has arisen an elaborate system of dream symbolism—not that this is limited to dreams of one type—which seeks to show that every physical sensation has an appropriate dream symbol; and that all dreams, or nearly all, are capable of some symbolic interpretation. Every type of dream is classified as the counterpart of some experience or memory, conscious or subconscious of the dreamer.

It is largely, though not entirely, upon these lines that Freud founds his scheme of dream interpretation. Probably no one has a more exhaustive knowledge of dream literature, medical and historical, or has made a closer practical investigation of the subject than himself; but in spite of this great technical equipment, his conclusions are often unconvincing, except to those who are able to accept his system of Psycho-analysis, and the prominent part in it which is assigned to the sexual function, as a whole. It is, indeed, just this aspect of Freud's dream interpretation which, in the opinion of many of us, detracts from the value of the results he obtains. When a preconceived theory—such as the psychological supremacy of the subconscious self—is brought to bear upon a subject, all the facts concerning it are apt to be subjected to an *ex parte* treatment, instead of being considered impartially. In the case of Freud's dream work, his hypothesis that all “dream content” represents links in a chain of experience—mostly reaching back to the

subconscious self—leads him to regard, as inadequate, not only the conclusions based on the physiological aspect of dreams, but almost any simple and obvious interpretation, in order to link up the dream with a chain of psychic experience.

In his book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, he writes :

“I have noticed in the course of my psycho-analytic work that the state of mind of a man in contemplation is entirely different from that of a man who is observing his psychic processes . . . in contemplation one exercises a critique, in consequence of which he rejects some of the ideas which he has perceived and cuts short others . . . towards still other thoughts he may act in such a manner that they do not become conscious at all—i.e., they are suppressed before they are perceived. In self-observation, on the other hand, one has only the task of suppressing the critique, if he succeeds in this, an unlimited number of ideas which otherwise would have been impossible for him to grasp come to his consciousness.”

Freud's method is therefore, to quote his own words :

“ . . . to stimulate his (i.e., the patient's) attention for his psychic perceptions, and to eliminate the critique with which he is ordinarily in the habit of viewing the thoughts which come to the surface in him.”

It is easy to see how this theory may be applied to the action of the dream-mind, freed as the latter is from the control of the waking intelligence.

“A condition,” writes Freud, “which the elements must satisfy in order to get into the dream” is “*that they must be withdrawn from the censor of resistance.*” (The italics are his).

In another passage we read :

“The dream thoughts . . . belong to our thoughts which have not become conscious, from which our thoughts which have become conscious also result by means of a certain transposition.”

He goes on to describe :

" . . . that second portion of the activity which changes the unconscious thoughts into the dream content, an activity peculiar to dream life and characteristic of it. Now this peculiar dream-work is . . . qualitatively altogether different from waking thought, and therefore not in any way comparable to it . . . This product, the dream, must at any cost be withdrawn from the censor . . . " (The latter word being used in the same sense as the word "critique" in the earlier quotation).

These theories, and many others which are, more or less, deduced from them, are worked up by Freud into an elaborate scheme of dream analysis and interpretation. In this, great prominence is given to the "wish-fulfilment" aspect of dreams, whether this assumes the form in the "dream-content" of the gratification of desires and impulses which in actual life are more or less repressed or perhaps incapable of fulfilment, or whether of the avoidance of some distasteful issue or condition which faces us in real life.* That many dreams, or fragments of dreams have this side to them will be generally admitted.

With the object of establishing these theories many pages are devoted to the analysis of dreams which in themselves appear to be of a trifling character, but which, submitted to his treatment, become transformed into astonishing revelations of subconscious psychic activities.

"The dream," says Freud, "when written down fills half a page; the analysis in which the dream thoughts are contained requires six, eight, twelve times as much space."

*This kind of repression has been well defined in a passage from *The Psychology of Day Dreams*, by Dr. J. Varendonck, which runs as follows:

"In realistic thinking, in the course of our everyday life, a great number of impulses and wishes are ignored or repressed to render the adaptation to actual circumstances possible . . . But the repressed material takes as it were its revenge and comes to the surface."

"And as," he writes in another passage, "of all repressions which civilization has imposed on our primary instincts, the strongest has been placed upon the sexual impulse, it is not surprising, nor a token of bad morality, that in autism (a term which apparently stands for the more or less free play of thoughts in Day-Dreams) we constantly meet with the sexual and its perversions."

Over twelve pages are devoted by him to the "Analysis of a Sample Dream," uninteresting in itself, which fills less than a page. Put into a nutshell, and bearing in mind the quotations given above, the theories seem to work out thus. In the dream state, the censorship, exercised by the intelligence and by the critical faculty over sensations and impressions, being no longer operative, there is nothing to check the flow of ideas from the subconscious self, taking the latter in the sense of the primitive self underlying the outward personality. It is, therefore, according to Freud, in dreams that we get at the real self, at the individual so to speak, in the rough; and also at the unchecked play of psychic activity and of the influence exercised by the instinct of sex.* From the medical point of view, he claims that the right way to treat nervous and many other disorders is to track them down in this way, to their original source.

"The interpretation of dreams," he writes, "is the *via regia* to a knowledge of the unconscious in psychic life."

It may be of some interest to readers to find that the simpler views of dream interpretation with which this article started are upheld by a number "of different authors—physicians and philosophers," whose "utterances . . . on the psychological character of the dream" are recorded by Freud in that section of his book in which he gives a wide survey of dream literature and theories, no matter how divergent the latter may be from his own. Amongst them we find the kaleidoscopic theory which the present writer, when bringing this forward in the opening remarks, was unaware had already been used to establish the same point of view. Freud himself makes use of the expression "puzzle picture" in reference to dreams. A few of these simpler views, as quoted by him, are given in conclusion.

"According to Lemoine, the incoherence of the dream picture is the only essential quality of the dream. Maury

*To the average reader Freud gives the impression of being obsessed by the idea of sex to the point of absurdity. This reaches a climax in a series of sex symbols as given by him in the chapter of his book, headed, "The Material of Dreams."

agrees with him, he says: 'Il n'y a pas de rêves absolument raisonnables et que ne contiennent quelque incohérence, quelque anachronisme, quelque absurdité.'"

"According to Hegel, quoted by Spitta, the dream lacks all objective and comprehensible connexion.'"

"Dugas says: 'Le rêve c'est l'anarchie psychique affective et mentale, c'est le jeu des fonctions livrées à elles-mêmes et s'exerçant sans control et sans but . . .'"

"Fechner says: 'It is as if the psychological activity were transferred from the brain of a reasonable being into the brain of a fool.'"

"Radestock says: ' . . . Having withdrawn itself from the strict police of the rational will guiding the waking presentation life, and of the attention, the dream whirls everything about kaleidoscopically in mad play.'"

Binz points to a dream theory resulting from the impressions, "Among ten dreams, nine at least have an absurd content. We unite in them persons or things which do not bear the slightest relation to one another. In the next moment, as in a kaleidoscope, the grouping changes, if possible to one more nonsensical and irrational than before; thus the changing play of the imperfectly sleeping brain continues until we awaken . . . and ask ourselves whether we really still possess the faculty of rational imagination and thought."

Other passages to the same effect are quoted by Freud, and he comments upon the "depreciation of the psychic activities of the dream" shown by the writers.

"Upon others," he writes, "however, the possibility seems to have dawned that the madness of the dream is perhaps not without its method . . ."

It is the key to this method, as worked out by himself, that he gives us in *The Interpretation of Dreams*

Jesus as a Controversialist.

BY THE REV. T. DALE.

“THE common people heard him gladly.” Popularly the words have been taken to mean that Jesus’ message was acceptable to them. Rejected by the rich and educated, He found a hearing among the poor and outlaws of His time. But the words do not mean that. They refer to the crowd’s inborn love of a debate; the pitting of argument against argument, wit against wit; the cut, the thrust, the guard, the parry, the counterstroke; all are immensely enjoyed by the onlooker, irrespective of any deep convictions about the point at issue. And I am afraid these common folk cared but little as to the questions upon which Jesus was tackled by those who differed from Him; but they did admire the dexterity with which He extricated Himself from many a tight corner. They appreciated the unexpected use of His adversaries’ favourite method of argument, with the inevitable confusion that followed. And they were quick to note the tones of passionate sincerity, which not infrequently so changed the atmosphere of an incident, that, as in old Methodist times, “Those who came to scoff remained to pray.”

How fragmentary, too, are our records of His controversies! Here is a verse startling, provoking, brilliant, but the entire context is missing. We neither know what called it forth, or what its immediate application was. If we could reconstruct the incident our exposition of the words might be entirely different. Then, on the other hand, the long speeches and conversations of Jesus reported in the Fourth Gospel bear all too evidently the traces of having been worked up by the writer, and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish

between the words of Jesus and the comment of the editor.

With these thoughts in mind, we turn to some of the controversies of Jesus. And what a place they fill in the story of His life! Scarcely has His ministry begun when the issue is joined.

It is no less a charge than blasphemy. "Cheer up, son," says Jesus to the paralytic, noting not simply his physical weakness but also his mental depression, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." The charge of blasphemy is looked rather than uttered, for each of the Synoptic gospels stresses the fact that they reasoned in their hearts. Yet in the case in point there is no justification for such a charge. As a matter of fact, in the first instance at least, Jesus is not claiming to forgive sins. He simply announces that the man's sins are forgiven. The poor fellow has formed the habit of associating his condition with some sin in his past life. Jesus saw at a glance that He had no chance of curing him unless He could break the connexion. He knew that to do so, in the only way which the man could appreciate, would bring Him into conflict with the Scribes who were present. But He took the step and so rendered possible the cure.

But this charge of blasphemy must be met, and met in the only way that would appeal to His critics. In their minds they were thinking, "It is easy to say thy sins are forgiven." "But why should it be easier to say thy sins are forgiven, than to say, Arise and walk?" replies Jesus. Well, be it so. They had chosen the ground, let them now accept the issue. They, by their charge, had agreed as to the evidence necessary to the acquittal of the accused. They had themselves to thank for the complete discomfiture that followed. Said, done: It was a convincing *argumentum ad hominem*. Who could dispute the right to forgive to One whose word was with such power? Surely we must infer that the inner work of forgiveness had followed the first words, as the outward and visible result had followed the command to rise and walk.

We come next to the contest with the Pharisees concerning traditions of eating. "Then the Pharisees and Scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the

traditions of the elders, but eat bread with unwashen hands?" Mark explains that the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they had washed their hands diligently, would not eat. And when they came from the market-place, where the number and mixture of the people made the risk of defilement so great, they took a bath before the meal was commenced. Not only that, but cups, pots, and brazen vessels must be thoroughly scoured and cleansed. Altogether, a serious business, this matter of ceremonial purity.

The Rabbinical rules about ablutions occupy a large part of one section of the Talmud. Many of them were frivolous, some were actually subversive of God's Law. Yet one Rabbinical saying was, "The words of the Law are weighty and light, but all the words of the Scribes are weighty." The Jews of later times related with intense admiration how Rabbi Akiba, when imprisoned and furnished with only sufficient water to maintain life, preferred to die of starvation rather than eat without the proper washings.

But the Master is speaking. And again it is the *argumentum ad hominem*. He charges them with inconsistency in the very question they had raised against Him. "Full well do ye reject the commandment of God that ye may keep your tradition." The situation reminds us of His words on another occasion, concerning the man with a beam in his eye, endeavouring to cast a mote out of the eye of his brother. The counter-charge is substantiated by a striking illustration. The Law said, "Honour thy father and mother," and "He that speaketh evil of father or mother, let him surely die." But the Scribes said, Call a thing Corban, that is to say, Given to God, and this most sacred obligation of family life was made of none effect. It was not really necessary to give the thing to God in order to be free from obligation to give it to man. Corban, in practice, was a taboo which devoted property to the exclusive use of the owner.

"And many such like things ye do," adds Jesus.

The scripture quotation was as apt as the example given was illustrative. "Well did Isaiah prophesy of you; This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far

from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching as their doctrine the precepts of men."

"Hypocrites," Jesus called them. But the Pharisees and Scribes were not conscious hypocrites. They were conscientious in their study of the sacred writings and in the application of them to every circumstance of daily life. It is true that in the case in point, a son instead of supporting his parents might devote his money to some religious object, and evade his filial duty. But that was never the intention of the regulation. And did not Jesus make His whole life "Corban"? To Him the claims of the Kingdom were paramount even to the renunciation of mother and brothers and sisters and home.

Jesus' quarrel was not with the tradition of the elders as distinct from the Law. He was not simply brushing aside the accretions of the Scribes in order to re-assert the Mosaic institutions. He was against the spirit that underlay the Law itself. With one sentence he drew a pen right through the eleventh chapter of Leviticus with its detailed regulations about what might not be eaten or even touched if the people were to be holy as God is holy. "There is nothing from without a man that, going into him, can defile him." Defilement is a matter of the heart and of the spirit and of the mind. The thoughts that are evil, the desires that are impure and dishonest and vengeful, the love of money, shiftiness in character, stupidity, "All these evil things proceed from within and defile the man."

Closely allied with the controversy concerning tradition is the question of Sabbath observance. Seven of the miracles of our Lord, The Demoniac at Capernaum, Simon's Wife's Mother, The Withered Hand, The Cripple at Bethesda, The Woman Bowed with Weakness, The Sufferer from Dropsy, and The Man Born Blind, are described as taking place on the Sabbath day. Five of the seven are at once challenged as violations of the Sabbath-Law. In addition to these is the incident of the cornfield, where, to satisfy their hunger, the disciples plucked a few ears of corn. The charge against them was not one of theft, for such a privilege was expressly

permitted by the Deuteronomic Law. But, according to the Pharisees, it infringed the law of the Sabbath since plucking was equivalent to reaping, and rubbing the corn in the hand was equivalent to threshing.

From the distance of our day these offences seem small, and reveal niggardly and carping criticism. We wonder at the prominence given to them in the controversies of Jesus. But with that curious facility of unspiritual minds for dwelling on the ceremonial rather than the ethical, the custodians of the Law had insisted on defining more and more stringently the obligations of the Sabbath. Some of the Talmud rules to us are humorous. If suffering from toothache, a man rinses his mouth with vinegar, or if, in the case of a sore throat he gargles with oil on the Sabbath, a sin has been committed. But if he can muster sufficient courage to swallow the mouth-wash or gargle, then the breach of the Sabbath-law was avoided and it became the innocent act of taking food.

Now it was exceedingly brave on the part of Jesus quietly to ignore these regulations, which of course were accepted as the very word of God Himself, especially when the character of Eastern fanaticism is apprehended. It is always easy for a prophet or teacher to condemn irreligion. Everybody thinks then that someone else is meant. But the difficulty arises when what is held to be religion is attacked. That is why heresy hunts are so easily organised and always popular. A charge of blasphemy quickly unites all classes against the unfortunate teacher. That was just the charge to which Jesus laid Himself open and His foes were not slow to press their advantage.

But He never falters. Where Jesus shines out in unapproachable lustre is in the brilliant assertion which at a stroke revolutionised the whole prevailing conception of the Sabbath. "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath." We are not concerned with what David did when he and his men were hungry in the days of Abiathar or Ahimelech the High-priest. Frankly, that illustration, to me, seems to prove too much. It seems to

suggest that necessity knows no law. But I suppose it was an argument adapted to the people to whom He spoke. It was a thrust with their own weapon. But the great principle just enunciated carries us to a height far above Sinai. The epigram simply means, the Sabbath was meant to be a boon and not a burden. That is the best way of observing the Sabbath which is most conducive to man's physical and spiritual well-being, the best for his body and soul. And just as remarkable as the principle is the spirit with which it is spoken. "He looked round about on them with anger." Strangely stirred is He against those who, invoking God, would prevent the healing of a fellow-creature. But the storm-clouds melt in a gentle rain of pity for the spiritual sclerosis from which they were suffering, and the record adds, "Being grieved for the hardening of their hearts."

We turn now to the incident of the Tribute money, which not only illustrates the Master's dexterity in controversy but draws a clear distinction between the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of this world. A deputation of Herodians and Pharisees unite in a most unholy alliance. The case in point was one upon which even these very opposite parties could combine. For the Herodian as well as the Pharisee was intensely national in spirit, though their ultimate ends might be vastly different, the Pharisee standing for the religious or theocratic kingdom and the others for the secular, as appealed to men of Sadducaic proclivities. The make up of the deputation, too, is interesting; they were disciples, that is to say, young men, whose very ingenuousness might put Jesus off His guard.

The snare was set with much astuteness and well baited with flattery. They compliment the Master on His sincerity, "We know that thou art true;" and His fidelity, "And the way of God thou teachest in truth;" and on His courage, "Neither carest thou for any man;" and on His impartiality, "For thou regardest not the person of men." "Say therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not?" But in vain is the net spread in the sight of the bird. "Bring me a denarius that I may see." They

would not be likely to carry with them the hated Roman coinage with its heathen symbols. But they would only have to step outside the Court of the Gentiles and obtain from the money-changers a current Roman coin. "Whose likeness and inscription is this?" "Cæsar's." "Pay therefore what is Cæsar's to Cæsar, and what is God's to God." Again it was an unanswerable *argumentum ad hominem*. Jewish doctors had laid down the principle that "He is king whose coin is current." These men had no scruple to use Cæsar's coin for ordinary purposes. Thus they tacitly acknowledged his sovereignty and the right of the actually existing government to levy the tax.

But when all is said and done Jesus eluded the point at issue. The questioners might have replied, "Yes, but has Cæsar any right to coin money for Palestine? His may be the existing government but apart from the doctrine that might is right, that government should not be there."

It is just here where the force of the added clause is felt, "And to God the things that are God's." For if Jesus eludes the question He eludes it on principle. The Kingdom of God is not to be identified with any form of government, Jewish or Roman. It is possible to be a true citizen of the Kingdom and yet quietly submit to the rule of a foreign power. The kingdom of God sides with no social class nor political party. Neither rich nor poor may monopolise it. Neither Conservative, Liberal, nor Labour parties may claim to be it. The searching question that Christ asks is, What is due to God? And while we are settling our lives in conformity with that principle, we are able to live in the State as He lived in it, accepting political conditions loyally and yet planting in the midst of the society where we live those eternal ethical principles which are destined to revolutionise human society. Give back to Cæsar his paltry denarius but to God your whole-hearted love and loyalty.

There is one other matter of controversy between Jesus and the Judaism of His day, an ethical question which lies at the root of all genuine progress; that is the question of marriage. The discussion also illustrates for us one of His favourite

methods of controversy. If Jesus brushed aside, impatiently at times, the ceremonialism of ancient tradition, He was careful to preserve every truly moral element in the Law. And He delighted to take, as in this particular instance, some expression of Scripture and bring it out with unexpected force to confute what was popularly believed and practised. "And the Pharisees came to him, and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him." And He answered and said, "What did Moses command you?" And they said, "Moses suffered us to write a bill of divorcement and to put her away." And Jesus answered and said unto them. "For your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment but from the beginning of creation God made them male and female What therefore God hath joined let not man put asunder." In His divine power Jesus takes hold of the word in the second chapter of Genesis and flings it against the whole Mosaic Law. That law was relatively good, not absolutely. It was a compromise, a convenience, not a principle.

It may be that the law of Moses on divorce was an improvement upon pre-existing institutions, but as it stood it simply stated that if a man found anything in the woman he had married that was not pleasing in his eyes he might write her a bill of divorcement and send her away. As the Rabbis applied it that law became a dangerous principle. For the school of Hillel explained that the term "Displeasing in his eyes" covered even the case of a wife spoiling her husband's food, and Rabbi Akiba went so far as to say that if a man found another woman fairer than his wife he might write the bill of divorcement and be free.

In contradiction to such belief and practice are the clear and unequivocal words of Jesus, "Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery. And he that marrieth one that is put away from her husband committeth adultery." For once the Pharisees and disciples were united in protest against the doctrine of Jesus. "This is a harder doctrine than that of Moses," said the Pharisees. On the other hand the disciples say, "If the case of the man is so with his wife it is expedient not to marry."

This modern world in which divorce and re-marriage are appallingly frequent knows how utterly opposed to its practice is the teaching of Jesus. He teaches no prohibition of voluntary separation in the case of a mistaken union, but He does teach that such a mistake involves a permanent burden. Marriage once undertaken must not be regarded as a temporary agreement, but as an indissoluble union. The proposition of Jesus, ascetic and unattainable as it may seem in the light of ancient or modern practice, is simply this; the alternative to permanent union in marriage is permanent purity out of marriage. With a word He places the whole question on its highest and holiest ground. If men and women come together following their chance desires or unhallowed impulses, not bringing God into the relation, that is not marriage at all, it is sin, and cannot be hidden by any institution that the law creates.

Do not misjudge Jesus. He holds no misanthropic view of life. I wonder if it is only an accident that this discussion is followed by the incident of the mothers of Salem who brought their children to Jesus. "And he took them up in his arms and blessed them, laying his hands upon them."

Finally, we come to two or three incidents which might be described as carrying the war into the enemies' camp. In contrast to the people who saw the blind, the dumb, and the demon-possessed cured and said: "Is not this the Son of David"? the Pharisees put forth the theory, "He hath Beelzebul," meaning of course that Beelzebul had Him. It was a case of Satanic incarnation. "By the prince of the demons he expels demons." "And he called them." We are indebted to Mark for that little touch. Generally the Master could afford to treat such slanders with contempt, but on this occasion He is stung to reply. "He called them." No use to slink away and mutter behind His back. They must come and take their medicine. And Jesus' answer is crushing in its cumulative effect. "How can Satan cast out Satan?" That's the point. The reference to the divided kingdom, and city, and house, are subsidiary. For, regardless of consequences, kingdoms, and cities, and

men, do become divided to their own undoing. But Jesus credits Satan with more commonsense. He might be wicked but he is not a fool. The theory is absurd! But more is to follow. "If I, by Beelzebul cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?" For certain of the Pharisees' disciples either really possessed or pretended to have such power. Jesus puts His critics in a dilemma. They must explain how the same act is right in a certain instance and wrong in another. "They shall be your judges." But more still is to follow, a further corollary which points to the truth. "When a strong man fully armed guards the door of his palace, then his belongings are in peace. But when a stronger than he falls upon him, and overcomes him, he takes from him the armour in which he trusted and distributes the spoil among his friends." It is ridiculous to think that Satan would meekly concur in the spoiling of his house. Then the man that could cast out demons was demonstrating his power over Satan himself. Very seriously does Jesus drive home His warning. They, and not He, were in danger of devil-possession. For if they shut their eyes to such self-evident truth it was sin against the light, sin against the Holy Spirit, which could only result in spiritual death.

We come next to an incident which suitably opens the final conflict between Jesus and the religious leaders of His day. He was teaching in the temple and "preaching the Gospel," Luke's beautiful word. Jesus was not a controversialist. He did not seek quarrels. He was speaking words of grace in His Father's House as He had in Galilee and Samaria. "And there came upon him," the word implies suddenness, "the chief priest and scribes and elders." "By what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?" Every Rabbi had his diploma, every priest his ordination. What could Jesus show? Jesus meets the attack by a counter-question, and it is interesting to note His readiness and presence of mind. "I will also ask of you one question and answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things and The

baptism of John, was it from heaven or of men? Answer me." The question placed them on the horns of a dilemma. In fact, if a dilemma had three horns they were in danger of being impaled on any one of the three. For if they confessed that John's authority was of God then their own challenge to the Master's authority was met and His position confirmed. And if they said, "Of men . . ." Nothing is more significant than Mark's broken sentence. It implies that the consequences would not bear thinking about. And finally if they kept silent, their position as the spiritual chiefs of the nation would be seriously compromised.

And so they take refuge in a cowardly profession of ignorance and dare not press their own question. They, whose favorite words were, "We know" were reduced to the ignominious necessity of saying, "We know not." It might be said of course that Jesus evaded the point at issue or refused to answer a direct question, but who could charge Him with fault? "Him that inquires" says one of old, "we are bound to instruct: but him that tempts, we may defeat with a stroke of reasoning."

There is one other occasion on which Jesus takes the initiative. It occurred in the temple where he was teaching. A large number of people were present. One after another, deputations of Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians, and Scribes had engaged Him only to retire discomfited from the dialectic duel. And now Jesus takes the offensive. "What think ye of Christ; whose son is he?" They answer, "David's." "How then doth David in spirit call him Lord?" "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool."

"If David calls him Lord, how is he his son?" Jesus is not merely giving His enemies a thrust with their own weapon. Still less is He only framing a scripture conundrum. The scribes had begun at the wrong end. They had emphasised the sonship and overlooked the Lordship. Had they begun with the Lordship it would have led them into a sphere where pomp and grandeur count for nothing at all and where in spirit David would have owned an unassuming Son of Man his Lord.

It has been suggested that Jesus' spirit and methods of controversy are open to criticism. I take the following from Renan's *Life of Jesus*, "Urgent and imperative, he suffered no opposition. Men had to be converted, nothing else would satisfy him. His natural gentleness seemed to have abandoned him. At times he was harsh and capricious. His displeasure at the slightest opposition led him to inexplicable and apparently absurd actions. Contact with the world wounded and revolted him. Obstacles caused him irritation. His idea of the Son of God became blurred and exaggerated."

It is difficult to find justification in the Gospel story for language like that. We candidly admit that Jesus was no milk-and-water controversialist. Those who came for disputation had nothing to complain about either the quantity or the quality of what they got, and often retreated sadder but wiser men. There were times when Jesus was angry. But it was the white hot flame of passionate indignation at wrongs committed against others and not the smouldering heat of personal irritation. And nowhere in His words can we find evidence for the theory that He ever lost control over Himself. Even in the terrible scathing indictment of the Scribes and Pharisees in Matt. xxiii., the language, if it is not cool, at least is calculated. And terrible as the exposure is, the characters of those whom He pillories are set forth with cameo-like clearness. There is no trace of personal vindictiveness or uncontrolled passion. Far from that is the spirit in which the discourse ends. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee. How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not."

The Race Problem and Foreign Missions.

BY THE REV. HAROLD OGDEN.

GREAT BRITAIN has no direct colour problem. Consequent on this lack of intimate knowledge which comes from living association there is the danger of failing to appreciate the urgency and complexity of this subject which is now rapidly becoming the most serious menace of the world.

The race problem cannot be lightly dismissed by attaching to it the label, "Prejudice," and then refusing to take further notice of it. It is going to be taken notice of. Speaking on March 25th, 1925, the newly-appointed ambassador to the United States declared it his intention "to reopen the question of the exclusion of the Japanese from America" (*The Times*, March 26th). Prejudice, on the ground of differences in physical characteristics, was probably no serious matter until the new factors now asserting themselves began to emerge. The time has arrived, however, when failure to adjust this problem correctly may indeed possibly mean the fall of Western Civilization.

During very recent years many minds have begun to appreciate this rising menace to European civilization; minds, some of which are of no mean order, have been seriously engaged grappling with the complexities of the situation; solutions which deride and defy Christian ethics as at present accepted are being given in the increasing number of volumes published: thoughtful people are being educated on this line in a way that will challenge the very morality of the Foreign

Missions of the Christian Church, and the right of these Missions to function.

It is the economic aspect of the race problem that has made it prominent in the world's politics of to-day. About the pressure of this there can be no intelligent doubt. It is common knowledge that the Asiatic generally will live on a handful of rice a day, with no wants for personal comfort, or cleanliness, or culture. This is true beyond all question so far as the mass of both yellow and brown men are concerned. It is the pressure of these peoples that gives this matter its present grave complexion.

At one time the writer's laundry work was done by an Indian man. In the course of a month it meant the washing and ironing of six or eight white drill suits, as well as the usual personal laundry work. In those days the buying power of money in South Africa was less than one half what it was in Great Britain. But the Indian did that work for 5s. per month. On such pay he would do well according to his standards. But no white man could maintain his standard of living on such terms.

The brown man is not the keenest competitor, however. Dr. Wu-Ting-Fang well says of his own people :

“Experience proves that the Chinese as all-round labourers can easily out-distance all competitors. They are industrious, intelligent, orderly. They can work under conditions that would kill a man of less hardy race ; in heat that would kill a salamander, or in cold that would please a polar bear, sustaining their energies through long hours of unrelenting toil with only a few bowls of rice.” (Quoted from *The Rising Tide of Colour*, p. 29).

Every competent observer confirms this verdict. It is for reasons related to this fact that it has become increasingly the practice in all land development in South Africa to include in the deeds of sale a prohibition against all coloured people either as owners or as tenants. Likewise the United States of America, Canada and Australia, are all unanimous that the Yellow and Brown races must not be permitted to immigrate in such numbers as to create now or in the future

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economic disturbance. None of these lands is safe, not merely as a white man's country but as a place where a white man can earn a white man's living, if this racial invasion is not regulated.

All that has yet been said has reference to lands where races of different colour are residing alongside white people. But the economic pressure of this race conflict is beginning to be felt indirectly throughout the whole world. Prof. Jocey, in his book, *Race and National Solidarity*, declares that a serious responsibility lies on the shoulders of the great captains of commerce and industry. In order to be near the sources of raw material, and in order to be able to draw on vast reservoirs of cheap labour, these magnates have been utterly careless as to the consequences which their mistaken or avaricious enterprise involved for their own race. They have exported the finest machinery the white man's brain has been able to invent. They have taught gratuitously the methods the white man has paid for in brain and blood, in sweat and sacrifice and fatal experiment, for the quickening of production, and efficiency of transport, and exploitation of nature. People of the backward races are thus thrown into the keenest competition with the white race. The advantage is on their side every time. They have no standard of living that must be maintained. But they are equipped with both the white man's mentality and his machinery for competition in the world's markets. Jocey contends that this will result in the death of thousands, possibly millions, of white people, starved out of existence by the unequal contest. Whether that conclusion is accepted or not it indicates a position which cannot lightly be dismissed.

The deductions drawn from the economic aspect of the race problem are strengthened by the findings of certain psychologists. In 1905, Binet, the French Psychologist, invented a series of intelligence tests. These tests variously modified have been widely applied. They were applied, it is stated, to the 1,700,000 men who joined the American Army for the Great War. Says Stoddard (*The Revolt against Civilization*, pp. 52, 53) :—

"It has been conclusively proved that intelligence is predetermined by heredity; that individuals come into the world differing vastly in mental capacities; that such differences remain virtually constant through life and cannot be lessened by environment or education; that the present mental level of any individual can be definitely ascertained, and even a child's future adult mental level confidently predicted. These . . . discoveries . . . enable us to grade not merely individuals, but whole nations and races according to their inborn capacities, to take stock of our mental assets and liabilities, and to get a definite idea as to whether humanity is headed toward greater achievement or toward decline."

Both J. H. Oldham and L. Stoddard quote several of the same sets of figures relating to these intelligence tests, all which figures go to prove the inherent superiority of white children, and the white (Nordic) race. As stated here the evidence of biology is interwoven with that of psychology. But probably enough has been said to shew that a very strong case is made out against the continuance of present methods if all that is so precious in our racial inheritance is to be preserved to the future.

Madison Grant may be permitted to state the conclusion arrived at:

"If this great race, with its capacity for leadership and fighting, should ultimately pass, with it would pass that which we call civilization. It would be succeeded by an unstable and bastardized population, where worth and merit would have no inherent right to leadership, and among which a new and darker age would blot out our racial inheritance. Our present position is the result of following the leadership of idealists and philanthropic doctrinaires, aided and abetted by the perfectly understandable demand of our captains of industry for cheap labour. This is suicide pure and simple, and the first victim of this amazing folly will be the white man himself." (*Rising Tide of Colour*, pp. 24-32).

To all that has been said one practical difficulty of tremendous weight must yet be added. It cannot be reasonably imagined that, in the lands where the races meet, it will be an easy thing to permit the young people of

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the different colours to intermingle with absolute equality and freedom at the same social or even religious gatherings, and fall promiscuously in love, and contract marriages across the colour line. Even to-day, when as yet this race question is only beginning to assume the importance it will assume shortly, probably the majority of those who are completely sympathetic to the coloured races would draw the line here if their own young folk were involved.

Whatever else is doubtful this, at least, is certain. White dominion as at present exercised is endangered. If the conclusions drawn by such writers as those referred to are correct, assuming that methods now in vogue remain unaltered, then it seems probable that the days of the white man's premier place in the world are numbered. Such a contingency cannot be contemplated with complacency. It is unbelievable that the welfare of the world and its races will be served best by the submerging of this Western civilization which has been won through years of patient toil, and heroic endeavour, and concentrated and often consecrated intelligence.

In quest of the solution the problem is lifted into the realm of ethics. "Does not the new idealism teach us that we are links in a vital chain, charged with high duties both to the dead and the unborn?" Such is Stoddard's query. Is it fair, is it moral, is it right, to permit our culture, our machinery, our capital to be freely exported as now, when the sure result will be to make the world impossible for the white man, the trustee of the civilization highest yet attained? So argues Jocey. Unhappily, morality now becomes confused with expediency. Prof. Jocey advocates, that by keeping in the white man's absolute control all the money, machinery, weapons, and methods for exploiting nature, producing goods, and subduing men, we must continue to maintain the premier position. In harmony with the findings of biology and psychology, the other races being inferior, and possessing no capacity for sustaining or evolving a higher civilization, they must be used to enable us to rise yet higher. All this is but in harmony with what Stoddard

calls the "Iron Law of Inequality." It is pointed out that this can be done without inflicting as much injury on the inferior races as we now do on the white drudges of our great cities.

These suggestions would appear utterly godless were it not for the fact that to pursue the suicide of western civilization under the "leadership of idealists and philanthropic doctrinaires, aided and abetted by the . . . captains of industry" can be portrayed as far more godless still. Furthermore, the complete sympathy of the whole white race is with the endeavour to conserve all that has been won in the past. It is easy therefore to accept expedients here.

The point chiefly to be noted, however, is that this will result in nothing less than a challenge to the very existence of all the foreign missionary work of all the missionary societies of Europe and America. An increasing weight of scholarship is being massed on the lines indicated above, Writers who cannot be accused of intentional exaggeration, or insincerity, or loose thinking are even now storming the key position of the missionary movement. Trained men who have been engaged in racial research are now publishing conclusions that are certain to compel their readers to reconsider their attitude towards the activities of the missionary societies among the backward peoples. The very morality and Christianity of missions is displayed in a new light. Unless the apologetic for missions can be as convincingly stated in answer to the new racial position, then the day is near when missionary work will have to be continued in face of determined hostility offered by the informed judgment of white men, and by the support only of the uninformed. The greatest problem of humanity in this age or any other has emerged. There will be no safety to civilization till it has been solved, whether we like to think so or not. The method under discussion is nothing less than the claim that the march of world events has invalidated the religion of Jesus; the universal application of the doctrine of the Cross has already become out of date. Such is the logic of the position now advanced.

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Two or three lines of reply might be offered. This difficulty cannot be discussed as if the coloured races had as yet made no contact with European civilization. In his *Christianity and Race Problems* J. H. Oldham points out that the intelligence tests above referred to have hardly been applied to the Japanese. They, however, are across the colour line. They would appear to possess some definite natural qualifications of a high order. In a remarkably short period they have absorbed much of our Western culture, and have displayed a marked aptitude for politics, commerce, industry and war as known to white men. In the present state of the Western world a united white race is a tall proposition. But if a united white race were now to face the rest of the world determined at all costs to keep in its absolute control all the capital, culture, and mechanical genius, at the stage now reached, that policy would most certainly not lead us to the end that is sought. Mere repression, however disguised, would stimulate the union of the coloured races; it would inflame hatred, it would sharpen the unknown possibilities of the yellow race for chemistry, and engineering, and organization, and do it at once; it would hasten the conflict it is so desirable if possible to avoid; and the peril would be even greater than it is now, for it would rob all of the opportunity for considering this grave matter patiently and without heat. It is surely competent to quote Stoddard in confirmation of this when he writes:

“The Afro-American author, W. E. Burghardt Dubois wrote of the coloured world: ‘These nations and races, composing as they do a vast majority of humanity, are going to endure this treatment just as long as they must and not a moment longer. Then they are going to fight, and the War of the Colour Line will outdo in savage inhumanity any War this world has yet seen. For coloured folk have much to remember and they will not forget,’” (*Rising Tide of Colour*, p. 14).

Repression, direct or indirect, is no solution. Assuming, however, that for once in the world's history repression brought no revenge on the line suggested, that is not the

end of the matter. Ignorance is no handmaid of the Kingdom of God. To ignore the results of research, biological, psychological, and economic, in this grave racial issue would be unpardonable folly. White men may be forgiven for feeling strongly that world welfare is safer in their keeping than in the keeping of any other race. White men who are careless about keeping our racial inheritance safe now, and handing it down to our children both better and safer for the future, such men fill us with disgust. This priceless heritage may be forfeited, however, in another way than by mistaken enthusiasms about the brotherhood of man. Let the Missionary Societies withdraw their agents from their Stations in China, and India, and Africa. Let the people in the homelands of the white race cease being pestered with challenges to serve the cause of Christ in the dark and distant places of the earth. At the bidding of expediency insist that all appeals for the peoples that walk in darkness come to an end. Drop the call to sacrifice in the spirit of Calvary. Alongside this change continue to put more emphasis on the preservation of European science and art, and the pursuit of knowledge and discovery and invention. And the moral paradox would apply. The backward peoples would undoubtedly suffer, temporarily, at any rate. But the greatest sufferer would be the white race. A lower moral and spiritual atmosphere would soon prevail. Despite all artificial methods of cultivation that might be introduced the grandeurs of our priceless racial heritage would recede like tropical and temperate vegetation before the invasion of an ice age. Western civilization is deplorable enough now in some of its manifestations. It would be more lamentable still if the highest and hardest moral and spiritual challenges and appeals were silenced by modifying the call of Christ to suit a particular solution of the greatest problem.

It becomes, then, a question of civilization committing suicide in one of two ways; at least, that may be the implication. The decline and debase may come associated with all manner of corruption and selfishness born of knowing

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the light and failing to follow, until the light within has become darkness, when the civilization it is desired to conserve will go out in shame and confusion, as it would deserve to do. The moral and spiritual atmosphere can be artificially lowered until the white race becomes utterly unequal to the demands imposed by the civilization it has evolved, and so it goes the way that other races before have gone. Such may be called the more ignoble and unworthy path to downfall and extinction, if these ends are to ensue.

The risk cannot anyhow now be escaped. But if the white race is ever to suffer eclipse it surely were far better that its decline be with trailing clouds of glory, giving all it has, and knows, and is, gladly and sacrificially for the uplift of men, who, whatever the colour of skin, it knows as children of the great Father, and brethren in Christ Jesus.

The ultimate solution of this problem is not in sight. It is impossible to predict exactly how that solution will be arrived at. But to offer or to accept suggestions that do violence to the religion of Jesus as now interpreted in reference to the coloured races is a deplorable trifling with the spiritual realities written across the history of civilization. It may be risky to pay insufficient attention to the implications of biology, and psychology, and economics for race relationships. But the greatest risk of all would be to defy the spiritual wisdom enshrined in the life and death of the world's Redeemer.

The Cultural Possibilities of the Negro and Bantu.

BY THE REV. J. W. PRICE.

A LITTLE to the south of England, but almost at her doors, lies the huge continent of Africa, the home of a hundred million people, mainly Negro and Bantu—a branch of the Negro race with some Semitic or Hamitic mixture. We know a great deal about these people nowadays, even those in the heart of the continent. It seems almost incredible that there still live natives in the middle of Africa, who knew David Livingstone during the period of his earlier explorations, so much has been done since his day to open the dark continent to the light. Patiently and carefully men and women living among them have noted the daily habits of these people, learned their language, searched their thought, made acquaintance with their philosophy of life as shewn in proverb and folk-tale, their conceptions of God, their theory and habit of worship. We have shuddered at the tales of things done by them in old time, the time of the narrator's boy-hood, before the coming of the white man's law, when trials for witchcraft, cruel funeral ceremonies, the raiding of the weak by the strong and the carrying away of many into slavery, were common. We have loathed them for their sexual practices, and loved them for their merry laughter and, again and again, for their simple devotion and friendship. We have laughed with them, exchanging jokes in their own beautiful tongue; we have mourned with them and they with us, they strengthening our hearts as we have theirs. And whether playing with or teaching the children, standing

chaffing with the women, sitting chatting with the old man under the eaves of his hut, what we have felt most has been not their difference from us, but their likeness to us.

“Oh, East is East, and West is West.”

Aye, indeed, but below all the differences there lie the unities, and the feeling grows that the unities are fundamental, the differences in the main comparatively superficial. Some differences in outlook, in thought regarding material phenomena, are easily explained. “What, do you mean to say that those stars are not fastened on to anything?” Well now, how else should he think of these things, with his limited knowledge? If a late President of the Transvaal Republic held to the conception that the earth is flat, if some white budding school teachers of the south will not believe that the earth is round, why consider it strange in the native to explain the movement of the sun by saying that he creeps back over the tops of the trees at night so as to start in the east again next morning?

But whether one emphasizes the unities or the differences, again and again the question arises in one's mind: What has the future in store for these people? What capacity have they lying dormant for taking their place alongside other peoples on equal terms? How much of modern culture can they assimilate, how far modernise the habit of their life? Inhabiting, as they do, the middle land of the world, vast tracts now made habitable for other races through the progress of medical science, that question may soon rise to tremendous importance. There are problems concerning these people to be met now, problems looking to the future, and very wide differences in the solutions offered. France is ready to make Frenchmen of her Africans. In Morocco, French and Moroccan private soldiers live side by side on equal terms. In her colonies and in those belonging to Belgium, the colour bar is scarcely recognised, colour prejudice scarcely felt. But step over the Congo border into Rhodesia and proceed south. “No equality of white and black in Church or State,” said the constitution of the old Transvaal Republic, and that

spirit still dominates South Africa. "Thou shalt not aspire to a white man's job," says the white workman to the half-caste, his own flesh and blood, as well as to the native. "Shame," we cry, too readily on knowledge of only half the facts. The call is to thought, Copec's call to face world problems on high levels—world problems that have become intimately ours, administrative problems abroad that have become bread and butter problems in English towns, and that concern our very existence as a front-rank nation, moral and spiritual problems to be thought out in terms of economics. Our problem in this paper is one of many that it is high time we got the teeth of our mind into, that of Negro and Bantu possibilities.

We have spoken of the Negro and Bantu peoples as if they were one. In Ethnology, we are told, the only intelligible definition of a Muntu is a full-blood or half-blood Negro of Bantu speech. Sir Harry Johnston says that if we took a Negro from the Gold Coast and passed him off among a crowd of Nyassa natives, Bantu folk on the other side of the continent and hundreds of miles south, and he were not remarkably distinguished from them by dress or tribal marks, it would not be easy to pick him out. As to the Bantu themselves, the race of whom the writer has first hand knowledge—from the Gulf of Guinea down to Cape Colony the land is peopled mainly by this great race. They are divided into tribes, speaking different languages and dialects; but those languages have largely the same structure, and there is considerable over-lapping in vocabulary. Roughly speaking their language, folk-lore, religious beliefs and practices, habits and customs, mentality and general culture are very much the same. Some live in the bush and tsetse fly areas; others on the plains keep cattle and enjoy a milk diet. Some have achieved a degree of tribal organization and unity and become nations; other tribes are but loosely held together. A bolder, freer individualism seems characteristic of one tribe; of its neighbour, an organised people under strong chiefs, greater sense of order and discipline. A higher or more strenuous moral code may have been imposed upon one.

In another from childhood thought runs to sex, often apparently licensed and unrestrained ; and a similar looseness may characterise the tribesman's other moral relationships, he has never lived under the "reign of law" as some have. In arts and handicrafts some are in advance of others, but with very manifest limitations. None had achieved writing ; none had yoked cattle ; none had invented a wheel or a sail. We venture to suggest that, with very little exception, no tribal unit of this extensive race possessed a "kultur" that could not, within a generation, readily be imposed upon, and assimilated by, any other unit. The impact of any outside civilization upon them, for untold years, was scarcely felt by the masses of the people, the fresh blood introduced was infinitesimal in quantity. In the things of deepest significance they constitute a unit, and the problems they raise concerning their development are throughout much the same, like their possibilities, differentiated by the varying degree of their contact with other races, mainly Arab and European.

The low grade of development of these Africans is a well-known fact of great significance that must be still further emphasized. Dr. Keane says: "In all the Negro lands free from foreign influence no true culture has ever been developed. Numberless authorities have described the Negro as unprogressive, or, if left to himself, incapable of progress in his present environment." Sir Harry Johnston thinks "the tendency of the Negro for a thousand years past has been retrograde," and that if left to themselves, "the purely Negroid races might have actually reverted to a type no longer human." The late Dr. Rivers emphasizes the *likelihood* of degeneration in races, loss of the arts, etc., and the Negro peoples were very much "left to themselves" for a very long period. It has been suggested that there may be evidences of retrogression in their religion, and Edwin Smith has said that the language of the Baila appears to be a much finer instrument than the people need at their present stage of development. Dr. Holman Bentley also, writing of the Congo language, was amazed at its "richness, flexibility, exactness, subtlety of idea, nicety of expression,

A language superior to the people themselves, illiterate folk with an elaborate and regular grammatical speech of such subtlety and exactness of idea that its daily use is in itself an education." Perhaps Dr. Keane deepens this impression of a linguistic inheritance richer than the present achievements of the Bantu in other directions seem to account for, by saying that their capacity for progress is more evident than their actual achievement. On the other hand it seems arguable that in the actual degeneration of a people their language would be among the first things to suffer.

But we must not over-rate the significance of Negro stagnation in our endeavour to forecast the Negro's future, and any arrangement we may make to shape that future. The picture of our own British ancestors, as drawn by Julius Cæsar, should give us pause when considering Negro possibilities. Our German ancestors were not very far advanced, judged by Roman, Egyptian, Hindu, or Chinese standards, when the first-named met them. We need to remember the warning of Prof. L. T. Hobhouse when he says: "The peculiar developments of civilised culture are all recent in comparison with the antiquity of man and the differentiation of human types;" also that "races show considerable powers of adaptation" when the necessary stimulus is brought to bear upon them, "and the limits to these powers cannot be determined from any consideration of their history before the stimulus to adaptation occurred." In other words, it is both difficult and dangerous to try to measure beforehand the possibilities of a race; we know so little of fundamental racial differences as yet, and human potentiality is so wide, so uncertain in its re-action to influences from without. We see this plainly enough in individuals. Let us hope, for instance, that budding Napoleons in the future will remain Captains of Engineers, lacking a European or world situation to make them gods—or devils. Many an apparently ordinary man becomes extraordinary through the circumstances in which his lot is cast. We fear that genius sometimes dies unrecognised in

English slums. Back to the racial; we cannot help feeling that a main reason for the Negro's backwardness lies in environment, physical leading to social.

On the too ready assumption of immutable racial differences, Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu, the eminent native South African, recently complained very bitterly that false conclusions are often drawn from "the pseudo-scientific assumptions of a generation now passing," and quoted the following from an article on "First Principles and Heredity" that appeared in a widely read South African weekly: "The difference intellectually between the Negro and the European races is irrevocably fixed by the limitations set by skull formation and heredity. The natural place of the Negro race in South Africa is to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, and until our native policy is based upon the scientific and candid recognition of this fact we shall find no practical solution of the native question." "This is the guiding theory," he says, "followed by many, however amusing it may be to Jean Finot and modern ethnologists and sociologists," and he suggests that even missionaries are influenced far too much by it. Let it be noted that the theory admirably suits not only the general public and private practice of South Africa, but our supposed economic and political necessities as well, and none will be surprised that it is widely held. We venture to think that these cranio-logical theories have been over-stressed, at least in limiting possibilities of development and usefulness, and that the differences between the races are too little understood as yet to allow of such dogmatism. We shall probably find that the races are complementary to each other, and some of us seem to perceive in the despised African, qualities in which he may well stand supreme, or at least equal, to his fellows. Prof. Hobhouse has a footnote on the great racial divisions of Europe which runs as follows:

"In a work of high authority we find it written that the Mediterranean and Alpine races are 'brilliant, quick-witted, excitable and impulsive, sociable and courteous, but fickle, untrustworthy and even treacherous . . . often atro-

ciously cruel. . . . Æsthetic sense highly, ethic slightly, developed, all brave, imaginative, musical, and highly developed intellectually.' The Nordic, on the other hand, are 'earnest, energetic and enterprising, steadfast, solid and stolid, thoughtful and deeply religious, humane, firm but not normally cruel.'"

Prof. Hobhouse asks: "Can we draw any serious scientific and exact conclusion from all this except that the writer is himself of the Nordic race?" Exactly!

Now let us get to closer grips with the question of the influence of environment on racial development. Perhaps few names among students of psychology and cognate subjects carry more weight than that of the late Dr. Rivers, and a chapter in his *Psychology and Politics* has great interest for us just at this point. He says:

"The evidence (from Melanesia) points to advance as taking place only under external stimulus, and to a mode of development in which isolation spells stagnation. It suggests that an isolated people do not invent nor advance, but that the introduction of new ideas, new instruments and new techniques leads to a definite process of evolution, the products of which may differ greatly from either the indigenous or the immigrant constituents, the result of the interaction thus resembling a chemical compound rather than a physical mixture. The study of Melanesian culture suggests that when the newly set up process of evolution has reached a certain pitch it comes to an end, and is followed by a period of stagnation, which endures until some fresh incoming of external influence starts a new period of progress."

In face of this suggestion of Dr. Rivers that nations do not advance in isolation, but that advance takes place only under impulse derived from contact with other nations, let us see where we are. Hobhouse says that the question as to whether primitive peoples will develop if left to themselves, free from the stimulus of rivalry from without, is perhaps unsolved; but he emphasizes the value of security combined with ease and variety of intercourse between distinct centres, and instances ancient Greece. He also says that: "It is highly unscientific to infer from the fact that a people has

not evolved, say, free institutions or the machine industry that it is incapable of acquiring such institutions or such an industry," and that "It is impossible to predict how a people will re-act to a new stimulus on the strength of their past history when that stimulus was absent." Let us look back for a moment on our own history. In the beginning were the British, not much to boast of as ancestors in their manners and customs. Then came the Romans, the Baltic folk, and later the Normans—and the beginning of Modern England. There followed a period of contact with every European culture, and after that the era of globe navigation and world-wide intercourse. During almost the whole period of our known history, at least, we have been subject to the impact, the rivalry and stimulus, of cultures differing in more or less degree from our own, and even physically we are a very mixed folk. Now without further comparison with advanced races let us turn to the Bantu. Walter Page expressed the opinion that the British have now begun to inbreed; the Bantu, spreading to the south over a continent found few to mix with, and these a people inferior to themselves. Century followed century with little or no impulse coming to them from without. With plenty of room to spread in, they hunted, fished, sowed and reaped their corn, and fought among themselves, effectively segregated by geographic position and climatic conditions from any but a few Semites. By-and-by, along the coast, scattered colonies of white men settled; in the main, apart from the far south, climate and the diseases typical of the climate dealt effectively with them. Few penetrated very far, few stayed long. Then the Bantu generally lacked the stimulus of more densely packed communities, where law must develop order, organization become more involved or the people perish. The continent was vast, there was room to spread, and few to oppose the spreading. If the harvest failed or the cattle perished, the rivers teemed with fish, the plains were alive with game, there were roots and fruits in forest and vley on which life could be sustained. Of clothing they were practically independent. When the brief cold of winter nights drew on there was abundance of wood for

fires, or the dung of the cattle at their doors would save them the trouble of fetching wood from the forest—white people of the south use that to-day for fuel where coal is difficult to transport and wood almost non-existent. For covering the skin of an ox or buck sufficed. And so the centuries rolled on, rolling him out his primitive freedom, straight into the glare, and the complexity, and the terrible urge of a world forcibly united by steam and steel, chemicals and oil, and electricity, to the feet of the nations who have conquered earth and sea and air, and in their conquering bound themselves to chariot wheels of their own creation and enslaved themselves to each other.

We submit that whatever innate racial excellencies or defects science and the necessities of a developing situation may prove the Muntu to have, there is much in the conditions of his past life to account for his lack of progress until now.

Turning from the scientific theorists to a man of just practical common-sense, sheer level-headedness, a Benjamin Franklin of his race for shrewdness of judgment, and Franklin's equal in character, listen to what Booker Washington has to say of racial possibilities.

“For my own part it seems a rather unprofitable discussion that seeks to determine in advance the possibilities of any race or class of individuals. In the first place races, like individuals, have different qualities and different capacities for service, and, that being the case, it is part of wisdom to give every individual the opportunity for growth and development. In the second place, it should be remembered that human life and society are so complicated that no one can determine what latent possibilities any individual or any race may possess. It is only through education and experiment in all the different activities and relations of life, that it is possible for a race or an individual to find the place in the common life in which he can be of the greatest value to themselves and the rest of the world. To assume anything else is to deny the value of the free institutions under which we live, and of all the centuries of struggle and effort it has cost to bring them into existence.”

This may leave some questions where it finds them, but at

least it seems to imply Dr. Washington's faith in the ability of his people to stand on their feet and adapt themselves to our system if treated fairly and given time. It also suggests that the Negro may have his own special contribution to make to the sum of the world's knowledge and well-being.

This brings us to the suggestion that the trained psychologist and teacher, with extensive first-hand knowledge of natives, should be able to make as valuable contribution to the discussion of this subject as anyone. Now on this side of our study the outstanding man of South Africa is Dr. Loram, late inspector of schools, now adviser to the Premier of the Union of South Africa in the latter's capacity as Secretary for Native Affairs. In his most interesting book on *The Education of the S. African Native*, Dr. Loram gives a series of tables comparing and contrasting the abilities of white and black children as they have been tested in elementary schools, and then summarizes the results as follows :

1. The native pupil is distinctly inferior to the European, but the inferiority is not so great as has been commonly supposed.

2. He is much slower in his thinking, and in subjects like arithmetic less accurate.

3. In mechanical subjects he approaches more nearly to the white, but is still inferior.

4. There is little difference in sensory or motor processes and the simpler mental activities, but a wide difference in the higher mental processes.

5. The difference between one native child and another is not so great as between Europeans.

Throughout it is emphasized that the native child is slower in his mental processes than the European, a conclusion of importance.

It is to be noted, as Dr. Loram does in part, that the native child is not so well fed as the white, not so well taught, is more irregular in his attendance at school, has to do most of his school work in a language not his own, varies considerably in the age at which he attends school, and that the education code has been slowly evolved by and for white

students, of a different mentality, and not for him. Please note this also: Most of these native children live in their own homes, and return to those homes, to the home atmosphere and the home language, for the greater part of the day. Then they enjoy comparatively little of the white boy's stimulus and encouragement to study, in the way of reward. Openings for educated natives among the southern whites are few, except as ministers and teachers to their own people. Then none need wonder that so few greatly surpass their fellows as yet. For centuries under tribal rule exceptional ability would meet with little encouragement, and might prove dangerous to its possessor; and to-day the bulk of white S. Africa quite frankly doesn't want too many Jabavhus. Of those who are educated away from their homes Hobhouse says, "The education of natives in white institutions is an inadequate test (of racial inequality) because the educated native is taken from his own surroundings and traditions, not growing up among them as the white man is doing." In passing we may add that Dr. Loram, very soundly, as all will agree, urges for the native scholar a special curriculum, based on native psychology and requirements. Only, what are they? And how devise any tests that can adequately compare white with black, even under American conditions?

What guidance, then, for the future may we deduce from the fore-going?

In a very fine article which appeared in *Advance*, March, 1925, Mr. Basil Matthews wrote: "A brilliantly able band of race experts and journalists are building up a stupendous political theory and forecast of the future of the world on the superiority of the Nordic race." The historical foundations of this "stupendous theory" Mr. Matthews characterizes as "flimsy," but they are being widely accepted, and the "assumption" is finding a place in our popular literature—John Buchan, for instance. More inflammable teaching, in so far as it is propagandist, for the day in which we live is scarcely conceivable. Moreover we seem to have heard it before, only then it came from German lips; and nowadays the Germans are beginning to be discounted as less Nordic

than they ought to be. If it succeeds in establishing itself then woe to the racial bottom dog—the Negro. If nations and races are to be graded beforehand as to their possibilities, on the basis of their past achievements, that would be to buttress all the forces of reaction in the government of backward peoples.

But the question of innate and immutable differences between family and racial stocks is too important to be left unsolved, or only partially solved, if a full solution is available. If we assume, with Dr. McDougall, that in Britain the "social ladder" is now so complete and effective, and has been in operation so long, that nearly the whole of Britain's best family stock has already found its way into our upper social strata; and if, having arrived there, they tend to die out; then no wonder Dean Inge tells the ultra-democrat, with his too facile belief in the possibility of unlimited progress for everybody, that he is living in a fool's paradise, or that McDougall says civilization has reversed Nature's way, and substituted the elimination of the fit for the elimination of the unfit. For all the while the numerical balance of the nation is being altered in favour of the stocks less richly endowed, while, on the other hand, the demands upon national intelligence increase as knowledge grows and social relationships become more complex. The writer does not believe that McDougall's social ladder has been nearly so effective as he suggests, but rather, with Walter Page, that there is cruel waste of British brain through lack of opportunity for development. But to point to plebeian stocks of proved capacity, to stress the part that environment has played in cultural development, to declare that even American and English conditions favour only certain qualities, and these not the highest, is to leave the fundamental question still open. We shall be false to the democratic principles we profess, false to the nation to which we are proud to belong, if we wilfully close our eyes to any new light science may win for us. Meanwhile, against certain findings of the eugenicists we urge "Not proven." And on the wider issue, the racial, most emphatically we say that so "tremendous

an assumption," popularly held in South Africa and elsewhere, as that "The difference intellectually between the Negro and the European races is irrevocably fixed by the limitations set by skull formation and heredity," and that "The place of the Negro race in South Africa is to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water" will require to be supported by equally tremendous proof before Governments are justified in basing their native policy upon it. So far as we can see at present, that proof can be obtained only "through education and experiment in all the different activities and relations of life." The great emancipator of the Negro intellect of America has pointed out the main line of advance for us all. So far the magic word is opportunity.

We venture to suggest a step forward in the direction of more thorough study of the Negro and Muntu in his own home environment, and under the conditions of his varying contact with other races. A great deal has been done in the way of fact-collecting; native religion, proverbs, folk tales, customs, beliefs, language, arts and manner of life have been widely tabulated; but the significance of the facts for his further development is another matter. We need students with the best psychological equipment to interpret these facts to us in the light of first-hand contact with the native, who would at the same time carefully and thoroughly test native reaction in every possible way, on every side of his life. These men would sift and co-ordinate the findings of less competent investigators. They would overhaul native education in its matter, method and aim. To them the preacher would turn for guidance in his approach to the native mind. To the various Governments their assistance would be invaluable. One here and there might suffice, perhaps attached to the Training Institutes, but sufficiently free from routine duties to be able to carry on their investigations. Minds capable of carrying forward the work of men like Rivers and McDougall don't grow on every family tree, but the task is one that would mightily appeal to many a brilliant young scholar just commencing his ministry in pulpit or class-room.

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The re-action of the Negro to our civilization has been slow, and he has not always been quickly responsive to the message of our religion. But let us remember how little the masses of these people have felt of the stimulus of any outside culture throughout the centuries. His very slowness may prove his ultimate social salvation ; as Dr. Washington said, his is the only primitive race that has looked the white man in the face and lived. Time may be of the essence of the situation for him, time to adapt himself to so abrupt a transition. Unless compelled to do so we will set no limits to his capacity for development, but give him all the help we can. Eternal life we give him in Jesus Christ, and in so doing, as Western Christianity generally conceives Christ's message in these days, we put at the heart of him a big new impulse to an expanding life here and now. We must also help him on every side of his life ; to the evangelist we must add the teacher, and the teaching must be of the best in method and scope. His education in the initial stages should not be too bookish ; India and Egypt have lessons for us there ; but we must not set limits merely because of possible political complications for ourselves later on. And finally, in spite of the last weighty South African tome with its "Segregation is the magic word," we need, if we are thinking of him and not ourselves merely, to look carefully at any schemes for his further segregation, for geographic and climatic segregation has been his trouble in the centuries past. To hedge him into a garden, however pretty and safe and sufficient in itself, and tell him to be a good little boy and look after his minor necessities of food, clothing and housing, while we see to his wider relationships, or rather prevent him from having any but such as meet our own economic and political necessities, may prove his further undoing rather than his salvation. Not so have virile peoples been made. Something of protection from too violent transitions is necessary, and at least we must secure to him a sufficiency of his land ; but the more Europeans of the best type he can maintain contact with the better for him. The question of his contact with Asiatics, vast and terrifying in its possibilities, we leave.

Thomas Henry Huxley.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR ROBERT MACKINTOSH, D.D.

I.

A HUNDRED years after his birth, Huxley's place is secure among the notable minds of the great Victorian epoch. "I was brought up," he reports,* "in the strictest school of evangelical orthodoxy." But, in a touching and painful letter addressed to Charles Kingsley after the death of Huxley's eldest son, he speaks† of having been "kicked into the world without guide or training," which is hardly the evangelical way, "or with worse than none," which is an almost inexplicable charge—unless it refers to lack of safeguard against sexual temptations; for the letter goes on "I confess to my shame that few men have drunk deeper of all kinds of sin than I." But "happily my course was arrested in time—before I had earned absolute destruction—and for long years I have been slowly and painfully climbing, with many a fall, towards better things" in the strength of (1) Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*; (2) "Science and her methods gave me a resting place independent of authority and tradition," and "thirdly, love opened up to me a view of the sanctity of human nature, and impressed me with a deep sense of responsibility." Trained not without difficulty and struggle, as a doctor in the schools of London, Huxley thought himself fortunate to obtain a naval post, and served during a cruise of several years as ship's surgeon on the "Rattlesnake" Frigate. So Darwin had served, as naturalist,

* *Collected Essays*, V., p. 228.

† *Life* (1900), Vol. I., p. 220. One is deeply grateful to Kingsley for a worthier advocacy of the Christian cause than Huxley usually encountered—though it seems to have made little impression.

during the long journeys of "H.M.S. Beagle;" happily Huxley suffered no such damage to health as Darwin incurred. At Sydney during this period Huxley met his future wife; and love "if not actually at first sight, yet of very rapid growth" soon led to an engagement, "the united ages of the young couple amounting to forty-four years." More than seven anxious years passed before this well-tested love was crowned with the happiest of marriages, whose children and grandchildren still keep the name well in the public eye.

Huxley grew to the full stature of six feet. Though, as far as evidence exists, a pure-bred Englishman, he had an Irish or Celtic look which was noticed by many; perhaps the inference to be drawn is that all the people of our islands are of mixed blood and of pretty much the same general mixture. He had a singularly and even formidably powerful face. This is specially striking in a photograph of 1857 which is given in several editions of the *Life*. Not even this more attractive portrait is exactly good-looking, but it is noticeable and indeed remarkable. One divines great force in reserve. Huxley's family affection was strong through life, and the biographer had at his disposal a wealth of personal as well as of more technical letters. Was it a mistaken filial piety which printed so many parallel narratives and discussions?

Science of course, not medicine, furnished a professional career, if somewhat tardily, to the gifted man. A real genius and an expert in biology—indeed, an all-round master of that science to an extent (we are told) which increasing specialism would hardly permit to-day—as such Huxley possessed the first among many qualifications for greatness. And, being greatly gifted, he viewed his problems broadly and greatly—as if by instinct. I can remember how Edward Caird contrasted him, much to his advantage, with Tyndall, whom he took to be a more dubious figure. If the reminiscence is not too trivial, I might record how Caird—during a statutory walk with the Professor which it was one's pride and one's terror to undergo—told me of meeting Huxley at luncheon, and of Huxley's analysing the

whinings of Caird's dog on the doorstep as "partly due to hunger and partly to disappointed affection." The young undergraduate timidly remarked that "both were good reasons." Said Caird, "a kind of union of the natural and the spiritual." Nothing could have been more characteristic of Caird than this pleasantry, with its touch of seriousness. Caird preached his Idealism on every possible occasion.

II.

But men might have been almost as gifted as Huxley and quite as notable for making new discoveries, without sharing his width of general culture. In that respect he was unmistakeably a rare spirit. One may doubt whether his philosophical views were more profound than the contemporary empiricism of J. S. Mill, which seemed to reiterate the doctrines of Hume, as if Hume had never been convicted—in the great forum of world debate—of reducing both science and ethics to bankruptcy. But at least Huxley read widely for his own pleasure; he took a personal interest in philosophy; he never had to get up this subject for polemical purposes. Early in life—as "a boy," he says—he fell into the hands of Sir Wm. Hamilton. Since he first read "Hamilton's Essay on the Unconditioned"—presumably the celebrated *Edinburgh Review* article of 1829 reprinted in *Discussions in Philosophy*, (1852)—"ontological speculation was a folly to him." And "when Mansel took up Hamilton's argument on the side of orthodoxy(!)* I said he reminded me of nothing so much as the man who is sawing off the sign upon which he is sitting, in Hogarth's picture." And again: "I have champed up all that chaff about the ego and the non-ego, about noumena and phenomena and all the rest of it, too often not to know that in attempting even to think of these questions, the human intellect flounders at once out of its depth." † Here, no doubt, Huxley diverges from Mill who, unless in his acceptance of the formula "relativity of human knowledge," is dogmatist in philosophy rather than agnostic. Similarly Huxley

* Huxley's own ejaculation.

† Quotations from the letter to Kingsley, as above.

diverges from Mill when he borrows from Berkeley, and undercuts materialism by the affirmation that we have equal right to dissolve reality into states of consciousness as to explain reality, with the schools of physical science, in terms of matter. This supposed eirenicon, originally found in a contribution to *Macmillan's Magazine* for June, 1871, on "Bishop Berkeley and the Metaphysics of Sensation," was I fancy, before the mind of Edward Caird, when in lecturing to his class (Jan., 1876) he sharply criticised Huxley, and expounded to us the necessary priority and predominance of mind. After the book on *Hume* (1878) in Morley's "English Men of Letters" series, the biography tells us that Huxley aspired to contribute another volume dealing with Berkeley; but he never found time for this in his crowded life, too frequently beset—in spite of a magnificent constitution—with breakdown in health. He, therefore, had to content himself with reproducing his "Berkeley" article as a supplement to the *Hume* in its reprinted form as Volume VI. of his *Collected Essays*. The great ancient philosophers do not seem to have appealed to Huxley. When his Romanes Lecture goes back to early Greek thought and even to early Indian wisdom in search for pioneers of evolutionary theory, the references are hardly better than padding; they contribute little, if anything, to the argument of the piece. But Descartes, Berkeley, Hume, Kant—the agnostic's Kant—and Herbert Spencer, are familiar to him; and he finds in them successive contributions to the improvement of "psychology." All this may not be profound or powerful thinking; but at any rate it contrasts advantageously with the "ignorant impatience" towards philosophy displayed so often by men of science.

III.

In the next place we observe that Huxley was a controversialist by instinct and a born fighter. This does not mean that he was curmudgeonly or quarrelsome, but that he was fitted for debating, and enjoyed doing the thing which he did so well. It recalls to one the gusto with which the late Canon Driver (most cautious of men) used to expose obscuran-

tist attacks upon Old Testament criticism. Huxley tells us that he loved veracity; and we may believe him; though we feel bound to add that he had no dislike for knocking down persons who stood in the way of what seemed to him the truth. The contrast with Darwin is marked. Darwin shrank from the fray. He confined his great theory within definite limits, as a theory—given certain living organisms—of the origin of distinct species. God might, or may have been, the originator of the few simple living organisms which the theory assumes among its data. In answer to a letter of inquiry, late in his life, Darwin—while still not vetoing natural theology—declared, in regard to revelation, that he personally did not believe we have any proof of such a thing. Huxley did not wait to be cross-questioned. He rushed into the fray; for he loved it. And as one result of this temperamental difference, Huxley became the great public champion of the new theory—mainly Darwin's, though independently submitted to the world with a smaller range of evidence, in friendly alliance and understanding with Darwin, by Alfred Russell Wallace—the theory of natural selection.

It is desirable even to-day that we should make clear to ourselves exactly how the case stood and stands with regard to (1) the probable or proved fact of the evolution of living species, and (2) the subtly ingenious working hypothesis of natural selection as the cause of that evolution. Ideas of evolution were plentiful before Darwin. The air was full of them. Tennyson's *In Memoriam* croons them over in wistful music. Among men of science, Lamarck probably was their most conspicuous champion. He taught that environmental conditions stamped themselves upon the hereditary tissues of living organisms; but he failed to convince cautious minds that the process he outlined was a *vera causa*; and in the absence of any credible theory in terms of natural process, creation remained a scientific as well as a religious affirmation, and direct supernatural causation of each separate species was the hypothesis which held the field. Its claims were not a little strengthened by the fact of the infertility of hybrids. Men of science, therefore, had generally contented themselves

with seeking to trace out the diffusion of species from assumed centres of creation. What Darwin and Wallace did was to exhibit for the first time a web of natural conditions, tending irresistibly towards progressive variation or differentiation of the forms of life, and, incidentally, towards progressive advance. The Malthusian view of human population gave the hint alike to Wallace and to Darwin. They generalized Malthus, or transferred his analysis to the animal and vegetable kingdoms as such. Heredity—a tendency in the seed to vary slightly, anyhow, “casually,” the hereditary qualities; *i.e.*, not necessarily to vary on the average for the better, but just to vary—extreme fertility—limited supplies of food—these few factors taken together inevitably instituted what Darwin’s very title-page of 1859 described as “the struggle for existence.” Organisms which passed the stern test must be of high efficiency, utilizing, so to say cleverly, every new but serviceable variation. By general though not quite universal admission* this analysis amounted to the discovery of a *vera causa* in nature for the evolution of species.

Darwin himself did not think that natural selection in the narrow or precise sense—environment as a test rather than as a cause of variations—explained everything. He admitted something Lamarckian†—inheritance of variations, which in the nature of things would mainly be profitable variations, acquired during the life of the individual parent organisms. This factor has been challenged, and many have set it altogether aside. Even if that extreme Darwinism beyond Darwin’s own positions be mistaken, the evidence tends to show that use-inheritance does not actually account for very much. If it did all that it might conceivably do, we should have to conclude that Darwin failed to realise the huge quantitative importance of such an evolutionary factor as contrasted with the slow and indirect process of weeding out the

* Samuel Butler’s appeal from “Luck” to “Cunning” was a specially noteworthy criticism.

† And at least one other factor tending—in the case of certain forms of life—to speed up the process of evolutionary differentiation and advance, *viz.*, sexual selection.

less fit by means of which "nature," i.e., environment, selects. A further complication has arisen. In full view of this debate, it has still been maintained in certain quarters that natural selection is the correct name for any evolutionary process in which elimination may be supposed to play some part. To persist in ambiguity, after it has been challenged, is slipshod thinking; but when opinions become orthodoxies, they are apt to be enforced with more zeal than intelligence; and it is a point of honour with Darwinians of less independent minds to turn "natural selection" into a dogma.

Nevertheless, to cut a long story short, the scientific world as a whole, and Huxley among others, became convinced that now at last a *vera causa* for the evolution of distinct species by natural process had been discovered; though it would have relieved Huxley's own mind, as definitely proving Natural Selection to be something more than a working hypothesis, if breeders' artificial selection could have established certain true species, the intermating of which resulted in sterile offspring. But if natural selection must still be regarded as a somewhat hypothetical construction of the mechanism of evolution, the fact of evolution was soon definitely established. It was seen that certain species had been evolved; and this implied with overwhelming probability the evolutionary origin of all species—even of the human race.* I do not mean that it has been possible to watch species evolving into distinct existence. If breeders' selection has hitherto failed to create verifiably distinct species, natural selection—or the half-understood processes roughly described as "natural selection"—could hardly succeed within the short space of one or two human generations. The new evidence was palæontological; for at certain points the "gaps in the palæontological record" became rapidly filled up. Huxley's favourite example was the pedigree of the horse. If the biologists had not discovered organic evolution, he says, the palæontologists must have invented the

* Russell Wallace, however, who was a spiritualist, postulated a distinct supernatural intervention at the origination of the human mind. Darwin, of course, followed up his *Origin of Species* with a discussion of the *Descent of Man* from animal forms.

doctrine for themselves. Technically, the "proof" I speak of is no more than an extremely high degree of probability ; but that suffices. It is not seriously thinkable that successive supernatural interventions of deity mimicked a natural process by which a new species gradually arose out of an earlier type.

Against theological and other prejudices, Huxley showed himself the tireless and brilliant advocate of Darwin's views. For their comparatively speedy triumph, almost as much credit is due to Huxley as to Darwin himself. And although Darwin might prefer to fight his own battle upon a narrow front, the establishment of an evolutionary process by natural law throughout the regions of life could not but tell powerfully upon the attitude of the human mind. As a very clever man once expressed it to me, science while not destroying faith in God seems to push God further and further back. With the establishment of evolution as a scientific certainty, God receded in men's thoughts, while nature counted for more ; and the nature men beheld seemed to them red indeed "in tooth and claw"—a scene of unremitting struggle, of war to the knife.

IV.

Huxley, in addition to being a scientific specialist, was not only, at least in some sense, a philosopher ; he was a genuine man of letters. Few representatives either of science or of philosophy have done equal service to the muses. Again and again the lean efficiency of his style passes into positive beauty. That there is little, if any, detachable ornament in his writing is probably a gain for art as well as for science. Detachable ornament is dispensable ornament. It blocks the channels of thought ; it is artificially and self-consciously elegant. At any rate, while Huxley was a powerful popularizer, he produced literature and not mere propaganda, and so made his appeal to the judicious minority as well as to the mob of readers and talkers. When he enters upon anti-orthodox polemic he is always singularly good-natured. He has nothing of the bitterness of a French *esprit fort*, or even

of his friend Leslie Stephen, who never seemed able to get over the damning fact that he had once been a clergyman. ? Yet, while Huxley is not a sneerer—good taste, if nothing else, forbidding that—the conscientious jocularity of his polemical writings is apt to weary the reader. One cannot think that the fun comes off. “They will o-muse me,” the child in Mr. Kipling’s story complains, “and I am not o-mused.” Often we feel similarly in reading Huxley.

V.

One of Huxley’s unexpected activities was his membership of the London School Board—a notable proof of good citizenship. Here among other problems he was brought face to face with the religious difficulty, and defended for the use of the Bible in schools, viewing it not only as an agent of general culture—a window out of vulgar insularity, opening upon distant ages and foreign peoples—but as “a vast residuum* of moral beauty and grandeur.” The Rationalist Press Association is anxious to protect Huxley’s championship of the Bible against misleading interpretations; he defended it simply as the best thing available for the masses of our people! And doubtless it is true that he never perceived any mystic glory in its pages, and might have been glad to exchange it for what he might think safer implements of culture and agencies of moralizing, had such offered themselves. But we must not forget those deeper notes which Huxley sounds. It is his strength that he is alive to the moral beauty of the Old Testament and the New, if it is his weakness to suppose that we can retain the morality of the Bible in separation from its religious faith. He goes further. He would rather send a child to a school “with real religious instruction than to one without it.” † And, when he admits

* Reservoir?

† Quoted in the *Manchester Guardian* for 15th July, 1925. A further statement quoted from Huxley in the same column insisted that “the great mass of the English people . . . wanted to have the children taught the Bible.” This, adds the journalist, “closed the controversy, such as it was.”

that, for our race, the Bible may *always* remain an indispensable means of education, he has given utterance to an estimate which rationalism would do well to ponder, and which rationalists will not easily induce Englishmen to forget. Huxley had no use for the bigots of negation. He would not join forces with the enemies of the Bible. Here once more we find him facing great problems in a great spirit.

VI.

Many years ago Dr. D. M. Ross asked me who I thought was likely to succeed to J. S. Mill as the main bugbear of the Christian apologist. He himself nominated John Morley. A different lot was reserved for that eminent man; and as we look back on the course of things, we may perhaps award to Huxley in his later years of partial leisure, the distinction of having proved himself the foremost assailant of formulated Christian faith.

In that Metaphysical Society which brought together in Debate, as early as 1869, the intellectual elite of London—men of all creeds and men of none*—Huxley coined for himself the new name “agnostic.” It rapidly passed into general use, on the part of agnostics themselves and on the part of critics of agnosticism. Yet the word does not always bear the same shade of meaning. In every case, perhaps, definitive agnosticism contains a hard dogmatic kernel, like that of the metaphysical and theological systems which it despises; but the elements of dogma and denial—of faith and scepticism—may be differently compounded.

We have noted already that Huxley was impressed with the negative side of the philosophy of Hamilton. Herbert Spencer’s *First Principles* (1862) had quoted several pages from Hamilton’s theological colleague Mansel; and yet it remains true that the “agnosticism” of Spencer, as all the world calls it to-day, is manifestly a philosophy of the Absolute. Spencer is extraordinarily well-informed about what he styles “the unknowable.” Under a transparent veil of apparent

* The future historian will probably remark the absence of women.

ignorance, we find asserted (1) the demonstrable existence of one vast Force or Cause behind phenomena, and (2) the demonstrable impossibility of escaping self-contradiction if we try to give definite answers to the ultimate questions raised for us by science and by religion. The credo seems to run as follows:

I know that the unknowable exists.

I don't know what the unknowable is, though I expound it through hundreds of pages.

I know that no one ever will or can know what it is.

Whatever the virtues of this strangely compacted creed may be, it is not conspicuously modest, and is not conspicuously cautious.

Huxley aimed at being more really cautious, and thought that he had proved himself modest in the extreme. His agnosticism was meant to be a systematic suspension of judgment, free from any approach to dogmatism. He is not a materialist—he is an agnostic, knowing nothing of the alleged substance of matter. He recognises that psychical facts cannot be reduced to physiological facts, though he insists upon the dependence of mind upon brain throughout our experience. He is not an atheist—he has not disproved theism. As little is he a theist—no one has proved theism. He is not a Christian again for lack of evidence. He appears much inclined to make the fate of Christianity turn upon what he refers to as the “Gadarene pig affair.” If we think this a strangely inadequate test of so profound a spiritual phenomenon, Huxley retorts that Christianity has been boasting through the centuries of its miracles; that this is one of them; that he thought we might prefer to have the issue raised on a matter of detail rather than in connexion with the alleged resurrection of Jesus. Even when he stands beside the hardly filled-in grave of his first-born son, he thrusts away the hope of immortality as an empty dream. We must not manufacture evidence. We must face facts. Huxley's credo, therefore, runs:

I know with certainty that my own mind exists (at present).

I know, with a very high degree of probability, that there is a world of phenomenal sequences proceeding in unbroken order.

I don't know of anything except phenomenal sequences—mental and physical.

I won't pretend to any unreal knowledge.

I don't know what miracle or marvel may turn up, at any time—I'm an agnostic! (But I do know what I expect).

At point after point, therefore, Huxley labours to be non-committal. Nevertheless, he has committed himself deeply in a certain direction. *He banishes religious belief, once for all, without accepting the intellectual responsibility of saying definitely that the assertions of religion are false.* His agnosticism is a piece of tactics, by means of which he hopes to win a debating victory cheaply. "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ," wrote Cromwell to the General Assembly at Edinburgh, "think it possible that you may be mistaken." Huxley never seriously "thought it possible that he might be mistaken." Even more clearly do we detect the dogmatist in the clothes of the agnostic when he indulges in foolish talk about the limitation of our faculties. Given appropriate experience or appropriate evidence, what reality could be *à priori* inaccessible to a general "faculty" of knowing?

VII.

Huxley supposed that he was done with the claims of Christianity when he had, more or less successfully, discredited the traditional and argumentative evidences revived to-day by Fundamentalism; and Dean Wace and Mr. Gladstone were eager to meet Huxley on the old lines. Their "Impregnable Rock" is "Holy Scripture"—not the appeal of Christ to the conscience. If the early chapters of Genesis are not a piece of accurate science, Huxley cannot see what is left of the Bible's claims to authority. Who is to draw the line between the divine message and the so-called "human element?" And Gladstone and Reusch try to rehabilitate a shadowy scientific minimum of truth in what scholarship recognises as Hebrew remodelling of Babylonian

myths; while Wace declares that Huxley's concessions—especially the admission that *in abstracto* anything is possible—encourage the Dean to believe in the literal possession by devils of the Gadarene swine. His critical and historical reading on Bible themes is creditable to Huxley's industry; but this part of his equipment is too plainly got up *ad hoc*. The use of the story of the Witch of Endor as exhibiting the rise—out of animistic superstitions—of the Hebrew idea of God, is not well considered; it is a characteristic bit of amateur work. Generally he is not so much in search of truth, as in search of sticks to beat supernatural religion withal. He is polemical where he might have been historical. The best apology which can be made for him is that so many distinguished Christian writers helped him to maintain the wrong statement of the questions at issue. Perhaps also Mr. Gladstone's politics and Mr. Gladstone's apologetics helped to discredit one another in Huxley's mind; for he was one of the great multitude who parted company with political Liberalism over Home Rule, casting—with whatever misgivings—the “first conservative vote of his life;” and not only the policy but the too adroit manner of its advocacy helped to manufacture Unionists. Yet Huxley kept a special phial of wrathful contempt for that fervent Christian and fervent Unionist, the Duke of Argyll—an exceedingly able man, with a lecturing manner in controversy which few of his antagonists suffered gladly.

VIII.

The intellectual basis for Huxley's rejection of Christianity was a demand for precise scientific demonstration; restated in terms of ethics, this became a demand for ruthless intellectual honesty. There is much that is attractive in the moral nature of Huxley. He is like a downright school-boy, who—whatever he does—will not “sneak.” And this school-boy nature is excellent raw material for the making of a man and a Christian; but raw material at its best is not ripe wisdom. As R. L. Stevenson's hero cries out, we must not take for

granted that honesty is "as easy as blind man's buff." Politicians and controversialists may be superficially honest without qualifying for the possession of that pearl of great price, the whole deep truth.

Now "veracity" and "justice" are the more austere virtues which Butler insisted upon prefixing to the "favourite" virtues of his day, "benevolence" and "rational self-love;" and it is the austere virtues which transform a merely humanitarian programme into something more absolute and more divine. In a sense Huxley keeps touch with Bishop Butler. His surprising Romanes Lecture upon *Evolution and Ethics*—as against the too glib preaching of an "Ethics of Evolution" which he heard in many quarters—antagonizes the cosmic and the ethical. The cosmic process is struggle, competition, natural selection; the human or ethical process is one of suspended struggle. Just as Huxley's garden on the hill side above the sea contrasted with the downs outside of his wall, so the ethical fellowship of men—in suspending the process of elimination—contrasts with nature.

Several comments fall to be made upon this doctrine. *First*, it is in logical harmony with anti-religious agnosticism. If nature and man are in utter contrast ethically, no room is left for belief in nature's God. *Secondly*; Huxley sees in ethical and social life not merely kindness *versus* cruelty; he also sees the new principle of justice. It is, I think, in no small measure because he attaches an ideal value to justice, that Huxley becomes aware of the essential newness of ethics, when they emerge in the upward struggle of man. Advanced minds at the present hour, for whom "the moral law" is the law of the "herd," and whose humanitarianism largely means the "rights" of "animals," might well go to school with Huxley. But *thirdly*—presumptuous as it must seem to say so—Huxley appears mistaken as an evolutionist in drawing the contrast too sharply. Other eminent men of science dwell much upon modifications, even within the animal world, of the alleged *bellum contra omnes omnium*. They discover two great forms of modification—the group, herd, or pack, and the beginnings or foreshadowings of family life.

And *fourthly*, even as a moralist, has not Huxley exaggerated? Is struggle purely bad? That is the cant of the hour under the rubric of Altruism, when socialists and thoughtless Christians assume, as a thing universally conceded, that altruism is the full and satisfying definition of moral goodness. Rather would it seem that the harder ideal virtues of justice and veracity must be at least equally prominent with the sympathetic virtues, if humanity is to be truly human, and if the ethical process is to be ethical indeed. Whence do these ideal virtues arise? Do they not bear their own clear witness to God?

In view of his antagonizing of nature to ethical life, one feels at times bound to place Huxley very near Positivism. Comtism, in its own way, makes the same point. Man alone is wise and just and good. Nature out of its blindness has somehow thrown up a being endowed with conscious reason and with moral aspirations. It remains for mankind, deserting idle metaphysical (*and scientific*) curiosity, to organize virtue and happiness, while our little moment of human history endures. Huxley turns away* with nausea from these appeals; his veracity could not tolerate deliberate make-believe. Yet it is hard not to trace an element of make-believe in Huxley himself when he assures us that nature—because of its causal regularity—is “exactly just;” talks of a “chess player” who engages us in a fair though formidable game; exaggerates the pungency of remorse in the average wrong-doer, in order to prove that the justice of nature is automatic. Such talk is neither consistent with the position of Huxley; nor yet is it true to the solemn realities of experience. There are moral mysteries in life, deeper than any speculative perplexities; and they cannot be healed slightly. We shall not discover any reign of justice, and assuredly we shall not discover any reign of love, unless it be true that God lives and reigns.

* Admittedly he did not distinguish between Comtism as a recognition of the “human providence,” which very nearly coincides with his own position, and the grosser absurdities of the “worship” of humanity set up by Comte in later life and practised by the extremer section of his followers.

IX.

The rejection of religious faith by so competent and so finely touched a mind as Huxley's raises grave problems for thoughtful Christians. It may not be possible to reach an agreed answer, but we must give such answer—or, for the moment, such hint of an answer—as we can. Huxley affirms that nothing except scientific demonstration warrants certainty. He affirms that scientific verification of God, or of immortality, or of the claims of Christ, is impossible. What can be said in reply?

First: science must drop some of its dogmatism. It must show itself humbler than it has ever yet been. Even the Spencerian forms of Agnosticism might have suggested to Huxley that not one of the special sciences yields complete truth. To science we must add philosophy—a philosophy which is more than the aggregate of special sciences—a philosophy remoulding their results from higher points of view. The nearest approach to this perception in Huxley's own thinking is his Berkeleyanism, which—so far as it is allowed to operate—dissolves reality into fluctuating states of consciousness. Hence it issues in negation, not in the supplementing of partial truth by a deeper insight and a fuller vision. On the other hand, in spite of his parade of agnosticism, Huxley in practice assumes that “science” contains 100 per cent. of truth. To unlearn that prejudice is not scepticism, but intelligent honesty.

Secondly: Apologetics must be humbler than in the past. The traditional apologetic of our fathers—stated *e.g.*, in a Bampton Lecture of the sixties by the powerful if somewhat perverse spirit of J. B. Mozley—claimed to possess a scientific demonstration of the truth of revelation in the miracles with which it was associated. Any such isolated appeal to miracle as the ground of Christian faith is pure rationalism—supra-naturalistic rationalism. And it has been losing ground with Christians, not merely because of its scientific weakness, but because of recognised moral defects. “They greatly err,” writes John McLeod Campbell* “who seek an external

**Nature of the Atonement*, p. 21, ed. v.

evidence of power, instead of an internal evidence of love, in considering the claim of anything to be received as a revelation from God."

Much more deserving of consideration is the plea for rational and demonstrative certainty which comes to us from the school of Hegel, especially through the mediation of more earnest and more Christian minds than the Master's own—such minds as A. M. Fairbairn and E. A. Abbott. Both of these were souls who glowed with an intense flame of devotion. Moral values—if hardly under that name—played as great a part in their interpretation of Christianity as any intellectual reasonings. Yet it would seem that religious truth, when compared with even the partial attainments of science, has its own peculiar uncertainty. McLeod Campbell contrasts* "naked faith in God," supremely illustrated in the dying Christ, with "man's ordinary walking by sight with an unreflecting trust in the stability of things that are, and in that promise for the future which man seems to himself to hear as the voice of the experience of the past; feeling the earth firm under him, and that it will be so to-morrow because it is so to-day." Similarly an apostle testifies regarding the father of the faithful that "*against hope* he believed in hope . . . and therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness." I see no sense in endeavouring to hide the fact that the devil has a good case; only, God has a better. And it would not have served God's purpose with men to overbear them with crudely omnipotent power, or with the scarcely less crude pressure of irresistible logical demonstrations.

If Huxley's reverence for the classical moral wisdom of the Bible, and for the special significance of ethics as human and non-animal, had been allowed by him to throw light upon the inner nature of reality, he might well have continued to check our easy dogmatism by reminding us of the pressure of surrounding mysteries, but he would have freed himself from blank negation. Morality might have led him on to religion; and in Christ he might have discovered, with wonder and with joy, the very presence of God.

**Nature of the Atonement*, p. 38.

X.

Huxley's last message to the world is found in three beautiful lines from some verses by his wife. At his request, there was engraved on his tomb:

“Be not afraid ye waiting hearts that weep,
For still He giveth His beloved sleep,
And if an endless sleep He wills, so best.”

If *He* wills! One Whose wisdom and love may be trusted to the uttermost even in the valley of deep darkness! That is the language of faith—imperfect, stammering faith—faith two thousand years and more out of date—but faith, and not agnosticism; thank God.

James Ward.

BY PROFESSOR ATKINSON LEE, M.A.

I.

JAMES WARD was by birth a Yorkshireman, having been born at Hull in 1843. His father removed to Liverpool, however, in his early years, so that Lancashire may largely claim him also. In his professorial days he believed he could detect the ring of the north-countryman's voice when he heard it. Financial difficulties cut short his school course, but his own great love of nature supplied a large amount of education which was important for his future career. It is said by his friends that a country walk with him was a study in natural history, so keen was his interest in external things, and so scientific his search for causes. After being articled for a while to a firm of architects, he determined to become a Congregationalist minister, and spent six years in training at Spring Hill College, Birmingham. There he took the London M.A., winning the Gold Medal as prizeman in philosophy in 1874. He completed his theological course by a year's study in Germany, where he laid the foundations of that deep knowledge of German philosophy which affected all his thinking. In particular he came under the influence of Lotze, from whose way of thought he never seriously departed. However, when he accepted the call to Emmanuel church at Cambridge—the church, of which later, Dr. Forsyth and Dr. Selbie were pastors—his teaching proved too advanced for half his congregation, particularly (I have heard) on the question of miracle. In consequence he resigned his charge and entered the University. Success there led to a Fellowship

at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he spent the rest of his long life. He was for nearly fifty years a Fellow of Trinity, and for twenty-eight years Professor of Philosophy, and for the whole of this time was engaged, not merely in teaching, but in advancing the bounds of philosophy. His holidays were often spent in the north of Scotland, where he would seek active converse with nature at its wildest, and I once received a message from him when he was travelling in Ireland. His contemporaries at Cambridge included such men, distinguished in various branches of philosophy, as Sidgwick, Keynes, Venn, Johnson, and Sorley; and he had a large number of disciples all over the country, few of whom accepted his teachings without modification, but most of whom felt the impress of his powerful and original mind. In 1919 I found him rejoicing that he had been able to count some twenty philosophical posts which were filled by followers of his.

He began his philosophical career as primarily a psychologist. He lectured upon psychology in Trinity during the 'seventies, though not till 1886 did he put his views together in his famous article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He has explained that this was done in a hurry, in consequence of the ill-health of Croom Robertson, who was first commissioned to write the article; and that he afterwards regretted the act, as it prevented him for thirty years from realizing one of the dreams of his life—the writing of a psychological treatise. Meanwhile he was working at theory of knowledge, which led to the publication in 1899 of his Gifford Lectures on *Naturalism and Agnosticism*. In these, his great knowledge of natural science came into play, as well as his deep interest in metaphysics. It was not till 1911, however, that he produced his most original work, *The Realm of Ends*, a work which expresses his religious beliefs and manifests his concern for the chief human values. In 1922 appeared his *Study of Kant*, a smaller book which gathered together some of his prolonged reflections upon an author who had done much, if not most, to fashion his mode of thought. It was mostly critical and seems to have suffered from his sense of the

shortness of life; for he must have had much more to say about an author whom he had long studied and upon whom he had often lectured. Numerous articles upon philosophical subjects flowed from his pen during the intervals between his books, and some years ago he was contemplating publishing a volume of Notes upon Metaphysics. Whether these, together with some lectures upon educational psychology, will see the light, it is for his executors to say. We cannot have too much from an author whose thoroughness was extraordinary, and who in consequence has published all too little.

A link between his theoretical and his practical interests is to be found in his article upon Herbart in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It is a close-packed summary of Herbart's philosophy, chiefly on the theoretical side, but it does point out the importance of Herbartian theory of education. Education was a matter of deep interest to him, and in the early days of the Day Training College at Cambridge he lent a willing hand. In politics he leaned to the progressive or liberal side, though in his later days he turned to the Labour party to redress the inequalities from which he felt that the working classes suffered. He remained however a good deal of an individualist to the end, being always more interested in persons than in institutions and systems.

II.

When Ward began teaching psychology in the 'seventies, the Association theories of Mill and Bain were still in the ascendant. Mind was supposed to consist of mental elements—impressions or ideas—which were united by a bond called association, whose two laws were those of contiguity and similarity. A supply of faculties—imagination, memory, and so forth—was supposed to explain the different products of such "mental chemistry," and little more was necessary to account for the contents of mind. An excellent example of such psychology is to be found in short compass in Huxley's little book on "Hume" in the English Men of Letters series. Ward's teaching changed all that, though doctrines curiously

like it survived in Bradley's writings at Oxford for a long time. Ward, however, gave the primacy to the active side of the mind, stressed the unity of its functions, and brought physiology in to reinforce the findings of psychology. He would have founded a psycho-physiological laboratory at Cambridge had he been allowed: but this achievement was deferred. Above all, he swept away the old-fashioned associationism, and substituted his doctrine of a continuous field of presentations which are gradually discriminated by the selective influence of attention. This attention is directed primarily to biological success, but in its higher reaches becomes self-directing activity striving for ideal ends.

Such teaching was in general agreement with the new evolutionary theory that was becoming current, but it was more akin to the spirit of Bergson than of Spencer. Indeed, Bergson himself was advised by his own friend Lévy-Bruhl to read Ward's article, and his later writings on Creative Evolution show that he did so to some purpose.* Cambridge students of philosophy absorbed Ward's doctrines, and introduced them into fields where their authorship was unrecognised. Indeed, for a long period, scientific psychology and the Wardian doctrines were in England almost identical. With the rise of experimental psychology his influence did not cease, for he was largely instrumental in founding the organ of that branch of science, the *British Journal of Psychology*. Doubtless, the newest psycho-analysis did not find much encouragement from him. I have heard that he was largely antipathetic to it. Naturally enough, for its methods are far from showing the rigorous demonstration that he loved. But careful work in any branch of psychology he followed assiduously, and largely embodied it in his book, *Psychological Principles*, in 1920.

Passing to the consideration of Ward's theory of knowledge, we have to notice the state of philosophy at the end of the 19th century. Darwinism had achieved its triumph, and the philosopher of evolution was Spencer. At the end of the

*For this and some other facts I am indebted to an article by Prof. W. R. Sorley in the *Cambridge Review*, April 24th, 1925.

century Spencer's *First Principles* was a sort of scientific bible, and the air of Cambridge in particular was full of scientific materialism. Naturalism held sway over the great body of undergraduates, tempered only by some amount of conventional evangelicalism and some stray influences from thinkers like Maurice and Ruskin. The prevalent theory of religion, if such it could be called, was a sort of pious agnosticism. I can well remember the discussions among groups of students in which it seemed taken for granted that naturalism was proven, and that idealism was merely fighting with its back against the wall. It was into this situation that Ward's lectures on *Naturalism and Agnosticism* came like a deliverance. It was seen that a thinker, well versed in natural science and allowing it full scope in its own field, was able to challenge the philosophy supposedly based upon it, and to substitute another of a contrary sort. Ward's attack upon Spencer—for it was nothing less—reversed the whole philosophical and religious position, put Naturalism upon the defence, and established Idealism as logically sound and academically respectable. From that time, till the rise of the New Realism, Idealism as represented by Ward at Cambridge and Bradley at Oxford, dominated English academic thought; and theology has been largely reconstructed under its influence. It is remarkable how little competent criticism has been directed against Ward's positions, and how little they have been shaken by direct attack. Apart from Spencer's own protest at the time I can remember little serious objection to Ward's theses. This is the more remarkable, as Bradley's great work, *Appearance and Reality*, has called forth unending discussion. Probably it is a tribute to the thoroughness of Ward's work, as compared with the more inconclusive, if more stimulating, character of Bradley's. At any rate, Ward's criticism has very largely sunk into contemporary thought, and has prepared the way for newer and more adequate theories of evolution—as creative, emergent, and what not. In Ward's own mind it led to a constructive metaphysics which was embodied in his *Realm of Ends*. The lectures in this book do not form a systematic

whole, but do touch upon many of the ultimate issues of life and thought in a way that for English philosophy, at any rate, was novel. It is true that, as Dr. Dawes Hicks points out, * Ward starts from the traditional English standpoint of the individual consciousness; but few English philosophers have been monadists. Berkeley with his world of spirits comes nearest, no doubt, to this position, but he did not work out the consequences of his point of view with the thoroughness of Ward. The latter had learnt very much from Leibniz, Herbart, and Lotze, and was prepared to interpret the whole universe in terms of spiritual beings, or monads, in all degrees of development. Atoms, stocks, stones, organisms and super-human beings, he understood as complexes of animate beings, the interactions of which constituted the forces of nature and history. History, evolution, the striving for ideal Ends, became the clue to cosmic secrets, and pointed to a supreme End, God, as the creator and goal of the whole scheme. This pluralistic attitude to reality was unfamiliar in English thought till Ward and James naturalized it, but it has been adopted by some philosophers of religion as most satisfactory.†

This leads me to speak of Ward's religious beliefs. A theist he remained to the end, but he did not regard himself as an orthodox Christian, and certainly not as a churchman, and yet, from the evidence of his books, one would have been more likely to call him a Christian than his contemporary Bradley, whom, nevertheless, Prof. A. E. Taylor claims as an English Churchman. An article in the *Hibbert Journal* for January, 1925, gives his latest views. He there seems to be an ultra-modernist as respects dogmas, more interested in ethical results than in churches and institutions, and yet not inclined to say that we need a new religion. The fact seems to be that Nonconformity had got into his bones even though he dispensed with its creeds, and he remained a good deal of a Kantian to the end. That is to say, he was outside the churches yet in profound sympathy with the ethics and

* *Mind*, July, 1925, p. 280.

† Cp. Galloway's *Philosophy of Religion*.

culture of Christendom, and inclined to construct a moral theology of his own. Like Kant too—whom he admired so much, though critically—he seemed to be more interested in nature than in human history, a tendency which led him away from organized religion. Probably in time we shall see him recognised for what he was—a pioneer in religious thought, a defender of the rights of Faith, and an humble and sincere, if not orthodox, man of religion.

III.

A few personal impressions may be desirable. Ward was a tall and spare man, with a lofty forehead and an eagle nose; eyes rather small but active and acute. He came of a long-lived family and for the most part enjoyed good health, broken only twice by serious illness. He suffered a little from weak digestion and occasionally had to postpone a lecture on that account. The same fact probably accounted for occasional fits of depression, which however belied his general outlook on life. As a teacher he was distinctive, seeking rather to provoke thought than to give information, and always inclined to applaud courageous failure rather than easy success. He seemed to take a great deal for granted in his lectures: a knowledge of his *Britannica* article, a general familiarity with the history of philosophy, and more than a nodding acquaintance with Kant. Consequently, he seemed to be tackling new problems in his lectures, thinking aloud as it were, and not paying much regard to sequence. His thought would dart from one point to another, the logical connexion not being obvious to his hearers, though always present to his own mind.

In discussing exercises and essays he was unsparing in his criticisms, yet always eager to approve good work and to encourage personal effort. He was a powerful backer of those whom he believed in, and an equally relentless opponent of those whose views he held to be wrong. The famous duel between himself and Mr. Bradley illustrated his logical ruthlessness, and widened a breach between Oxford and Cam-

bridge philosophy which has perhaps never been filled. He had a preference for the scientific mode of thought which is characteristic of Cambridge, and a suspicion of the speculative and literary method of the Hegelians who dominated Oxford in his time. Though well versed in Hegelian literature he distrusted its dialectic, largely because of its carelessness with the facts of natural science and of psychology. He had an admiration for Bergson and James, though he once characterized the latter as "rather slap-dash." Whilst he was well trained in classical literature, he always seemed to be a modernist, eager to press forward with new solutions rather than to be content with old ones. He thought that historical knowledge was easily acquired, and mainly of value as helpful to better adjustment in the present. In 1900 he was already prepared to abolish compulsory Greek from the first of the Cambridge system of examinations—the Previous—yet in 1919 I found him saying that the religious training colleges should raise their standard of attainment. The roots of his thinking were to be found in a modern philosopher, Leibniz, who is increasingly coming back into favour, and whom he encouraged his students to read and translate. His own philosophy has been described as Leibniz transformed. But his real master was Lotze, whom in his many-sidedness, rich culture and freshness of mind, Ward much resembled.

He was temperamentally a supporter of forward movements, and so encouraged the opening of the universities to women, the advance of democracy, and the opening of careers to talent generally. To young men whom he approved he was a constant source of strength, but he could be a stern critic when he thought it necessary for the recipient's good. His shyness and personal diffidence, together with his scholar's habits, prevented him from appearing in the public eye, but his name constantly appeared in the forefront of humanitarian appeals. Given to a sort of rough humour, he sometimes seemed to be lacking in the lighter forms of mental play; Miss Jones, Head of Girton, once protested against his jokes about Spencer as being "rather heavy."

Visiting him in 1919 I found him alert, cheerful and eager,

at the age of nearly eighty. He discussed educational and political matters with zest, commented upon books with shrewdness, and enquired after old pupils. He said that he had wanted to retire earlier, but was unable in consequence of the lack of a pension—a state of affairs, as injurious to the students as to the teachers, from which the universities are only just emerging. Hearing that I was studying Russian he exclaimed, “Come, that’s plucky! I believe in the Russians—internationalism, brotherhood and all that.” He proceeded to enquire what the Russian language was like and how it compared with the German, and spoke of the need of translations of Russian philosophers. And he characteristically asked me to let him see anything I was doing. But I had not gone to see him for that purpose, but to renew memories, and on leaving him felt that I had seen, perhaps for the last time, one of the country’s foremost thinkers.

The History of Political Philosophy.

BY THE REV. E. B. STORR.

Studies in the History of Political Philosophy before and after Rousseau. BY C. E. VAUGHAN, M.A., Litt.D. (2 Vols.). Published at the University Press, Manchester, and by Longmans, Green & Co.

IN the academic world there must be a small army of men whose influence within a limited area is considerable, and who make valuable contributions to the thought of the age, but who are not visited by Fame or Public Honour. To that class Charles Edwyn Vaughan belonged. His whole life was devoted to the tasks of scholarship—as tutor at Clifton College, as Professor at the modern Universities of South Wales, Durham and Leeds, as University Extension Lecturer, and as author. His professional subject was English Literature, and he wrote copiously on literary topics. But his hobby was Political Philosophy, and it is in this sphere that he did his strongest work. The two volumes before us, though only published this year, were originally written in the last years of the nineteenth century. Afterwards, however, the author came more fully under the spell of Rousseau, and felt his paramount importance in the history of political theory; with the result that he not only collected and edited, with introductions and notes, the whole of Rousseau's political writings, but also recast and rewrote the earlier work under the influence of this conviction. In its final form Rousseau is the unseen pivot around which the action turns. He forms the crest of the hill. In the first volume we climb up to him—in the second volume we descend on the other side. It was Vaughan's original

intention to introduce into the book his conclusions on Rousseau embodied in the independent work above noted; and, had he done so, even at the sacrifice of some of the present matter, it would have given the book a unity which is now partly lacking. A link is missing from the chain—the central link, the most important link. The lack, however, is perhaps more formal than real; for incidentally, and in its relation to the theories of other thinkers, Rousseau's teaching is set forth with sufficient fulness to enable us to appreciate the whole movement of thought.

The author's aim has been to give a sketch of political theory during the last three centuries—the period following the Protestant Reformation, during which the forces then released, modified as they were at the end of the eighteenth century by the shattering explosion of the French Revolution, have been working themselves out in theory and practice. The method adopted has been to take a few of the keenest and most influential thinkers in this sphere and, through them, compared and contrasted with each other and with other thinkers, to trace the gradual development of political theory. Each study contains a lucid analysis of the work of its subject, together with a searching criticism of his ideas, and an indication of his place in the evolution of political philosophy. The author has strong views of his own, and makes no attempt to hide them, but he is scrupulously fair in his dissection, and does not allow the partisan in him to run away with the historian. The book has great expository value, offering competent guidance through the labyrinth of conflicting social theories; but, in its careful sifting and weighing of ideas, its recognition of the vital and true, amid the artificial and outworn, it gives us an independent and worthy contribution to political philosophy. If the book has a fault it is that of wordiness. There is a good deal of repetition. Some measure of repetition is necessary to clearness and impressiveness. It is simply a question of more or less. One gets the impression that the author could have condensed his argument; but if he had done so he might have dimmed that crystal clearness which is one of the shining qualities of the book.

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The central problem of politics, both in theory and in practice, is concerned with the right relation between the individual and the community. The function of the philosopher is to discover what this relation ought to be; that of the statesman to secure it. This would seem to imply that theory goes before practice. Actually it is not so. The two processes are independent of each other, though they exert a mutual influence and tend to converge. The statesman has to secure some sort of working balance between the freedom of the individual and the authority of the government, but the balance may be irrational and immoral. The philosopher has to discover and evaluate the various factors that enter into the problem, and find a solution which does justice to them all, but he may care little whether or not the actual social order conforms to his ideal. Between the two stands the reformer, eager to apply the theories of the thinker to the tasks of statesmanship. It is with the theorists that we are concerned—to watch their increasingly effective efforts to see the problem correctly; for here, as everywhere, philosophy is only sight in four syllables.

It was the Reformation that gave to the central problem of politics its modern form. While primarily religious in its character the Reformation embodied principles which had far wider applications than were appreciated by the earliest reformers. At the heart of it lay the right of private judgment—the principle of individual liberty. Now it is impossible to claim freedom of thought and action in matters of religion without soon extending the demand to social and political affairs also. Thus individualism became the ruling idea—the individual was established on the throne as the end and test of all things. During the Stuart and Hanoverian periods this principle has been realising itself in political life—and is still doing so, for it has not come to full fruition yet. The Civil War, the Revolution, the growth of parliamentary power, the successive extensions of the franchise—all are the fruit of the passion for individual freedom.

But how was the principle to find theoretical justification?

A curious idea was flung up to the surface of popular thought—Hooker was the first to give it literary currency—to the effect that all government began in a Contract between rulers and ruled, and that it therefore rested on popular consent. The thinkers caught up the idea and developed it and made it the buttress of their individualist convictions. Closely associated with the idea of Contract, and necessary to it, were the ideas of an original State of Nature and a Law of Nature by which men in that state were governed. This circle of ideas was intended to explain the formation of civil society. Before that men lived in lawless independence—"the State of Nature"—and their actions and relations to each other were determined only by certain native instincts—"the Law that is written on the heart." From this original condition they emerged by mutual agreement in order to secure by co-operation certain ends which could not otherwise be secured; and this social contract between each man and the community and between the community and its government is the foundation—historical and ethical—of the Civil State. This theory under various forms held the field in political philosophy until the French Revolution.

It is curious that, although the idea of Contract was framed in the interests of individual liberty and naturally belongs to that school of thought, it was first developed by Hobbes in the interest of autocracy. Hobbes pictures the State of Nature as a state of war and unutterable misery. Man, casting about for a way of escape from this nightmare of wretchedness and terror, recognises it in some common understanding with his fellow-sufferers. But since he is naturally unsuited to social life—fierce and selfish—it is necessary that he should place himself under the power of some government—it may be of one man or of an assembly of men: for only by the sword can he be saved from falling again into that hell of anarchy from which the Contract is to deliver him. Hobbes' Civil State is one of absolute despotism on the one hand and of abject slavery on the other; to which criticism of his theory he replies that such is the only alternative to the intolerable evil State of Nature. The

Contract, once made, is eternally inviolable. Vaughan has no difficulty in showing that this theory is inconsistent with itself and with the facts of history and of human nature. It was created as a buttress to the crumbling walls of autocracy; and, brilliant and subtle as it was, it really contributed nothing permanent to the growth of political philosophy.

Spinoza is the next great figure—"the first of the moderns." Unlike Hobbes he writes without passion, relentlessly applying his root principle everywhere and accepting the consequences however unpalatable. The State of Nature was not, as Hobbes pictured it, one of war, but one of distrust and weakness, and man's motive in abandoning it to form a civil society was the desire for a wider freedom. Spinoza finds a place for different types of government, his own preference being for democracy, though in practice his theory would more naturally work out to some form of autocracy. The idea which guides him in all his dialectical travels, and to which he maintains a loyalty that is heroic, is that of the identity of "rights" and "powers." Whatever we can we may. The doctrine, in its application to politics, is saved from being a worship of brute force by the recognition of other forces than material ones. Nevertheless, however safeguarded, that is its logical result. Spinoza rules out the idea of duty, both from ethics and politics. The only motive he recognises is that of self-interest. He was the father of the utilitarians, applying their principle of "expediency" with remarkable consistency and boldness. A man of noble character, the end he sought in social life was morally lofty; but he thought it could be reached by nice calculations of personal advantage without any consideration of what ought to be. Though his system is open to attack on many sides, and as a whole is utterly impracticable, he struck some paths of fruitful research. Neglected by the generations immediately following, he is now receiving more generous recognition as a pathfinder in political philosophy.

With Locke we reach the central figure of seventeenth century political speculation. The frame of his system is the same as that of Hobbes, but the picture he puts in it is

very different. In the State of Nature man lived an Arcadian life—"a life of peace, good-will, mutual assistance and preservation." It is somewhat difficult to understand why he should seek to leave such a paradise for a civil state which in most respects seems a lower and less worthy condition. Locke finds reasons, but they are scarcely convincing. The important point to note is that a civil society can be created only by the formal and active "consent" of those who enter into it. And when it has been created its powers are very limited. To safeguard property and liberty, with the emphasis on the former—that is the sole function of the State. Locke's theory is one of stark individualism. The State can do nothing for the individual either morally or intellectually. It merely acts the part of a policeman, preventing one man from trespassing on the preserves of another, but with no right to interfere with him in any other respect. The only kind of government that will fit into Locke's scheme is a democracy, and it is government in little more than name, being shorn of its dignity and moral authority. Locke's influence in both hemispheres was for two centuries astonishingly great. In this country it was chiefly negative, restraining the community from interfering with what were regarded as individual rights and interests; and thus it really became a cloak for the tyranny of the rich. In France, on the other hand, it was revolutionary, for its individualism was the strongest lever against that tyranny.

With the next two thinkers we pass into a new atmosphere. Vico and Montesquieu are coupled together because, although they wrote independently of each other and each made a distinctive contribution to thought, they moved on the same plane. Together they did something to lift political philosophy out of the desert of abstraction in which it had wandered, and to bring it into touch with concrete realities. They went to history for their facts. Whereas Hobbes and Locke had built upon the purely imaginary basis of a State of Nature prior to communal life, and a formal Contract initiating it, these two endeavoured to trace the actual course of social evolution. Vico showed that the Family was the

first social institution, and that Religion was the most powerful force in its development. The family grew, partly by the inclusion within it of an alien element drawn from the ranks of the lawless vagrants. They formed an inferior class, suffering material, moral and political disabilities. When the State, as we know it, was formed by the union of many families there were in it already two distinct classes—patricians and plebeians; and subsequent history has consisted mainly of the struggle between them, the unprivileged class trying persistently to win for itself the rights that belonged only to the privileged. Vico is the pioneer of the historical method, and finds the evolutionary force in Divine Providence acting through the ordinary instincts and impulses of men. Montesquieu struck a blow at abstract rights and abstract expediency in his doctrine that “all law is relation.” He showed the influence of natural conditions, of government and of religion, in moulding social and political life. He was the bitter opponent of despotism, but conservative by nature and opposed to change. His contemporaries received his doctrine of relativity coolly; and at the Revolution his writings were the inspiration not of its champions but of its opponents. He did the great service of showing that the present is linked with, and grows out of, the past. With Vico he shares the glory of being the founder of the philosophy of history.

Hume continued, but from very different metaphysical assumptions, the work of Spinoza. It was the last and most brilliant attempt to found political theory on “expediency.” As it was off the main line of the evolution of thought we need not linger in this school.

The French Revolution gave a new direction to political thought. It was the apotheosis of individualism. It was the “Rights of Man” in splendid and terrible demonstration. And in its blaze of triumph it perished. The inevitable reaction came, and Burke was its earliest prophet. He took up the weapons of Montesquieu, and went to the very extreme of conservatism. Rousseau’s message had been “Man is only man in society.” Burke makes that his starting-point.

There is no such being as the pure individual. Abstract rights may or may not exist; but they have no actual importance for they must always be judged by the principle of expediency, which to Burke means the good of the community. He had a firm grasp of the organic character of society and the dependence of the present on the past; but he never reached the conception of progress. The consequence was that he stood rooted in the present. His horror at the Revolution made him the upholder of things as they were; for all the elements in social life were so blended to form the whole that any altering of the equilibrium was dangerous, and it was better to bear existing ills than risk greater.

In modern philosophy in all its branches it is the German thinkers who have led the way. So now it is the speculations of Kant, Fichte and Hegel that claim our attention. Kant laid the foundations of modern idealism. Fichte is interesting because his successive books are a reflection in theory of the stages of development in contemporary history. He passes from that individualism which was the inspiration of the Revolution, through a kind of Socialism, to a rigid view of the supremacy of the State. But Hegel is the dominating figure. His great contribution is the application of evolution to political theory. History is the theatre in which the "Idea"—that of Freedom—is realizing itself. Progress is continuous—not necessarily in any one nation or class, but in humanity as a whole. And it comes not so much through the efforts of individuals as through the radical instincts of human nature. The "idea" is within, and through all the changes in the life of humanity it is surely coming to fuller expression. Comte we may pass with a mere mention, as his application of the Positive Philosophy to sociology leaves the highway of thought for a byway that loses itself in the barren wilderness.

The last, and in Vaughan's judgment evidently the greatest, figure in this series is the man who combined the profound meditations of the philosopher with the self-sacrificing efforts of the reformer—Mazzini. His achievement was to find the

happy mean between the French individualism and the German worship of the State, to secure at once the reality and sovereignty of the community, and a worthy sphere of free action for the individual. He builds on Hegel's theory of "progress," but attaches more importance to "reason" as the impelling force. To the German thinker evolution is largely automatic, working through the unconscious instincts of man, whereas the Italian finds the secret rather in the conscious efforts of men. No doubt each view is the corrective and supplement of the other, both factors counting; but whether the balance dips on one side, and if so, which may be matter of opinion. (Vaughan inclines to favour Hegel). Mazzini's unique service to social philosophy was his development of the doctrine of "nationality." The ideal of humanity is too vague to command the devotion of men. Nationality is the middle term between the individual and humanity. It is not a final and absolute principle. But at the present stage of social evolution the free development of the national spirit is essential to the true life of humanity. The final conclusion of this masterly review—not explicitly stated, but implicit in the criticisms made—appears to be that, while Rousseau laid the foundations of modern political theory, it is in a blend of Hegel with his speculative power, and of Mazzini with his practical idealism, that we find the answer to the problem which lies at the heart of political philosophy.

Whatever advance may have been made in the realm of practical politics during the last three centuries it is undeniable that a great advance has been made in theory, and some gains are permanent. Thinkers have abandoned the world of the abstract for that of the concrete. The quaint fictions on which Hobbes and Locke built their philosophical structures—a State of Nature and a Contract as the basis and bond of civil society—are as strange to us as the cosmology of the Old Testament. Political theory must have its roots struck in history, and deduction must go hand in hand with induction. Abstraction is a necessary weapon of science, but its use is attended with grave dangers; and, as has frequently happened, the thinker may be moving, with unimpeachable

consistency and flawless logic, in a world of shadows. Again, the exaggerated individualism—the logical offspring of the Reformation—which gripped men's minds up to the end of the eighteenth century has disappeared. The menace of what Dean Inge calls the "god-state" showed for a while on the horizon, but the war went far to shatter that idol. In any satisfactory social theory the two ideas—the individual and the community—must be fused into one; the reality of each must be found in its union with the other. There is no community apart from individuals, and no worthy end for the State which does not include their well-being; there is no individual except as a product and part of a community, and no worthy personal ambition which is not subordinate to the good of the whole. Perhaps the greatest gain of all is the recognition of the impossibility of divorcing politics from morals. "Rights" are the correlatives of "Duties." Rule out the conception of duty and no bond sufficiently powerful remains to initiate and maintain a real community. There is an important place for expediency in political affairs as there is also in ethics. Principles have to be applied to new situations. Action is never in vacuo; it is always relative to certain circumstances. Expediency is the recognition of the various factors of a situation, and the endeavour to give to each its due weight in determining the line of action. But expediency is not an ultimate; there must be some end to guide it, and that end must be a moral ideal. Burke called it the good of the community, Mazzini called it ideas of humanity, justice and religion. Spinoza tried, Hume tried, to find a speculative basis for society from which the word "ought" was rigidly excluded, but they failed; duty, pushed out at the front, was smuggled in again at the back.

The conception of evolution has been revolutionary in all the fields of research, and not least in sociology. The earlier philosophers thought in terms of statics. When Vico turned from the conceits of the imagination to the facts of history he opened the door to Burke and the organic view of society, to Hegel and the idea of progress. We do not seek political perfection in a formula; the social order is ever growing, and reality is found not in being but in becoming.

Editorial Notes.

As this year we celebrate the centenary of Huxley's birth, I have asked Dr. Robert Mackintosh to contribute an estimate of him. All who are acquainted with the author's *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd* will turn to this study with great interest. We are deeply indebted to him for description and criticism so penetrating and yet so fair. The loss of Professor James Ward has taken from us one of our foremost philosophers; and coming so soon after the death of Mr. Bradley, itself not so long preceded by the death of Prof. Bosanquet, it has left British philosophy much poorer in figures of distinction. It was never my good fortune to see Huxley; but I quite remember how popular Christianity linked him with Tyndall as a foremost opponent of the Christian faith. One of my early memories of *Punch* is of the cartoon which represented two open-air defenders of the faith meeting after their Sunday morning efforts; one accosted his colleague with the question where he had been that morning, and in reply to a similar question said that he had been in 'yde Park letting old 'uxley and Tyndall 'ave it 'ot. Bradley, of course, I knew quite well, as he was a fellow of Merton when I was there. His health was very delicate, and he was not infrequently laid aside, or would be away from Oxford. But as the Fellows normally took breakfast, lunch and dinner together, and he was when well enough generally present and came on to Common Room with us after dinner, we saw on the whole a good deal of him. He talked quite freely but very little "shop." At that time the Merton Common Room was singularly rich in men who either were then or have since become eminent in philosophy. Prof. William Wallace, specially famed for his exposition of Hegel, was married and living out of College, but had rooms there and was not infrequently in for lunch or dinner. L. T. Hobhouse, who has made a great name for himself in philosophy, sociology, and politics was there most of my time. J. Burnet was a year my senior, and soon went north again as Professor to St. Andrews. The first edition of his *Early Greek Philosophy*

came out when he was five-and-twenty. H. H. Joachim, now Wykeham Professor of Logic at Oxford, and well known for his *Study of the Ethics of Spinoza*, *The Nature of Truth* and his Aristotelian work, was elected at the same time that I was, while A. E. Taylor, who has in succession been Professor at McGill, St. Andrew's and Edinburgh, and whose range of learning is quite amazing, was elected in the following year. Bradley's greatness was fully recognised by his colleagues. At that time he had published simply his *Ethical Studies* and *The Principles of Logic*. We knew that the great book subsequently published under the title, *Appearance and Reality*, was on the way. He had entrusted a preliminary draft of it to the present Warden of Merton College in case he never lived to complete it. Not only did he live to complete it, to issue a new edition of his *Principles of Logic* with extensive and important additions, and to publish a notable volume of essays, but he lived on till he was seventy-eight and then did not die from the disease which had troubled and limited him for so long. In his later years he became much more of a recluse owing to his deafness; but in earlier days he took his full share in conversation. He was deft and acute in argument and pungent in expression. I remember once when Bradley, A. E. Taylor and I were talking, the conversation turned on Liberal Judaism. Probably Mr. Montefiore's *Hibbert Lectures*, which were delivered during that period in Oxford, gave the occasion for it. I tried to explain the position and Taylor agreed, but Bradley insisted with some warmth and even asperity, that Liberal Judaism had no right to be entitled "Judaism" since it was practically identical with Unitarianism. One example of his caustic wit may be given, though I am well aware that those who were unacquainted with its victim must miss a good deal of it. The Warden of Merton at the time was Mr. G. C. Brodrick. He belonged to the English aristocracy, and had fought Randolph Churchill in the cause of Liberalism. He had refused to follow Mr. Gladstone in his Home Rule policy, and came rather prominently before the country in connexion with the Parnell Commission, before which he was cited for contempt of court. The Russell Club which represented rather advanced politics among Oxford undergraduates, had invited speakers of whom he did not approve. At that time the country was horrified by the hideous "Jack the Ripper" outrages; and the Warden said that if the criminal were known he supposed that a certain society in Oxford would invite him to address it. In spite of the vehemence of his opinions, and the self-

righteousness which was all too characteristic of the party at the time, he was a man of very high principles who took life and politics with great seriousness, and did his duty with great conscientiousness. He had had considerable experience, knew large numbers of interesting people, and was an inveterate and untiring talker. He came up to Oxford with his hand bandaged after one vacation. Someone said to Bradley, "What has your Warden been doing with his hand?" Bradley replied: "Oh, I suppose he's been trying to hold his tongue."

The influence which Bradley exercised upon Taylor was not at that time so great as it subsequently became, but it was very marked in his *Problem of Conduct* and his *Elements of Metaphysics*. Later, he moved decisively away from it to a definitely Christian position in a High Anglican form. But he did not lose his reverence and affection for the great Oxford master. Bosanquet was of Bradley's own academic standing, and had beaten him in a contest for a fellowship. But he was profoundly influenced by his *Ethical Studies* and later by his *Principles of Logic*. The opinion was once expressed to me by a great admirer of Bradley, who came subsequently much more under his spell, that the chief service rendered by Bradley's *Logic* had been that it had stimulated Bosanquet to the production of his work. When he republished his *Principles of Logic* Bradley paid warm and generous tribute to the great value of Bosanquet's criticism. I met Bosanquet only once. Not so long before the war, partly in the interests of promoting better relations between England and Germany, and largely on Prof. Herford's initiative, a series of lectures was delivered at the University of Manchester, dealing with various aspects of German intellectual life during the nineteenth century. The volume was published and met with considerable success. It was, I believe, translated into German. A second series was accordingly projected dealing with philosophy, theology and music. Prof. Bosanquet was asked to undertake the lecture on philosophy, and I was entrusted with that on theology. The lectures were supposed to be addressed to popular audiences, and it was accordingly with some amusement that I heard Prof. Bosanquet say in the course of his lecture, "If for a moment I may be popular." He quickly recovered from this temporary relapse.

The only occasion on which I saw James Ward was when he came to Manchester to deliver the Adamson Lecture. It was naturally a very impressive deliverance, and Prof. Alexander, whose own position was different, spoke almost with reverence of the lecturer at

the end. I am very glad that my colleague, Prof. Lee, himself a pupil of Ward's, who speaks out of a more intimate familiarity and a deeper reverence, has enriched our pages by a sketch and estimate of his old master at once so sympathetic and so competent.

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A short time ago I called attention to Schweitzer's account of his medical mission work in Africa. I wish now to mention the publication of a translation which, though belated, is very welcome. I have more than once expressed my surprise and regret that British scholars who talked and wrote about Schweitzer and the eschatological theory knew it only from his large work, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, which in its English form bears the title, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. It seemed to me unfortunate that the author's *Die Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimniss*, had apparently not been read. Naturally it was not unknown, because Schweitzer gives it prominence in his later work. Wellhausen, in fact, said that it was only modesty which prevented the author from giving it the title, *From Reimarus to Schweitzer* instead of *From Reimarus to Wrede*. I am not sure that this was quite just. *From Reimarus to J. Weiss* would have represented pretty adequately the position if the development of the subject from starting-point to goal had been intended. But the proper names were meant to stand as the opening and close of a *chronological* period; and the first edition of J. Weiss's *Jesus Predigt vom Reiche Gottes* appeared nine years before 1901, the date at which Wrede's and Schweitzer's own earlier work were published. The first chapter of Jülicher's *Neue Linien* bears the sarcastic title, "The Epoch 1901." It was, in fact, a striking coincidence that the same date should see the publication, under remarkably similar titles, of the two works with entirely different tendencies, both equally opposed to the German Liberal reconstruction of the career of Jesus and the interpretation of its significance. For it was Schweitzer's conviction that the reconstruction of the career of Jesus and the view of its significance proposed by the Liberal Protestant critics of Germany had hopelessly broken down. He wrote his large work, not simply to give an objective record of investigation during the period which he covered, but to point his controversial moral that the whole course of the debate had led up to the conclusion that all mediating solutions must be set aside, and that the only real alternatives were a scepticism as radical as Wrede's, or an eschatological theory as extreme

as his own. One of his "hard sayings," indeed, is that truth always lies in extreme positions. To me this is most uncongenial doctrine. Precisely the contrary position that truth never lies in extremes would, I believe, be far more accurate, though I should hesitate to commit myself to such a principle. The *Quest* is a remarkable monument of erudition and the brilliance of its style, as well as the interest of its matter, make it very fascinating reading. But it is history with a purpose and must always be read with that caution in mind. The English reader was at a disadvantage in that he had to piece together the author's own view from what was said up and down in the course of the book. The German reader on the contrary had a double advantage. For one thing he had the books of which Schweitzer wrote at his hand; and although much of the out-of-the-way literature may have been unfamiliar, he was acquainted with the main stream of the discussion. In particular he had the first edition of J. Weiss's little book; and the eschatological problem was no novel subject. His second advantage was that he had Schweitzer's own earlier book before him. In it there is given a statement of the author's own theory, compact but sufficiently full. He could read the larger work with far more intelligent interest and sense of its direction, because he knew from the beginning the goal towards which the history was moving. It would, therefore, have been a real boon to the English student if the earlier book could have been quickly put into the English reader's hands. Dr. Sanday had created a big boom in eschatology and a translation would have found a very ready sale. This was realised in America by Dr. Walter Lowrie, who translated it under the title *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God: the Secret of Jesus' Messiahship and Passion*. The translation was made in 1913 and the volume appeared in America early in 1914. It has now been published by Messrs A. & C. Black at the price of 6s., with a long introduction by the translator. I am not sure that the English reader will quite understand the real circumstances of its origin. It is explained that it was a second part of a treatise on the Last Supper; but it is not added that the original work was to consist of three parts, the third being intended as a discussion of the Lord's Supper in primitive and early Christianity, in order to show how the Roman Mass and the Greek Mystery developed from it with the same justification and necessity. The second part is no doubt capable of being isolated, but in the author's mind it was a section of a more comprehensive work. It is unfortunate that the third

part, promised for 1902, has never appeared. It is only too characteristic of the author, for the connected sketch of the Pauline Theology promised in his *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung* has also failed to put in an appearance, though we hear that it is near completion. But while we bewail his failure to fulfil his engagements, we may be grateful that at last the English reader is in possession of an English version of his own statement of the eschatological theory.

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In this connexion I wish to call attention to another translation for which I feel a special responsibility since I urged the publishers to undertake it. This is the rendering of Harnack's *Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments*, which has been translated by Mr. J. R. Wilkinson, and published in *The Crown Theological Library*, by Messrs. Williams and Norgate under the title *The Origin of the New Testament and the Most Important Consequences of the New Creation*. It belongs to the series of "Beiträge" which open with his famous volume on *Luke the Physician*, and of which five volumes have already been translated in the Crown Theological Library. The subject of the Canon of the New Testament has come off rather badly in British literature. Westcott's well-known volume was too largely concerned with the question of the external evidence to the authenticity of individual books, and far too little with the problems of the origin of the Canon, and the reasons which led to its compilation and why it took the precise form that it did. In other words the real problems were sadly to seek. Gregory's *Canon and Text of the New Testament* was in many respects a most disappointing book, though he did bring out very impressively not simply the actual evidence, but how much the evidence implied. Souter's volume was more notable for its discussion of the Text, on which he is a distinguished authority; but he added a useful collection of documents to his discussion of the Canon. One of the most satisfactory statements was that given by Jülicher in his Introduction to the New Testament. Harnack's interest in the problem, as in so many others, goes far back in his career. Zahn published a very large history characterised by immense learning. It was written from a very conservative standpoint, and Harnack was driven to criticise it with much severity in a pamphlet which still repays perusal. He was reluctant to appear in the lists against Zahn because, with Gebhardt, they had collaborated in an important edition of the Apostolic Fathers. Zahn replied; and the

discussion was conducted with so much warmth on both sides that it made a breach between them, though Harnack has often spoken of Zahn's work with appreciation. The present volume contains an appendix stating and criticising Zahn's position, not only as set forth at length in his great history, but as summarised in his *Outline*. Harnack says that he does not want to revive the old controversy which had generated too much heat. At the same time, he does criticise Zahn's exposition of his views with considerable severity. Apart from his contribution to this debate, he had written on the subject in his *History of Dogma*, and on some aspects of it in his *Reden und Aufsätze*. But his present work carries the subject forward. Not only is it a good deal fuller, but it states the problems in a clearer and sharper form. Its special value, indeed, has seemed to me, from the time I first made its acquaintance, to lie just at this point, and Harnack is, I think, justified in saying, after he has stated the five great historical problems which he proposes to discuss, that it would perhaps be expedient if they were taken as the basis of future attempts to write the history of the New Testament Canon. The problems may be summarised as follows. (1) Why were the Christians not content with the Old Testament, or with a Christian edition of it? or why, if they must have a sacred book of their own did they not drop the Old Testament and thus save themselves from the embarrassment of two collections? (2) Why was the New Testament not limited simply to the Gospels? (3) Why does it contain four Gospels and not one merely? (4) Why has only one Book of Revelation been able to maintain its position in the New Testament? Why were there not several books of this class or—none at all? (5) Was the New Testament created with conscious intention? And how did it come about that the Churches succeeded in forming a New Testament accepted by all, although at that time the individual communities or the Churches of individual provinces, were independent and the Church as a unity existed only in idea. The freshness with which the subject is handled will come as a surprise to many readers; what will surprise no one is the combination of erudition, resourcefulness and skill in combination which characterises all the distinguished author's work. And much that is valuable is just dropped incidentally. A striking example of the author's originality and his sense of strategic points in the development is to be found in his representation of the Acts of the Apostles as, so to speak, the keystone of the new structure. The book is one

which will repay thorough study even though it may not always command agreement. I hope that it will be widely read by New Testament students. The stupid prejudice against the Biblical literature of Germany ought by this time to have disappeared, and it is most important alike in the interests of our own studies and happier international relationships that it should maintain its old position amongst us. It is accordingly desirable that the enterprise of publishers in rendering such works as those of Harnack and Schweitzer accessible to English readers should be adequately rewarded.

I hope in the next number to refer to Prof. Karl Marti, whose death just before he attained the age of seventy, has meant a notable gap in the ranks of our Old Testament scholars.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

Discussions and Notices.

Israel and Babylon. By W. LANSDALL WARDLE, M.A., B.D. Holborn Publishing House. 1925. Pp. xvi., 343. Price 5s.

ONE of the characteristic features of the modern study of the Bible is the extensive and increasing use that is made of the comparative method. We have learnt that it does not stand alone, but that there is a vast mass of literature coming from many countries which can be used to throw light upon the religion of the Old Testament—and, indeed, of the New Testament also. The most fruitful ground for this comparative research during the present century has been the newly discovered and deciphered literature of Babylonia and Assyria, which presents us with a civilization far older than Israel's, in some ways more advanced, and yet on the whole strikingly similar. We recognise to-day that there is a certain unity throughout Western Asia, and that though each race and country has its own peculiarities, yet there is a great deal which all have in common. This unity has been so clearly realised in some quarters that there are scholars who believe that the whole of the civilisation of Palestine—to take no other example—is directly to be traced to Babylonian sources. The early stories of Genesis find parallels in the Babylonian Epic, and Mosaic law has many points of resemblance to Babylonian codes, and as the latter is in each case the older by many centuries, it is not unnatural to suspect that the one is the immediate source of the other.

Professor Wardle has given us a fresh discussion of this whole position, and brings to the task qualifications which, in Great Britain at least, are almost unique. We have thoroughly adequate interpreters of the Old Testament, and we have Assyriologists of the first rank, but it may be doubted whether we have anyone else so competent in both branches of study as is Professor Wardle. He is thus exceptionally well fitted for the task he has undertaken in this new volume. To qualifications based on actual knowledge of

the subject we must add others. Professor Wardle has an open mind, but his freedom of thought is always kept under good control, and his judgments are soundly based. He refuses to be carried away by superficial similarities, nor will he assent to a theory, however attractive, unless he finds good and positive reasons for it. This quality of caution and sanity is an outstanding feature of all his work, and it lends weight to every opinion to which he commits himself.

The truth of this is abundantly manifested in *Israel and Babylon*. The aim of the book is to ascertain as far as possible the extent to which the former was dependent on the latter for its institutions and ideas. He begins with pre-Israelite Palestine, and discusses the evidence afforded by the Tell-el-Amarna documents, and the much-disputed connexion between the "Habiru" and the Hebrews. He reaches the conclusion that the two terms were not interchangeable, but that the races to which they are applied overlapped. Some of the Habiru were absorbed into Israel, but not all; Israel had a mixed origin, and the invaders of the fourteenth century formed only one of several elements in the population. Two very important chapters deal with Babylonian religion and its relation to that of Israel, and it is difficult not to approve very strongly alike of the patient and scholarly care with which Professor Wardle handles his material, and of the steps by which he finally decides that the direct influence of Babylon on Israel was very slight in the sphere of religion. There are, of course, resemblances, especially in the view of the life after death—if life it can be called—but these are not of a kind which compel us to think of direct borrowing, and such features of the religious life of Israel as Prophecy and Monotheism, Professor Wardle believes to have been peculiar products of the Hebrew genius for religion, developed independently of nearly all outside influence.

The argument then passes on to details in which parallels have been noted. Thus Professor Wardle deals with the Creation stories, the narrative of Eden and the Fall, the names of the Antediluvians, the Deluge, the institution of the Sabbath, and even the name of Yahweh Himself. In all these he finds sufficient similarity to suggest that they have a common origin in Israel and Babylonia, but at the same time the differences are more striking than the resemblances, and entirely preclude the possibility of direct borrowing. The same result is reached when the legal codes of Israel and Babylon are compared with one another, and the book concludes with a

general discussion of the Pan-Babylonian theory of Winckler, Jeremias and others, and a general summary of the conclusions already stated.

This brief outline will serve to indicate alike the general scope of the book, and the thoroughness and sobriety with which the author has handled his material. There are—as in all products of the human mind—points which invite criticism. On page 33, for instance, Sennacherib appears to describe Merodach-baladan as a “prop of evil deeds” instead of the more usual rendering “evil devils,” but this may be due to the printer. To the Bibliography (otherwise singularly complete) there should certainly be added R. H. Hall’s *Ancient History of the Near East*, perhaps the best of modern English works on the subject. But these are minor details, and the reader can feel assured that he has before him, in the book as a whole, a comprehensive statement of the facts by a scholar who is familiar with practically all that has been written on them, as well as with the facts themselves. Further he may be satisfied that the author has been scrupulously fair in his presentation of opinions which he does not share, and, finally, that his judgment is thoroughly sound. In short this is perhaps the most useful book that has yet appeared in English on the relations between Israelite and Babylonian thought.

T. H. ROBINSON.

Robert Moffat.*

ON every ground the story of Robert Moffat was well worth telling once more, and the work could not have fallen into more competent hands. Rev. Edwin W. Smith has quite unusual qualifications for a work of the kind. His wide and first-hand knowledge of Africa and African missions fits him to deal with a great African missionary. His position as Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as well as his chief authorship of the translation of the Ila New Testament, give him great advantages in dealing with one who played so distinguished a part in the translation of the Bible into Sechuana. The work has been well done, and will furnish a vivid and worthy portrait of a great Pioneer missionary for a new generation that knows him not. Elderly people still recall the thrill with which they read the

**Robert Moffat*. By EDWIN W. SMITH. Student Christian Movement. Price 5s. net.

marvellous exploits of Robert Moffat among the Bechuana—his loneliness, his hardships and difficulties, the truculent indifference of the people, the despair which overtook the missionary authorities at home, and then of the marvellous revival that transformed the whole situation. It is well that a new generation should see the sterling character of the man, the heroic endurance and devotion of his wife, the sublime passion which animated them both, and the amazing triumph which they achieved. Of these things an older generation read half a century ago; but Mr. Edwin Smith gives the whole a worthier setting and a truer perspective. He enables us to see the South Africa of a century ago, its racial and political and religious conditions, so that we get a vivid conception of the changes effected in the interval.

Robert Moffat spent fifty-three years as a missionary pioneer, and played a great part in opening the way into the interior. With his name is indissolubly associated that of David Livingstone. The story has often been told of how the two men met in Aldersgate Street, London. Livingstone was completing his medical training, and hoping against hope that the way would open for him into China. "He asked me," says Moffat "whether I thought he would do for Africa." I said "I believed he would if he would not go to an old station, but would advance to unoccupied ground, specifying the vast plain to the north, where I had sometimes seen, in the morning sun, the smoke of a thousand villages where no missionary had been." So Livingstone decided for Africa, a decision far more fateful than either man dreamed.

On December 8th, 1840, Livingstone took with him to Africa the first five hundred copies of the Sechuana New Testament, the most important first fruits of Moffat's great achievement, the translation of the Bible into Sechuana. Few men are in a position to estimate like Mr. Edwin Smith the tremendous nature of the task—if that can be counted a task which is an absorbing delight—or appraise the extent of its success. To learn a language that had never been committed to writing, and then render the Bible into this strange tongue, negotiating pitfalls at almost every word, involved long years of enormous toil. Gibbon's eighteen years on his *Decline and Fall*, cannot compare with Moffat's thirty years on his great translation, carried out amid the thousand-and-one interruptions of a pioneer missionary's life. Each word was rendered with meticulous care, then the translation revised again, and again, and again. Every possible aid was laid under contribution from natives,

colleagues and his wife and family. "Prodigious" is the only word that describes the process. Of course he made ludicrous blunders, as when epistle was rendered by a word which was expounded by a native teacher as one of "those little guns white people carry in their pockets;" and lilies by lilelea, which means tarantula. But in spite of inevitable defects, many of which the author himself remedied in subsequent editions, Moffat's translation, in the main, still holds the field, and two hundred and thirty thousand copies have been issued. Altogether this is a delightful book, informing the mind, warming the heart, and inspiring missionary enthusiasm. To read of Moffat's early years, with their Spartan conditions, his gardening experiences, destined to be of service to his last days, his conversion under Methodist influence, his missionary quickening by the mere sight of a placard, recalling stories of the Moravians read at home in boyhood, his acceptance by the London Missionary Society for Africa, his loneliness, his marriage, his meeting with the terror-inspiring Africaner, his settlement among the Bechuana at Kuruman, where for the next forty-nine years he lived and laboured, his pioneering work at sixty-five, his association with the dreaded chief Umsiligazi, and his final return to this country--form a story of extraordinary interest. The author is to be congratulated on a successful piece of work, informing, judicious, eminently wise, and deserving to rank with the best of this Modern Series of Missionary Biographies. Map and Index add to the value of the book.

J. RITSON.

The First Great Puritan.*

"PURITANISM," says Mr. H. G. Wood in his article in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, is most simply defined as the movement for Church Reform, whose first great leader was Thomas Cartwright, and whose last was Richard Baxter." Certainly the important movement which they represented cannot be understood without an intimate knowledge of the history of these, its two greatest exponents. It is, therefore, a very happy occurrence that, so soon after the issue of Dr. Powicke's *Life of Baxter*, we should have before us this life of the Elizabethan Puritan Cartwright. One turns to the book with a keen anticipation which, we are glad to say, is not, as so often is the case, the prelude to an equally keen

* *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535-1603.* By the Rev. A. F. Scott Pearson. Cambridge University Press. 25s. net.

disappointment. Dr. Pearson knows his subject well. A vast amount of labour lies behind the volume, and linked with that labour is the genuine sympathy of a man who has so much in common with the religious ideals of the one whose life he narrates. For Dr. Pearson is a Presbyterian.

Perhaps, however, we must trace to this last fact a certain weakness in the present volume where the author fails to emphasise what was the real cause of the failure of the Presbyterian ideal, believed by Cartwright to be found in the constitution of the early Christian Church and given as the model for all time. This failure was not due to the lack of moderation in the protagonists of Presbyterianism in England, but to the fundamental difference between the reformation in Scotland and that in England. In Scotland the reformation was the substitution of Calvinistic dogma and practice for Roman doctrine and ritual. The relations of the ecclesiastical and secular powers remained as in the days of the papal authority. There were still two kingdoms side by side, Church and State. "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." On the other hand, the English reformation was a protest against the dual control of Church and State, especially against the claim of any outside jurisdiction. The critical position of England in international affairs seemed to render conformity essential in religious as well as civil life. Politics and religion appeared for the moment as one. However much Cartwright and his fellow-Puritans might profess their personal loyalty to the Queen, in the eyes of many they ranked as traitors.

Dr. Pearson corrects certain mistakes as to facts in the career of Cartwright, especially such as concern his stay in Cambridge, his life in Geneva and Guernsey, and the years of exile. The book reveals a careful study of documents and the writer has obtained much of his topographical knowledge on the spot. There is a slight confusion and side-tracking of the reader's interests in following the life of Cartwright, which perhaps is inevitable where the history of a movement and the biography of a man are treated together. On the other hand, it is probably this concentration on biographical details which causes Dr. Pearson to leave untouched some great questions which would naturally arise in dealing with a history of early Puritanism. Much attention is paid to the doctrinal and disciplinary positions of Puritanism, but the political significance of the movement receives scant notice. Abroad Calvinism had become more than a religious creed; it was almost a system of government. Would the story of the struggle in the 17th century

in England have been possible without that background of Puritanism, where, in responding to the needs of their spiritual life, men learned to question the dictates of the State? The collapse of Puritanism under the attack of Hooker also requires explanation.

Dr. Pearson is rightly critical of Green and other historians who represent Cartwright as "combining the despotism of a Hildebrand with the cruelty of a Torquemada." While not seeking to place a halo around the head of the Puritan he restores the true historical perspective and reveals him as a man of lofty principles and sternest discipline. Cartwright is not made of martyr stuff. One suspects from his frequent references to his physical disabilities an over-sensitiveness to pain. Yet he was no coward. He changed his tactics—which is often wisdom—but not his faith. With all his flaws he stands forth as a really great man. His learning gained for him an international reputation. It was no mere flattery which caused deputations to come from other countries to seek his advice; nor was it a spirit of shallow obsequiousness which made so many regard him—to quote the cynical words of Bancroft—"as their Christ." He had the power of true eloquence. His writings, upon which much of his reputation is built, are by no means so controversial as might be supposed, and for many years after his death he occupied a place in the literature of the country until the growth of Biblical scholarship dimmed his fame as a commentator.

But greater than all his learning was a wonderful personality which attracted to him men of all classes. Even his bitterest opponent, Whitgift, could say of him "I love the man." Hasty, rasping, narrow and fanatical he may have seemed, but he was too big a man to stoop to some of the things which mar the characters of so many of his supporters and opponents alike. The scurrilities of the Martin Marprelate tracts he viewed with the greatest disfavour. "I am able to produce witnesses, that the first time that ever I heard of Martin Marprelate, I testified my great misliking and grief, for so naughtie, and so disorderly a course as that was." Cartwright founded no new Church. He opposed the Brownists, and to the last remained, as he believed, a loyal member of the Church to whose ministry he had dedicated himself. Yet he builded better than he knew. To quote Dr. Pearson, "To-day, . . . there exists a vital, generous and much respected body namely the Presbyterian Church of England, which by its very

existence as the embodiment in a large measure of the system advocated by Cartwright, and by its reverence for him as one of its founders, keeps the fame of the Elizabethan Puritan ever fresh and fair."

H. G. MARSH.

FINANCE should be a reflection in figures of physical facts. One of the outstanding facts of the present time is the abundant wealth-producing capacity of all industrial countries, and this fact, it need scarcely be said, is not at present reflected in the financial status either of individuals or of communities. The social dividend is not distributed in financial terms, and consequently the real wealth, of which it largely consists, cannot be made available. It is probable that a considerable number of various methods of distributing the dividend could be, or have been, devised; but whatever the method adopted, it must of necessity fulfil two conditions. It must provide more purchasing power (not necessarily more money) to members of the community; and the amount of the purchasing power provided must bear a mathematically defined relation to the real wealth it represents. The Douglas analysis is very insistent upon the fact that control of financial credit depends equally and simultaneously upon the issue of credit and the recall of credit, upon the destruction as much as upon the creation of purchasing power. It is maintained that the ability of the public to draw upon the social dividend is determined as much by the prices they have to pay for commodities as by the amount of money issued to them to meet these prices, and consequently any attempt to regulate purchasing power scientifically must take account of both these factors. A decrease in the level of prices, unaccompanied by a decrease in the level of incomes, constitutes a grant of purchasing power just as much as an increase of incomes unaccompanied by an increase in the level of prices. You can have more money and pay the same as before; or you can have the same as before and pay less; either way you are the gainer. For purely technical reasons, and having regard to the conditions peculiar to this country, Major Douglas prefers that the distribution of the dividend should take place at the shop counter at the time of the purchase of the goods, taking the form of a rebate in price; the amount of the rebate being determined, of course, by the amount of the social dividend to be distributed. At first sight the measurement of this dividend presents some difficulties. If, however, we remember that the present system of pricing

finished goods demands the inclusion not only of the cost of making the goods, but also of the entire cost of making and maintaining the machinery to make the goods, we have at once a rough means of measuring the appreciation of real wealth. We can say, in financial terms again, that the whole of the buying-power which is distributed to individuals in various forms of income representing the cost both of finished products and of capital development is taken back from individuals in the price of finished products alone; we pay for the factory as well as for the goods. It is true that we do not want the factory itself, but there is no conceivable object in a factory at all which has no prospective purchasers for its products. And under present methods we can only obtain purchasers by erecting another factory, leading in its turn to a similar deadlock. In order to arrive at an approximately correct measure of the social dividend we have to take into account on the one hand capital development (less the depreciation incidental to the use of capital equipment) as well as the actual production of finished commodities; and on the other hand, actual consumption of finished goods. We have then to set the one against the other over a given length of time, and we have a measure of the dividend available in respect of that time. To obtain a financial reflection of this, and to get the dividend actually distributed, we can say that the just price of an article to the consumer is the same fraction of the cost of the article to the retailer (inclusive of his profit, the cost of distribution) as total capital depreciation plus consumption of finished goods is of total capital appreciation plus production of finished goods. Anyone who is familiar with the endless statistics which business houses are required to furnish for the edification of government departments need feel no apprehension at the problem of obtaining the necessary data. And we can confidently rely on a heavy preponderance of production over consumption when wealth-producing capacity is accounted into production. It is quite certain that the just price is less, much less, than retailer's cost.

It remains to dispose of the retailer who has sold his stock ostensibly at a heavy loss. This loss must of course be reimbursed to him, and can be done quite easily by writing up his account at the bank; the credit agency, which might be the bank, the government or half-a-dozen other things, finding the money in the ordinary banking method, that is, by writing into existence the financial equivalent of the amount of the dividend. Exactly the same end could be achieved by distributing treasury notes to the public and retaining the ordinary level of prices. But the other method for detailed technical reasons is preferable.

LESLIE FORREST.

The Study Circle.

The Preacher and Psychology.

Introductory.

It is not the purpose of this short article to give a complete discussion of Psychology or its value to the preacher. The aim will rather be to give a brief account of how the subject may be discussed in a Study Circle extending over six months. The matter is therefore divided, with the conditions and limitations of the ordinary Study Circle in view. A brief Bibliography and a number of questions are suggested of the kind that may form the basis of discussion.

THE NATURE OF PSYCHOLOGY. (*First Month*).

Psychology is an attempt to understand the action of minds. It aspires to be a Science though it is doubtful if there is yet sufficient agreement upon its main conclusions to justify this title. Yet, in so far as it aims at the knowledge and systematic account of facts, its method is undoubtedly scientific. There may be regions in which Psychology must confess its incompetence (as there are regions where, for example, Biology is incompetent to give a complete account of the facts). But this can only be discovered after trial. Wherever there are minds in action there, on the face of it, is a subject for Psychological investigation. There are broadly two ways in which that investigation may be carried on—directly by examining those processes themselves, or indirectly by examining the products of the mind's activity. The first is the method of Introspection, and it is obvious that only to one's own mental processes can it be applied. The other method is wider, for the activity of a mind can be seen in phenomena as far apart as the clenched fists and distended eyes of a man in passion on the one hand and the "Moonlight Sonata" or the "Sistine Madonna" on the other. A great deal of Higher Criticism is strictly psychological and uses this second method.

The older psychology was preponderatingly intellectualist. It assumed that behind mental activity were certain entities known as "ideas." Its work was to find what these ideas were and how they came to express themselves in action. This is still the popular idea of psychology. Recent work has, however, emphasised the presence of certain active factors within the mind itself. The subject is still exceedingly obscure but it seems to be established that these active factors go back to certain main "drives" or

"urges" within the mind, called instincts. The study of Instinct falls partly within the region of Psychology and partly within that of Biology; for, historically, Instincts seem to be products of the biological struggle. Whether we can say that the whole drive of mental life comes ultimately from the Instincts (as McDougall and others hold) is more than doubtful.

Modern psychology has also taken a great deal of interest in phenomena of the crowd. Probably this has been overdone for, psychologically, a crowd is merely one type of environment, and most of the supposed peculiar features of crowd psychology are easily explicable in terms of the ordinary psychological concepts.

Psychology and The Preacher's Work.

1. WORSHIP AND ITS ACCOMPANIMENTS, ETC. (*Second Month*).

Starting from the Instincts and the Emotions that accompany them modern psychology has come to the conception of Sentiments which are stable parts of the structure of minds. A sentiment is awakened when the appropriate appeal is made and may express itself in more than one emotional form. (For a full discussion of this point reference should be made to McDougall's "Introduction to Social Psychology.") Worship is one of the main forms of the expression of the Religious Sentiment. The object of public worship is to help and encourage that expression. A public service that fails in this, however interesting or instructive, has failed in what is the main psychological objective. Preaching is, of course part of worship and the condemnation of unduly "intellectual" preaching is that it fails to arouse the religious sentiment. This is what lies behind the popular demand for an emotional element in preaching; but the merely emotional appeal may be equally a failure unless the sentiment, which is compact of idea and "feeling," is aroused. An emotional appeal may also fail if it merely stimulate feelings that are loosely attached to the personality and not closely integrated with the definitely religious sentiment.

Public prayer raises interesting psychological questions. The situation is more complex than in ordinary private prayer, for the preacher is in a representative capacity and is attempting, not merely to express his own religious sentiment, but, through the medium of his spoken word, to stimulate into many-sided activity the religious sentiments of a congregation of people. It is obvious that there are conditions here that usually receive far too little thought. Whether it is right, however, to call public prayer a process of suggestion is another matter. It may be such, but that description seems inadequate to the facts when there is genuine religious aspiration and genuine thought.

2. PSYCHOLOGY AND THE SUNDAY SCHOOL. (*Third Month*).

Under this head may be discussed the characteristics of the different age levels and the conclusions that follow as to Sunday School methods. There is no doubt that a great deal of work in

Sunday Schools is wasted owing to the ignoring of psychological factors. In fact Sunday School teaching (with the exception of Primary Schools) is still under the influence of the intellectualist approach that we have seen to be inaccurate. A more active *régime* in the middle school and a more emphatic treatment of ethical demands in the senior classes seems to be called for on psychological grounds. The question of week-day activities arises here. At the very least these do something to redress the disproportionate emphasis on the "lesson"; they may be the means for developing the nascent religious sentiment. A careful consideration of the psychological factors involved makes it difficult to see how they can be dispensed with without serious loss.

The Psychology of Special Subjects.

1. CONVERSION AND BELIEF. (*Fourth Month.*)

Conversion is a normal reaction at one period of life-adolescence. The emphasis on Conversion in the Evangelical Churches is psychologically sound, for there is an attempt at unifying the personality then that is found throughout the world, in ancient and modern times. Conversion is the unification of the "Self" round the religious sentiment. Here again it has been argued that the process is one of suggestion; and, if this means that the person concerned makes his decision on grounds which are not merely rational, it is undeniable that such an element is present. The influence of the community is also present—there is a social element. A Methodist adopts the practices and even the beliefs of the Methodist society; a Catholic those of a Catholic one. It is thus seen that even "Beliefs" are not purely intellectual processes. A belief may at times be expressed in a creed, but is both bigger and more active. Underneath our creeds are certain religious values which the creed is meant both to define and to protect. It may not succeed in the former, but a great deal of the religious conservatism that we deplore in these matters is due to the earnestness with which it attempts the latter.

2. PRAYER AND RELIGIOUS DEVOTION. (*Fifth Month.*)

Prayer is the religious sentiment expressing itself either in words or in some other suitable gesture. It is possible to give Prayer a wider content than this, but to do so makes it difficult to distinguish between Prayer and Worship, because it is the religious sentiment and not a passing mood which is thus expressed. It follows that Prayer and life are harmonious; for active service is but another and an equally necessary form of expression of the religious sentiment. There are men and women in whose lives the religious sentiment is developed to an abnormal degree. Such people are known as mystics. "Abnormal" here is no term of disparagement, and there is no reason to think of such people as

unbalanced. But if it be really the religious sentiment that is thus abnormally developed there will be, in such lives also, a large element of active service—as, in fact, the great Mystics are the first to acknowledge.

Religion and the "New Psychology." (*Sixth Month*).

We owe a great many of the discoveries in recent Psycho-analytic research to men who are not psychologists. This means that there is often an orthodox way of stating some of their conclusions which they ignore. None the less some of these discoveries are valuable. Particularly have they shed new light on the psychology of motive, and shown the necessity for the concept of the Unconscious. Interested chiefly in mental pathology they have found examples of it in religion; as others have before them. But conclusions so reached cannot of course be applied, unmodified, to normal states. At the same time the "New Psychology" will, undoubtedly, be of great service to the cause of education—religious and other. A fruitful distinction which we see brought out in these later writers is that between Sin and Moral Disease. (See, for example, Hadfield's *Psychology and Morals*).

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Questions and Subjects for Discussion.

The Circle should aim at doing as much "practical" work as possible, *i.e.*, the members should actually dissect a situation, book, sermon, etc., with the object of discovering the psychological factors. Useful books or passages are such as these—Masefield's *Everlasting Mercy*; the novels of Henry James, *e.g.*, *What Maisie Knew* (for study of Introspection;) *Adam Bede*; Samuel Butler's *Way of all Flesh* (for study of pathological religion); Arnold Bennett's description of a Revival service in *Anna of the Five Towns* (unsympathetic; what factors has Bennett left out?) Newman's sermons also make a fine study from this point of view. There is also a wide range in Hymns. The following are a few that are well worth study—225, 337, 519, in the Primitive Methodist Hymnal—103, 144, in the Primitive Methodist Hymnal Supplement. Where the Circle has two Sessions, morning and afternoon, the above method will be found a very interesting one for the afternoons.

1. What is the difference psychologically between a crowd and a religious congregation at service?

2. What Instincts are capable of religious "sublimation"? What is the bearing of your answer on the doctrine of Redemption?

3. "He never made me feel a bad man." (A criticism of a well-known popular preacher). Discuss the psychology of this critic and estimate its soundness.

4. Compare the psychological factors in an Anglo-Catholic and a Methodist service. (See Pratt and S. Kaye-Smith's *End of the House of Alard*).

5. What is the place of argument in a sermon?

6. Discuss the psychological reasons for "popularity" in preaching?

7. Mention some of the obvious psychological defects of the "Children's Address." How can they be remedied?

8. Discuss the Psychology of Creed-Making; Religious Persecution; and Religious Conformity.

9. To what extent can Conversion be regarded as the sublimation of the Instinct of Sex? (See Thouless).

10. Alexander Whyte once confessed that he felt there was something "unnatural" in public prayer. Discuss this.

11. "I have often wondered whether one of the most subtle and powerful attacks upon the Christian religion is not coming from the psychological quarter." (Canon Storr in the *Modern Churchman*, June, 1925.) Examine the possible lines of such attack and the possible defences.

12. How far is the argument from religious experience psychologically sound? Is experience a sufficient basis for faith?

F. C. TAYLOR.

Current Literature.

The Religion of the People of Israel. By DR. RUDOLF KITTEL.
Pp. 229. Allen and Unwin. 1925. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THIS volume is a translation of a work published in German in 1920. It is based on lectures delivered at the University of Upsala. We were glad to see the announcement that it was to be published, though we regretted the brevity of the exposition, especially at certain points, still it was abundantly worth while to have Kittel's conclusions covering the whole Old Testament period. We owe to him the best History of Israel down to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. The sections in the History on the religion are very good and the whole work is of such a quality that we deeply regret that it is not accessible to the English reader. We wish that the learned author could have carried the story down at least to the period of the Maccabees. It would be a great boon to British students if the First Book of the History, dealing with Palestine in the Primitive Period, could be translated. We have nothing so comprehensive in English. In his recent work and in particular in an article in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, he has emphasised the great importance of a study of the religion and culture of Palestine in the pre-Israelite period for a right understanding of the earlier Religion of Israel. Special emphasis is given to that aspect of the subject in this volume; and for this, as well as for its sketch of the development as a whole, we cordially commend it to our readers.

The Local Colour of the Bible. By CHARLES W. BUDDEN, M.D., and EDWARD HASTINGS, M.A. Vol. III. Matthew—Revelation. Pp. xii. 355. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1925. Price 8s. net.

WE have called the attention of our readers to the Old Testament, sections of this work. The concluding volume covers the whole of the New Testament. It has been necessary, however, to modify the plan previously followed. Obviously the method of dealing with the topics as they happen to occur in the Old Testament books could not be applied so well to the Gospels, which largely go over the same ground several times. Accordingly a topical arrangement has been adopted for the Gospels under the following headings: "The Birth and Early Years of our Lord," "The Romans in Palestine," "Jewish Orders at the time of our Lord," "Jewish Institutions and Observances," "Jesus in the Home," "Jesus in the Country," "Jesus in the Town," "The Scenes of Jesus' Ministry," "Jesus' Death and Resurrection." When the authors reach the Acts of the Apostles they follow the order of the narrative. In the

case of the Pauline epistles they deal with each separately, and take them in what they consider to be the chronological order. The whole work brings together a mass of matter which should be very useful for preachers and teachers.

The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox. Edited by NORMAN PENNEY, LL.D., F.S.A. Pp. xxxiv., 403. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1925. Price 15s. net.

New Appreciations of George Fox. Foreword by J. RENDEL HARRIS, LL.D. Pp. 180. London: The Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 1925. Price 6s. net.

Quaker Thoughts and History: a Volume of Essays. By EDWARD GRUBB, M.A. Pp. 182. London: The Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 1925. Price 5s. net.

THE first two of these volumes have been directly occasioned by the Tercentenary of George Fox. The former originated in a proposal at Philadelphia to publish the original of the *Short Journal*. It was then decided to include the *Itinerary Journal* and, at a later stage, to add the Haistwell Diary. The documents which underlie the great journal of George Fox are thus brought together in a single volume. They have been edited by the expert who has given us George Fox's journal in its original form. Mr. T. E. Harvey has contributed an introduction to the volume. The *Short Journal* was written in Lancaster prison, and it contains some new material. The *Itinerary Journals* belong to a time when Fox was much older and greatly weakened by his labours and sufferings. They are not attractive reading but supply additional information and throw light on several obscure points. The *Haistwell Diary* is much shorter, the author was George Fox's amanuensis, and his record extends from early in 1677 to the middle of 1678. More than a hundred large pages are devoted to Notes which must have involved a great deal of research. The use of the book for reference is facilitated by a full index. The volume is a noble commemoration of the tercentenary.

Of the appreciations contained in the second volume four will be familiar to our readers. "The Life of George Fox in Outline," by Mr. T. E. Harvey, "George Fox and his Religious Background," by Prof. H. G. Wood, "George Fox as a Pioneer," by Prof. Elbert Russell, and "The Psychology of George Fox," by Prof. Rufus Jones, appeared in our own George Fox tercentenary number, though unfortunately in the last instance this is not stated, doubtless through some oversight. Other articles are, "George Fox," by J. W. Graham, reprinted from the *Hibbert Journal*; "The Stand for Peace," by Margaret E. Hirst, and three short articles, "The Missionary Spirit of Fox," by Robert Davis, "George Fox as a Social Reformer," by Edward Grubb, and "The Journal of George

Fox," by the editor of the *Spectator*. The volume is closed by some brief estimates, including one from the Dean of St. Paul's. We hope that this collection will do for a wider circle what we tried to do in our issue for July 1924.

The opening essay in the third volume, "George Fox and Christian Theology" is also taken from our tercentenary number. Nine articles follow: "The Use of the Mind in Religion," "The Evangelical Movement and the Society of Friends," "Christ and the World Problem," "The Wrath of God," "Creed and Life," "Christian Reunion," "Spiritual Healing among the early Quakers," "Mental Healing and Divine Grace," "Health and the Will of God." Mr. Grubb has a well-merited reputation for expert and balanced exposition of religious problems. We are not able to follow his work in detail in our space; but those who wish to see what a competent and enlightened Quaker has to say on the subjects discussed will find it in this volume.

EDITOR.

Evangelical Humanism. By LYNN H. HOUGH, D.D. Pp. 205.
London: The Epworth Press. 1925. Price 4s. net.

THE Fernley lecture is true to its name. It has all the marks of oral delivery, rhetorical elaborations included. Its subject is important and its emphasis on the far-reaching influences of a true evangel gives it permanent value. "The truth is that humanism at its best has no conflict with evangelicalism at its noblest." This, however, is the ideal. The materials are gathered from many fields. One chapter ranges from Paul to Dean Inge; another from the ancient Greeks to Paul Elmer More. The spirit of Evangelicalism and of Humanism; their strength and defects; their points of contact and divergence; and then the ideal which finds expression in the title, are the topics discussed. The American accent is neither faint nor apologetic, although phases of experience not particularly healthy come up for comment. Fundamentalists are reminded "that the only escape from the errors of criticism is through a clearer and more adequate application of the critical apparatus. You cannot serve Christianity by a complex of fear." Sanity of treatment and a wise tolerance are conspicuous, and although there is a tendency to touch on every side of every thing the many allusions open out unexpected vistas for vision and thought. Dr. Hough has succeeded in making a well-worn theme attractive.

Ether and Reality: A Series of Discourses on the Many Functions of the Ether of Space. By SIR OLIVER LODGE, F.R.S. Pp. 179.
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1925. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE purpose of this volume in the Broadcast Library is to explain, so far as this is possible, the properties of the ether of space, "its

bearing not only on matter but on life and mind." At the end the claim is made that ether, while it is not matter, has physical reality. "It is the primary instrument of Mind, the vehicle of Soul, the habitation of Spirit. Truly it may be called the living garment of God." For the most part these chapters deal with the poetry of science. The exposition moves in the borderland between knowledge and intelligent guessing. It is stated that the possibilities of science are unlimited, and that on its developments all progress in knowledge depends. But science has no knowledge of origin. It has to accept things as they are and do its best to explain them. Religious teachers are advised to use science for illustrating higher truths. These discourses have been broadcasted and many will be glad to have them in this form. They are to be followed by a larger and more technical treatise on the same subject.

The Problem of the Future Life. By A. H. McNEILE, D.D. Pp. viii. 155. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd. 1925. Price 3s. 6d. net.

THE Moorhouse Lectures delivered in Melbourne in May of this year are printed, with some additions, in this volume. Part I. is taken up with Arguments for Immortality. A chapter is devoted to Spiritualism, which the author would prefer to call Spiritism. Part II. has for its title, Those Who are Being Saved, and Part III. Those Who are Being Lost. It is at once a succinct and a comprehensive survey of its subject. More elaborate discussions of important points will need to be sought elsewhere: but most modern as well as many age-long problems are considered. Care for the language of Anglican formularies and a bias towards some disputed doctrines emerge. Scriptural passages and phrases are examined with keen analytical skill. The influence of Jewish modes of thought is discerned in the quantitative terms of the N.T., but also the ferment of other ideas—a process of progressive judgment and the qualitative character of eternal life. There is no consistent eschatology. To discover the meaning of every symbol used in the Scriptures concerning the future life is perhaps a right method; yet all symbols are not sufficient to represent reality. The character and purpose of God are the ultimate factors. Exegesis must give a clearer view of these or it is not helpful. Dr. McNeile ends his discussion with a series of conjectural postulates. There is no sure word of God explaining all the mysteries of the future.

The Faculty of Communion. By EDITH LYTTELTON. Pp. 126. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1925. Price 4s. 6d. net.

The Undiscover'd Country: Where the Dead are not Dead but Alive. By W. P. DOTHIE, M.A. Pp. 110. London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd. n.d. Price 2s. 6d. net.

BOTH these books have this in common—they regard the dead as being as much alive as we are. In other respects they differ. Mrs. Lyttelton is known as the writer of one of the most effective of recent

biographies—*Alfred Lyttelton: An Account of his Life*. The present volume reveals a personality of rare spiritual perception. Its purpose is to bring the Reformed Churches into line with the Roman Church in their thought of the dead. The belief is expressed that these can be helped, and we also, by prayer for them and to them. The evidence given for the reality of contact with discarnate spirits, with its element of time conditions still exerting influence in eternity, is not convincing. It is difficult to conceive that the dead are dependent upon the living in the ways suggested here. To base a general theory embodying a hope upon the fact that Jesus raised the dead is to confuse things that differ. Yet a beautiful spirit breathes in this book and it will repay careful reading. The other volume contains the message of a nonagenarian who believes that the Christian outlook upon the future is satisfying and sufficient. The prevailing note is: Be of good cheer. Mr. Dothie trusts the larger hope. He leans sympathetically towards reincarnation as possible for some. But he is not convinced that the methods of psychical research can ever accomplish much for the great majority. His is an invigorating book.

The Master Life: The Story of Jesus for To-Day. By W. P. LIVINGSTONE. Pp. 320. London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd. n.d. Price 8s. 6d. net.

Mr. LIVINGSTONE is well-known as the author of *Mary Slessor of Calabar* and other successful missionary biographies. In this life of Jesus he has not achieved so great a success. He has produced a picturesque narrative, but his imaginative flights do not always carry conviction, nor are his historical judgments always satisfactory. The titles of the sections reveal the plan of the Book—What Went Before, The Story of the Thirty Years, The Story of the Galilee Days, The Story of the Southern Campaign, The Story of the Last Week, What Came After. The narrative is related to world history, yet only to the Hebrew background, with casual glances at Greece and Rome. The larger world is not brought into the picture. The ministry of Jesus is regarded as covering only one year. Imagination is allowed full play with the canonical records, but once only use is made of the many available and illuminating extra-canonical materials. The attitude taken towards Paul is not impressive. It is implied that in speaking to his environment he spoke wrongly, and thus led the early disciples out of the Way into ecclesiastical Christianity. Yet surely if Jesus was for the world, the early protagonists could do none other than face the world as it was in order to mould it otherwise. The seclusion of Palestine was not possible for those committed to world propaganda. Mr. Livingstone ignores the apocalyptical element in the teaching of Jesus. He sees no signs of a speedy conquest of the world, but Jesus will win when His Way is tried.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

Boys! A Complete Manual for Workers among Boys. By D. L. FINNEMORE. Pp. 383. 1925. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 5s. net.

The Changing School. By P. B. BALLARD. Pp. 332. 1925. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 6s. net.

MR. FINNEMORE is a well-known Birmingham lawyer and Freechurchman, who has had wide experience in boys' work, and the fruit of it he has put into this book. There is here information about physical training, camps, map reading, study, devotional exercises, first aid, and a great many other useful points. It is prepared primarily for Boys' Life Brigades, but it will appeal to a much wider circle of readers, and is warmly to be commended.

Dr. Ballard is by this time well-known for his suggestive and original works on education, and *The Changing School* is as inspiring and as amusing as its predecessors. One can imagine how dull a book on this theme could be, dealing as it does with the curriculum, discipline, aims, and methods of the modern school. That every page of it is interesting, and indeed absorbing, is in itself an illustration of the change that has come over everything connected with "school." It is a book that everybody, besides parents and teachers, ought to buy.

Medieval Cities: Their origins, and the Revival of Trade. By HENRI PIRENNE. Pp. 249. 1925. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (for the Princeton University Press). Price 11s. 6d. net.

M. PIRENNE is the well known professor of history at Ghent, and is an authority on the subject of Flemish social life, particularly in the Middle Ages. He is also the author of an excellent history of Belgium. He writes in the volume before us, as always, with clarity and succinctness, and is both scholarly and simple. He here puts forward a new, and rather revolutionary point of view, for which we have hitherto had to go to isolated articles in out-of-the-way reviews. He begins by showing how the social life of the ancient world had a unity which came from the fact that the Mediterranean was the common area of commerce for all the countries composing it. The invasions of Islam broke up that unity, and the centre of gravity was shifted to the North. It was at this point that the real break came between the Empire of antiquity, and the Empire of Charlemagne, and M. Pirenne advances the thesis that the latter marked an economic decline, the substitution of an agricultural inland state for a commercial and maritime one, and that feudalism, a system in which finance was nothing, and personal status everything, arose of necessity as its social basis. The later cities, which were at once the cause and the effect of the revival of trade in the 11th century, were of an entirely new type, and owed their existence to the merchant classes who established themselves under the walls of the old "burgs" or fortresses of the earlier Empire. These merchants

had no status, they were neither serfs nor lords, and were really out of place, therefore, in a feudal society. Their concentration in cities created a new type of social life which was representative of the lay spirit and of the spirit of democracy. This is of interest in connexion with the intellectual and religious movements which represented the same spirit, and which were destined to undermine the fabric of the medieval Empire. M. Pirenne argues his case admirably, and although his thesis may not fit every instance (we think for example, that it would need to be modified in the case of England, but an island state would be expected to develop on lines of its own), he makes allowance in it for this variation. It is a stimulating book. We should like to refer also to its *format*, for it is a model of excellent printing and binding.

History of the Byzantine Empire. By CHARLES DIEHL. Pp. 199. 1925. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, (for the Princeton University Press). Price 11s. 6d. net.

WE have had occasion before now in these pages to refer to the work of M. Diehl in connexion with the *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4. He is one member of a modern school which has done much to rehabilitate the Eastern Empire since the shortcomings of Gibbon in this connexion have become obvious. This volume before us is a translation of a former book of his published in 1919, and is the best short history of the Eastern Empire. M. Diehl has the gift, so characteristic of French historians, of being able to say a great deal in a short space and with lucidity. That gift was never better illustrated than in this volume. The essential points of the long and often complicated story from A.D. 330 to 1453 are told in less than 200 pages, with no overcrowding of detail, and with the feeling of a story and not a catalogue. It was well worth translation into English, and even the frequent Americanisms do not get in the way of the narrative. It is indeed a fascinating theme, this account of Greek civilisation in the East, with all its alternations of splendour and decadence right down to the final epic collapse. There are useful appendices on chronology and bibliography.

Rebuilding Europe. By RUTH ROUSE. Pp. 224. 1925. London: S.C.M. Price 4s. cloth, 2s. 6d. paper.

THIS is a book which deserves more than a passing reference. It tells the story of European student relief in the years 1920-1925, and it is a truly marvellous and unique history. The relief work of the World's Student Christian Federation was launched soon after the war, and it has been the means of helping the students of Austria, Germany, the succession states and Russia to help themselves, and thereby to keep alive and more or less efficient a class of men and women for whose services there is crying need throughout Europe. The privations of these people were appalling, as the reviewer can testify from first-hand experience. Relief meant fighting famine and plague, collecting clothing and food from all

over the globe, organising campaigns in colleges in New Zealand, India, South Africa, America and elsewhere, and providing books, apparatus and intellectual stimulus. The wonder of it all was that it was done not by the philanthropy of the wealthy, but by the international co-operation of students themselves. Now that the work is closing down it is a wise thing to put on record—even in so badly written a book as this—its noble achievement, so little known to the general public, but so vital for the future of the world. It is one of the most encouraging signs of these critical years.

The Reformation in Northern England. By J. S. FLETCHER. Pp. 192. 1925. London: Allen and Unwin. Price 7s. 6d. net.

MR. FLETCHER, author already of a number of works on local Yorkshire history, and of an impressionist guide-book called *The Enchanting North*, has lamented with all of us over the pathetic ruins of Fountains and Bolton, and he deals here in six lectures with the work of Henry VIII. which resulted in those ruins. As an authority on the Cistercians of Yorkshire he has at hand a wealth of local detail which makes all that he writes interesting, and we are glad of his book. The lectures are on Thomas Cromwell, The Suppressions, The Northern Friars, Henry and the Clergy, and the Great Pillage of the Churches. He writes not as a historian but as an advocate. He believes that the whole thing in every particular was a diabolical crime carried out by the greed and worldliness of time-serving agents, and he puts the Catholic side with gusto, and with considerable violence of language. His thesis is sound enough, however, to deserve moderate statement and historical perspective, neither of which we find in these pages. This is a pity, for there is so much popular writing on the side of Protestantism that it is good to have also a popular book on the Catholic side. After the reader has read these lectures he would therefore do well to compare them with Professor Pollard's more scholarly works on Henry VIII. and Cranmer, both unmentioned in Mr. Fletcher's bibliography.

Christian Monasticism. By IAN C. HANNAH. Pp. 270. London: Allen & Unwin. Price 10s. 6d. net.

In this book by an American author we are given a number of sketches of monastic life and influence from the time of the hermits of the desert to that of the Jesuits. In so vast a field the number of omissions is not surprising, but it would have increased our respect for the author if the omissions had not been all of one kind. He has aimed at showing monasticism as a great and beneficent force in history, and has left out a great deal that tells in the opposite direction. He is enthusiastic and quite uncritical, both in his text and in his bibliographies, and has produced an effort in journalism rather than a serious historical work. It is as such an interesting and readable story; yet occasionally even as journalism, it leaves something to be desired. For example, Flambard appears before us as the man "who did so much to enhance the tyranny of John (*sic!*), the vilest minister of England's vilest king."

A. V. MURRAY.

Some Aspects of Modern Poetry. By ALFRED NOYES. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. n.d. Pp. x., 288. Price 7s 6d. net.

MANY lovers of true poetry will welcome this book of essays, which embodies the substance of Mr. Noyes' "Lowell Lectures" with some additional papers. He stands frankly and boldly in defence of the great traditions in English poesy, and takes some of the features of the latter-day "revolt" severely to task. He pleads soundly for the freedom which accepts law as against the "freedom of the madhouse cell," and shrewdly suspects much of the modern "free" impulse as a lazy adoption of easy methods. He regards the modern intellectual world, in fact, as in peril of tragic retrogression, and diagnoses its root malady as a lack of any profound belief. "It has lost its religion, and it has lost that central position from which it could once see life steadily and see it whole, under the eternal aspect." And without such vision he very truly affirms that there can be no great poetry. In the way of individual studies he gives us a warm vindication of Tennyson against his modern detractors, an illuminating exposition of Shelley's apostleship of light, a discriminating valuation of Henley as the portrait-painter of English poetry, and a sympathetic appreciation of Alice Meynell. The characteristic poetic excellences of Emerson, Austin Dobson and Stevenson are also appraised, the enduring greatness of Swinburne's tragedies is cogently argued, and some strictures of Lord Morley on Wordsworth are traversed; while in lighter fashion he surveys some Cambridge poets. Finally, Shakespeare is studied in "The Spirit of Touchstone" (who is suggestively taken as the index to the poet's truth-motive, and as the key to *Hamlet*) and "Shakespeare and the Sea." Through all runs a confession of faith which it is good to recognise in one who in our day has established his own claim to the title of poet.

An Anatomy of Poetry. By A. WILLIAMS ELLIS. Pp. 300. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Price 7s. 6d. net.

CERTAIN "ghost" associations, of which Mr. Ellis treats in one chapter, predispose us to expect from his title a somewhat different book from the one which actually unfolds. It is less of a technical treatise than a series of papers on various aspects of the poetic art, debonairly grouped in five parts, "For All," "For Philosophers," "For Missionaries," "For Critics" and "For Readers," this last group consisting of "Short Studies of Some Modern Poets." At the same time it does traverse, in delightfully racy, and withal acute, style, not only the anatomical elements of metre, rhythm, language, symbol, and so forth, but also such matters as Poetry and Education, and the Function of Criticism. Mr. Ellis, who is Poetry Editor of the *Spectator*, reviews the whole range of the subject in the light of modern psychology and reveals himself as a student of patient sympathies and catholic appreciation. Contemporary work occupies the foreground throughout, and Vachel Lindsay and the enigmatic Sitwells are treated with the same discerning sense of values as

Masefield and De La Mare. Mr. Ellis has only one *cliehe*—it is “perhaps,” that betrayal of the gentle-minded reviewer. An altogether breezy, stimulating and useful book.

The Art of Terence. By GILBERT NORWOOD, M.A. Pp. 156. Oxford : Basil Blackwell. 1923. Price 7s. 6d. net.

PROF. NORWOOD attempts something of a rehabilitation of Terence. He complains that the criticism has been too constricted, and that his “limpidity of style” has been harped upon as though it were his only quality. He protests against his being so persistently coupled with Plautus—“who wrote plays like a blacksmith mending a watch.” Terence is an infinitely finer artist. While recognising his debt to Menander, Prof. Norwood argues for his essential originality, interpreting Terence’s own *verbum de verbo expressit* as merely a sop to critics. He pleads particularly in defence of this claim the clear development evident in the poet’s work. This he proceeds to demonstrate, taking the six plays from the *Andria* to the *Adelphi*, giving an analysis of each and then discussing construction, characterisation, etc. He stresses the debtiness of Terence in overcoming the strictures of stage convention, and the increasingly psychological handling of his characters, notably of the *senes*, who are redeemed from buffoonery. More than once a point of contact is found with Ibsen’s attitude to life. Prof. Norwood minimises the poet’s debt to his “collaborators” of the Scipionic circle, declaring that, unlike such instances as Beaumont and Fletcher provide, these dramas “defy the scalpel”: and he canvasses Cæsar’s criticism that Terence lacked the *vis comica*. In conclusion, he emphasises Terence’s sympathetic humanity and terms him “the most Christian writer of pagan antiquity.” It is an able piece of work, illuminated not only by classical scholarship, but also by wide familiarity with dramatic literature and the criticism of the subject.

Guitar and Concertina. A Century of Poems by GUSTAV FRODING. Translated in the original metres by C. D. LOCOCK. Pp. 175. London : Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1925. Price 5s. net.

A SHORT time ago we reviewed appreciatively Mr. Locock’s clever translation of *Fritiof’s Saga*. Somehow the poetic quality of these translations is not quite so convincing. In his Introduction to this volume Mr. Locock reiterates his theory of translation principles. In all verse translation something must needs be sacrificed. He holds to metrical form, recognises the frequent value of word-sounds, but is content to make readiest sacrifice of literal rendering, while he acknowledges the “readableness” of the resultant as the main desideratum. We wonder whether this last term quite expresses the main requirement; but perhaps Mr. Locock means us to understand “readableness as poetry.” These translations are all readable enough, but we cannot help thinking that if the bulk of them were sent round to the tribe of editors they would be pretty safe to return

with his compliments. In short, they do not, to our sense, make a sufficient *poetic* appeal. How far that is due to the translator and how far to the original poet we are not able to judge—even with the aid of the two literal renderings which Mr. Locock obligingly supplies, though these are favourable samples. It may be lack of sympathy with the poetic experience of the singer of a strange land. And this is all lyrical verse—obviously more difficult of rendition than verse of the narrative order. A true lyric communicates its thrill through so subtle a compounding of all the values that translation is almost a task of despair. Among the few poems which give us some satisfaction are “An Old Drawing-Room,” “Atlantis,” “Lassies’ Eyes” (in Scots Doric) and “Give Life and Greenness.” Mr. Locock’s essay in mixed dialects is not to be commended. Some details of Fröding’s life and work are given in the Introduction. He has had considerable vogue in his native land. A curious alternation between light verse of a slangy tendency and soberer verse of a rather disillusioned and gloomy tincture makes the title an apt one,

P. J. FISHER.

Science and Creation. The Christian Interpretation. By C. F. D’ARCY, D.D. Pp. vi. 126. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1925. Price 3s. 6d. net.

As is to be expected of anything written by the Archbishop of Armagh, this is an excellent piece of work. Small in compass and simple in style, it is yet exceedingly well-informed, and the argument is strongly and convincingly worked out. Its intellectual weight is out of all proportion to its size; yet it is in no sense heavy. Even the wayfaring man, unlearned in the language of philosophers, can read it with interest and profit. The author states that his aim has been “to bring into clear light the reasons for the profound conviction which possesses me that the modern scientific way of viewing the history of the world, instead of creating difficulties for Christian thought, not only gets rid of problems which were found insoluble in the past, but affords fresh reason for the essential doctrines of the Christian Faith.” He has more than succeeded. The work is a model of what such books should be. It should be read by all ministers who have not stopped thinking.

The Psychological Approach to Religion. By the Rev. W. R. MATTHEWS, D.D. Pp. 74. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1924. Price 3s. net.

The New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets. By Major J. W. POVAH, B.D. Pp. xiv. 208. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1925. Price 3s. 6d. net (paper covers). Cloth 6s. net.

DR. MATTHEWS’ little book is an admirable and lucid study of the light brought by Modern Psychology to the questions of Belief in God, Conversion and Immortality. The author is in touch with the most recent work—his short discussion of some of Otto’s positions,

for instance, is excellent. We are delighted with the frankness of the exposition—a feature sometimes more difficult to discover than it should be in books that deal with Psychology and Religion. The author follows Pratt in his reaction against the narrower use of the word “Conversion” common in evangelical circles, though he is alive to the importance of such a step.

Major Povah's book (to which Dr. Matthews writes a short preface) is of a less convincing kind. A great deal of painstaking research, both in Psychology and in Hebrew literature, is shown, and the attempt to look at the Hebrew prophets through the not exactly untinted glasses of the New Psychology has much to commend it, in spite of its dangers. Major Povah has used his knowledge of the original language of the prophets to reveal their mental background. But we are not sure that they anticipated Freud and Jung quite so specifically as he makes out. And if they had, our admiration for them would not be appreciably increased; for there is a good deal of chaff yet to be separated from the wheat in psycho-analytic theories. Such a statement as that on page 131 (“The serpent is a common male symbol of the libido”) has been shown by Dr. Elliot Smith to be anthropologically unsound. The chapter on the psychology of the apocalyptists is, however, distinctly good.

Conversion: Christian and Non-Christian. By A. C. UNDERWOOD, M.A., D.D. Pp. 283. London: Allen & Unwin. 1925. Price 10s. 6d. net.

WITHOUT being epoch-making, this is one of the books that definitely carry matters a stage further; though it ought to be said that this result is due more to the author's large collection of material than to his purely psychological contributions. The psychology is in fact somewhat disappointing. In his determination not to be stampeded by the “latest” theories he has tended rather unduly to lean towards conventional explanations—for instance, in his use of the “subconscious” and in the work he sets that modern psychological drudge, the “complex.” We should have been glad to see a fuller psychological investigation of the relations of Conversion and Adolescence and for some attempt to explore the difficulties concealed by the word “sublimation.” But it is in the gathering of unusual material that the book is peculiarly valuable. The author was for some time a Professor in a Bengal college, and the selection from Indian literature is especially rich. We find, at a rough estimate, that at least one-third of the book is directly concerned with Indian religions. It is not a line too much. Welcome also is the selection from the literature of Islam, and from Quaker writings. In its massing of material the book is not unlike Professor Pratt's, but the area covered is larger and the points of comparison are more fully brought out. It only remains to say that the book is intensely interesting and ought to be read by all whose work makes it necessary for them to understand the phenomena of Conversion.

F. C. TAYLOR.

NEW EDITIONS.

We rejoice that Robert Louis Stevenson is to be adequately represented in "Everyman's Library." Four volumes are before us, each containing two works. They are arranged as follows. Vol. I. contains *Treasure Island* and *Kidnapped*; Vol. II. *The Master of Ballantrae* and *The Black Arrow*. With the third and fourth we pass away from the novelist and storyteller. In the former we have *Virginibus Puerisque* and *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*. The fourth contains *An Inland Voyage*, and *Travels with a Donkey*. Two volumes are to follow. The former will include *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and *The Merry Men and Other Tales*. The last will be devoted to Poems. The only criticism we feel inclined to make on the selection is that *Catriona* would perhaps have been better than *The Black Arrow*. The editor says, however, that *The Black Arrow* "has probably won more readers than any other of Stevenson's stories." Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has permitted his contribution to *The Speaker*, written at Stevenson's death, to be used as an Introduction to this reprint.

We are glad to see that a theological work of such distinguished quality as Dr. Oman's *Grace and Personality* should have passed into a third edition (Cambridge: at the University Press, price 9s. net). It was reviewed on its first appearance in our pages. The second edition was very considerably revised in order to indicate more fully the original scope and condition of the inquiry. The present edition has been further revised and expanded with a view to removing difficulties which still remained. The book is even so by no means easy, and the author pleads with justice that this lies in the conditions of the enterprise. We have here the results of long study and meditation by a singularly strong and gifted mind on the deepest problems, and those who are prepared to spend the adequate study on the book will find themselves amply repaid.

Professor Gilbert Murray's *Four Stages of Greek Religion* was published in 1912. It has been for some time out of print and it now appears in a second edition with an altered title (*Five Stages of Greek Religion*, Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, price 10s. 6d. net). The alteration of title is due to the author's feeling that there was a gap in the story. The high-water mark of Greek religious thought came, he thinks, just between the Olympian Religion and what he calls the Failure of Nerve. He has accordingly added a new chapter on the Great Schools of the Fourth Century B.C., and lengthened the book by about fifty pages. In the new chapter he touches upon members of the Socratic circle—Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes—and from the latter he passes naturally to Diogenes and the Cynics. The Stoics get briefer treatment since the author has dealt with them in *The Stoic Philosophy*; but the Epicureans are more fully described, and with considerable sympathy, though the decadence of the school is recognised. There is a warm tribute to Aristotle, though his chief work lies beyond the scope of Prof. Murray's book.

EDITOR.

MAGAZINES.

We have before us two volumes of *Theology*, the ninth and the tenth for July to December 1924, and January to June 1925. In the former we call attention to Mr. Leonard Hodgson's, "The Problem of Nestorius," Mr. W. K. L. Clarke's account of Eduard Meyer's *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, the Dean of Winchester's estimate of Donne, Mr. W. L. Knox's "The Church and the Intellectual Unrest," and Prof. König's "Are there any Messianic Predictions?" In the second of the two volumes Miss Evelyn Underhill writes on, "The Authority of Personal Religious Experience." Dr. W. H. Rigg expounds the position of the evangelical party and its relation to the other parties in the Church. Dr. Sparrow Simpson writes with enthusiasm of the late Bishop of Zanzibar. A very useful criticism of Pastor Russell and his movement is supplied by Dr. J. A. Maynard. Perhaps the most important article is that by Prof. C. H. Turner on Canon Streeter's "The Four Gospels." The issue for June 1925 is devoted to the Council of Nicea and the Nicene Faith, the present year being the sixteenth centenary. Important articles are contributed by Prof. Whitney on, "Constantine and the Empire," Bishop Archibald Robertson on, "The Council of Nicea, Dr. C. Harrison, who argues that the Nicene faith is true to the New Testament, while the Editor himself prints a University sermon on "The Faith of the Incarnation." Both volumes contain important reviews. We mention in the former volume Mr. W. L. Clarke's notice of Wetter's book on the Eucharist and Mr. R. T. Herford's, *The Pharisees*, Prof. Guillaume's of Dr. Pace's *Ideas of God in Israel*, the new Bishop of Oxford's of Prof. Lock's *Pastoral Epistles*. In the second volume, Dr. Binns reviews the translation of Sellin's *Introduction*. Dr. Nairne has an appreciative notice of Dr. Moffatt's *Hebrews*. A specially welcome contribution by Prof. A. E. Taylor examines Mr. Leonard Hodgson's attack on Otto's *The Idea of the Holy*, and there is an important article by Mr. Clarke dealing with recent literature on the Synoptic Gospels. There is much besides of value in these volumes which we have no space to mention.

The Hibbert Journal for July, 1925, opens with an article by the Editor, criticising the Modernist watchword, "A creed in harmony with modern thought." We find it difficult to understand why he should suppose that Loisy's work is little known in England. His books have been reviewed at length, reference is made to him in the literature of the subject, Professors examine his views in their classrooms. No doubt the growing radicalism and subjectivity of his criticism will tend to reduce the importance attached to his judgment. Prof. W. B. Smith has a rather tedious discussion of recent translations of the New Testament. A much more important article by Dr. C. J. Cadoux deals with "The Gospel Story and the Higher Criticism of To-day." We are glad to see Dr. Estlin Carpenter's

article "Astrology in the Book of Revelation." It deals mainly with Boll's *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* which was, we regret, unknown to us owing to war conditions, till after the Hartley Lecture on the Book of Revelation was published. Dr. Walter Seton deals from a historical standpoint with the stigmatisation of St. Francis of Assisi which he considers to be now a well-ascertained fact. We wonder when British writers will learn that Renan should not be spelt with an accent. Mr. F. S. Marvin has a thoughtful article on, "The Promise of the Age we Live in." He believes that the present is one of the great turning-points in the history of the world. Prof. J. P. Bruce contributes an instructive essay on Education in China. Mr. Montgomery, the translator of Pfeleiderer, Schweitzer and Sellin writes on "Schweitzer's Ethic." There are several other articles, a survey of theological literature by Dr. Moffatt, and some important reviews.

The London Quarterly Review for July, 1925, opens with an article by Dr. L. H. Hough, the Fernley Lecturer for this year, under the title, "Analysing our Assumptions." The assumptions he selects are those touching God, science, man society. The late Principal W. J. Moulton, has a sympathetic but discriminating paper on John Wesley's doctrine of perfect love. Dr. Barber, who writes with firsthand knowledge of China, deals with the important subject of "Youth in China," and with this we might bracket St. Nihal Singh's, "The Ferment among India's Workers." The Editor has a characteristically interesting and well-informed article on "Sir Sidney Lee's Life of King Edward VII." In the Notes and Discussions, Mr. W. L. Oakes pays a tribute to Baron von Hügel, and Mr. E. E. Kellett has a very interesting estimate of J. A. Froude.

The Congregational Quarterly for July, 1925, is a very good number. Dr. Powicke our great Baxter scholar, writes on *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, Baxter's most famous work. Mr. Augustine Birrell has taken the opportunity, furnished by the biography of Francis Place by Mr. Graham Wallas, and that of William Cobbett by Mr. Cole, to write one of his entertaining articles on the contrast between the early days of these reformers. The Editor gives a foretaste of what should prove a fascinating volume containing letters to Dr. Allon, the Editor of the *British Quarterly*. One of the weightiest articles is from the pen of Dr. Robert Mackintosh and deals with Troeltsch. Of theological articles we may mention one by the Rev. Lovell Cocks on, "The Meaning and Value of Prayer," and an exegetical note on "Everlasting Punishment," by the Rev. A. D. Martin, who, while not rejecting the traditional interpretation of the term, argues that Jesus, standing in the succession of the Hebrew prophets, recognised as they did, a contingent element in decrees of punishment as expounded by Jeremiah in Jer. vii. 18. Mr. W. T. Carter, himself a business man, makes an appeal to business men to associate themselves with a statement of Christian

principles in the conduct of business, and a faithful application of them. Principal A. J. Haile writes on "Missionary Functions New and Old in South Africa." We commend a brief account of a successful bazaar innovation which should bring in the men. There was a large room for exhibits by local tradesmen with two classes of exhibits, one for sale towards the funds, the other for which the exhibitor paid according to the space occupied.

The Baptist Quarterly for July, 1925, opens with an address by Dr. Dargan, giving an account of the Southern Baptist Churches in the United States. Josef Novotny, son of the founder of the first Baptist Church in Bohemia, points out in an interesting and noteworthy account of the Czecho-Slovaks, the importance of winning his countrymen. They will be successful missionaries to the rest of the Slavs. The Rev Bloice Smith writes on, "The Cross and the Problem of Evil." Dr. Townley Lord contributes a study of Meister Eckhart for whom, with some reservation, he has a great admiration. At a time when the Independent Churches, both Baptist and Congregational, are moving towards a modified Episcopacy, Mr. Henry Bonser's article on, "The Work of a General Superintendent," will be read with interest.

The main feature of *The Harvard Theological Review* for April, 1925, is a continuation of Gustav Krüger's literature on Church History published in the period 1914-1920. It is a specially interesting section of the work because it deals with the nineteenth century and the beginnings of the twentieth, and many famous names come before us. The work involved in preparing this article along with those that have preceded must have been immense. The bibliographies are of great value. Dr. Campbell Bonner gives an account of an important new papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas. Dr. E. R. Goodenough has an article on the "Oratio ad Graecos," falsely attributed to Justin. Harnack dates it between A.D. 180 and 240, but Dr. Goodenough argues that it is not a Christian document at all, but addressed to his former associates, by some Greek convert to Hellenistic Judaism. There are parallels with the Epistle to the Galatians which it is thought are to be explained on the view that the "Oratio" is the original.

The Princeton Theological Review for 1925, opens with an article on, "The State of the Church," by Dr. C. E. Macartney, dealing with the situation from the fundamentalist point of view. Dr. D. S. Clark discusses the bearing of the theory of evolution on God, Creation, Man, Sin, the Scriptures, Christ and Salvation. Dr. Hastings Ellis gives an account of the Sacramental Negotiations at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Dr. R. D. Wilson begins a discussion of Aramaisms in the Old Testament with the view of showing that the critical premises so far as they rest on Aramaisms are false and that the radical conclusions fall with them. Dr. Oswald Allis has a

really savage attack on Dr. Moffatt's translation of the Old Testament. By an extraordinary accident the copy sent to us has pages, 274, 275, 277, 278, 281, 282, 286, 287, blank, so that much of Dr. Allis's criticism is withheld from us.

The Expositor for June to September, 1925, is before us. Each contains reviews and notes, and notices of recent criticism by various authors, frequently including Questions and Answers by the Editor. The Ten Best Books series runs through the first three numbers, the Rev. E. W. Price Evans deals with Preaching, Prof. Anderson Scott with Prayer, and Dr. Naish with Proverbs. In July, Canon Battersby Harford begins a series of articles entitled, "Since Wellhausen," which will run through the magazine till the end of the year. They have been occasioned by Prof. Welch's articles, which have been widely quoted to show that the dominant criticism of the Pentateuch has broken down. They are, so far as they have gone, most valuable, and it is to be hoped will make opponents of criticism a little more restrained in their premature triumphs. In August, the Editor begins literary illustrations of 1 Corinthians, which in September are carried to the end of the twelfth chapter. Mr. Flowers has one article (Sept.) in his series on the Decalogue. It deals with the fourth commandment. In June and August Mr. Cannon continues his notes on Nahum i.-ii. 3. We welcome the appearance of Gressmann, the famous German Old Testament scholar and Editor of the *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, a magazine to which Dr. Moffatt pays the just tribute that it is international and indispensable. "No one," he adds, "who is working at the Old Testament can afford to miss a journal so living and thorough." Gressmann contributes an article to the June number entitled, "The Mysteries of Adonis, and the Feast of Tabernacles." His theory is that the Feast "is to be derived from a Canaanite Booth Feast of Adonis, and that its ceremonies are to be explained as being originally publicly exhibited mysteries of Adonis' resurrection or wedding and of his death." Dr. Ranston, once a Hartley College student, has a welcome paper on "The Orphic Mysteries," in the August number. We have no space to give a complete list of the articles, but we must call attention to an open letter by Dr. Mackintosh in the September number dealing with the doctrine of the Atonement. We hope *The Expositor* will go from strength to strength.

The Journal of Theological Studies for July, 1925, is a notable number. Prof. C. H. Turner continues his investigations of the Second Gospel dealing with the use of numbers. Dr. W. M. Christie has a long article on "The Jamnia Period of Jewish History," based on the Rabbinic material, and containing among other things material bearing on the settlement of the Old Testament Canon. It will be remembered that in the April number, Dr. Burkitt criticised Dr. Streeter's view that the non-Byzantine readings found in the Koridethi MS. and certain cursives are

survivals of the Gospel text in use at Cæsarea before Origen's arrival A.D. 231. In the July number Dr. Streeter replies, and Dr. Burkitt adds a note. We recently called attention to Dr. Burkitt's notable volume *The Religion of the Manichees*. This is the subject of an important review by Dr. Stanley Cook. Dr. Burkitt himself has an article on the *Pistis Sophia*, with which he had previously dealt in a review of Mr. Mead's revised translation. The present article is occasioned by the translation of Mr. Horner to which Mr. Legge prefixed an essay advocating the view that the work was written by Valentinus. In the review section we call special attention to a valuable notice by Dr. Oman of half-a-dozen theological works and to some reviews by Dr. Burney, the last of them left incomplete at his death.

The Pilgrim for July, 1925, opens with an article by Mr. W. L. Hare on "The Religion of Love." The religions which come under this category are Later Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Græco-Roman religions belong to the class "in which man feels himself under the power of cold and distant beings, immeasurably grand and powerful, stern and just." But contact of the Semitic religions with Greek philosophy gave them "a singularly beautiful historical manifestation. Mr. John Lee, whose books have attracted some attention, writes on "The Social Dynamic." In further exposition of the theme of an earlier article E. M. Caillard discusses "Prayer and the New Psychology," Mr. W. M. Pryke pleads for reality in the pulpit from the standpoint of a modernist. Mr. C. F. Andrews deals with the future of the Church in India. Miss Florence Nevill contributes a sketch of "The Three Cities," The City of the infallible Book, The City of Death, and The City of Love. The Editor examines the problem of the press, recognising the evils of which much has recently appeared in the newspapers. He thinks, however, that a censorship would be a worse evil than the present situation. He urges that people should not limit themselves to papers with which they agree; not that they should read the paper which make them angry, but the paper which really puts the other side in its best form.

The Anglican Theological Review for May, 1925, opens with an article by Dr. Lester Bradner, on Educational Conviction in Religion. He complains strongly that the Anglican Church in the United States is far behind other communions in its attention to religious education. Mr. Cyril Hudson writes on "Personality and Devotional Life," with special relation to Modern Psychology. Prof. A. Haire Foster reconstructs from papyri the daily life of Tryphon, an Egyptian weaver in the time of Christ. The most considerable article is one by Dr. W. S. Bishop on "The Chalcedonian Decree as an Interpretation of our Lord's Person." It devotes a good deal of attention to the problem of terminology. The author selects the term "consubstantiality," to express the truth alike of the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. The

Eternal Son was consubstantial with His Father, and through the Incarnation became consubstantial with us. The magazine devotes a large amount of space to reviews, and although these are frequently very brief, the bibliographical information is valuable and the notices are helpful.

Discovery for June to September, 1925, is before us. In June the article which will probably be most attractive to the general reader, is that in which Mr. Ainsworth Mitchell argues that an examination of the marriage contract of Mary Queen of Scots is proved by modern investigation to be spurious, and to show hidden characteristics of the writings of Maitland. Mrs. Brindley describes how the aphid or green fly is kept down by its parasite, the aphidius, which, however, is in turn the victim of other parasites, reminding one of Dean Swift's famous epigram on the little fleas and the lesser fleas. Mr. Norman Kemp and Mr. Leslie Thompson give an interesting account of the X ray examination of coal. Prof. C. J. Patten describes the laws and general principles of bird migration so far as research has at present discovered them. The fascinating problem of the origin of the Maya culture of Central America is discussed by Mr. E. C. Rashleigh, with a marked leaning against Prof. Elliot Smith's theory of foreign origin. In the July number, Prof. Lyle Cummins writes a valuable article on tuberculosis and the question of its cure. Mr. Julian Huxley discusses Mrs. Erskin's *Sex at Choice*. He considers her book as it stands as worthless from the point of view of science. The importance of drift in the sea as determining the harvest of fish and the means taken to detect it are explained. A long article is devoted to photo-micrography with a description of the very remarkable machinery which has been designed for it. Mr. Dudley Buxton describes the Stoney Indians of the Bow River, Alberta. Mr. Leslie Armstrong records the recent investigations at Creswell Crags, on the borders of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. In the August number, B.M.A. gives an account of the new cancer discoveries, by Dr. Guy and Mr. Barnard. Mr. David Boyle discusses the conditions in China fomented by the Bolsheviks. Mr. Ian Richmond describes his investigations on Aurelian's wall at Rome. An article which will appeal to the imagination is by Mr. Vibert Douglas; it deals with the immensities of time and space. In the issue for September, Mr. Munro Fox describes how marine animals are passing from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, and from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean through the Suez Canal, though most are unable to do so. Mr. O. J. R. Howarth explains how antiquated is the meteorological teaching in the geography textbooks, and how necessary the need for reform. Mr. T. Wooddisse gives an account of eminent British naturalists with their photographs. Mr. J. E. Hamilton writes from first-hand knowledge of the Killer whale. Whatever the discount to be taken off the legends that have gathered about it, the ferocity and voracity of the

creature are undoubted. Mr. Skyring Walters describes the Groma, a surveying instrument used by the ancients. Mr. J. S. B. Haldane, under the title "Man as a Sea Beast," discusses the characteristics which point to our marine ancestry.

In the *Bookman* for June, Mr. S. M. Ellis writes a centenary appreciation of Blackmore, the author of *Lorna Doone*, and Dr. Mitchell one of Huxley. In the July number Mr. Thomas Moulton supplies an estimate of Mr. Tresidder Sheppard. Sir Oliver Lodge reviews Mr. Noyes' *Torch-Bearers*, while Dr. R. C. Macfie discusses Sir Oliver Lodge's *Ether and Reality*. In the August issue Mr. Noyes has an appreciation of Milton, and Mr. J. P. Collins writes an obituary article on Mr. A. C. Benson. Mr. John Freeman treats of the poetry of Mr. George Russell (A. E.). Prof. Saintsbury in the September number uses the opportunity of the new edition, edited by Prof. Herford and Mr. Simpson, to write on Ben Jonson. Mr. Lewis Hind has a very appreciative notice of Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson's *One Increasing Purpose*. Mr. St. John Adcock deals with Mr. Archibald Marshall. We are surprised to learn that so good a story as *The House of Merrilees* was rejected by publisher after publisher for a period of four years, till Mr. Marshall becoming a publisher published it himself. Of course there are many other contributions, which we have no space to mention, numerous reviews and many illustrations.

We have received the third and fourth numbers of a new journal, the *Europäische Revue*, edited by Karl Anton Rohan. As the title suggests, it is written in German; but this is an international review containing articles by British, French, Russian, Italian, and other contributors. Much space is naturally given to political situation; but poetry, religion, art, biography, also receive attention. The review may be procured from Messrs. Allen and Unwin; each number is sold at 1s. 6d.

EDITOR.

The International Labour Review, in the numbers from April to August, 1925, contains many important articles, chief amongst which are the following:—(April) The New Social Insurance Act of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, by Leo Winter; and The Classification Problem in Statistics, by R. H. Coats; (May) Social Insurance Benefits, by Prof. Alfred Manes; The Recommendations of the Shanghai Child Labour Commission, by Dame Adelaide Anderson; (June) International Labour Organization and Social Insurance; The German and French National Economic Councils, by Roger Picar; The Agrarian Problems in Spain, by Prof. F. de los Rios; (July) Social Aspects of Land Reform in Czecho-Slovakia; The Need for an Industrial Truce, by Sir Robert Hadfield; (August) The Seventh Session of the International Labour Conference; Wage Earners' Participation in Management in U.S.A. There are also in each number many valuable reports, reviews, and statistical lists.

A. LEE.

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